

# **Integrating the Nation: Gendering Maori Urbanisation and Integration, 1942-1969**

Megan C. Woods

A thesis submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
History  
at the  
University of Canterbury,  
Christchurch, New Zealand.

2002

DU  
412  
W896  
2002

# Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... II

TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS, FIGURES, AND TABLES ..... I

ABSTRACT ..... V

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ..... VI

CHAPTER ONE: ..... 8

    INTRODUCTION ..... 8

        Themes ..... 11

*The Politics of Writing the Thesis* ..... 13

        Sources ..... 18

*Structure of the Thesis* ..... 22

        Conclusion ..... 25

CHAPTER TWO: ..... 26

    LITERATURE REVIEW ..... 26

*Urbanisation Literature* ..... 26

*New Zealand Women's History Literature* ..... 35

*Post-war New Zealand Literature* ..... 39

*Colonial Nation Literature* ..... 41

        Citizenship ..... 44

        Modernity ..... 53

        Conclusion ..... 56

CHAPTER THREE: ..... 58

    DISSOLVING THE FRONTIERS ..... 58

*Racial Spatial Configurations of 'New Zealand'* ..... 58

*Why Urbanise and Integrate?* ..... 63

        Integration ..... 83

        Conclusion ..... 94

CHAPTER FOUR: ..... 96

    HOUSING IDEAL MAORI CITIZENS ..... 96

*Feminine Spaces* ..... 96

*Feminine Spaces and the Study of Women's Pasts* ..... 98

*Homes, Suburbia, and Pakeha Citizenship* ..... 106

*Housing and Ideal Maori Citizenship* ..... 111

        Conclusion ..... 137

CHAPTER FIVE: ..... 139

    HOUSEWIVES, HOMES, AND MAKING MODERN MAORI ..... 139

*Feminist Views of the House/Home* ..... 140

*Making Modern Maori Housewives* ..... 144

*Housewives Making Modern Maori* ..... 158

*Policing Standards: 'Best Kept Maori Homes'* ..... 166

*Domestic Spaces, Maori Women, and Cultural Preservation* ..... 170

        Conclusion ..... 181

CHAPTER SIX: ..... 183

    "WAISTED LABOUR": GENDER, EMPLOYMENT, HOSTELS, AND IDEAL MAORI CITIZENS ..... 183

*Protecting Young Maori Women, 1942-1945* ..... 184

*Post-war Hostels* ..... 186

*Employing Young Single Women* ..... 196

*Rehua Hostel, 1951-1969* ..... 206

        Conclusion ..... 232

CHAPTER SEVEN: ..... 234

    MAKING HOMES AND HOMEPLACES ..... 234

<i>Hostels as Homes</i> .....	235
<i>Matrons</i> .....	237
<i>Missionary Women</i> .....	243
<i>Making Maori Spaces</i> .....	246
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	272
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT:</b> .....	<b>274</b>
EMBODIED INTEGRATION: BODIES, BEAUTY, AND IDEAL MAORI CITIZENS.....	274
<i>Integrated Bodies</i> .....	277
<i>'Beauty'</i> .....	290
<i>Fashionable Citizens</i> .....	292
<i>Cosmetics</i> .....	299
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	310
<b>CHAPTER NINE:</b> .....	<b>312</b>
EXEMPLARS OF THE DESTI-NATION.....	312
<i>Meet the Women</i> .....	313
<i>Representing the Nation</i> .....	316
<i>Modern Integrated Citizens</i> .....	332
<i>Resisting and Negotiating the Representations</i> .....	338
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	350
<b>CHAPTER TEN:</b> .....	<b>352</b>
CONCLUSION.....	352
<i>Gendered Processes</i> .....	353
<i>The Nation</i> .....	355
<i>Resisting Pakeha Hegemony</i> .....	359
<i>Relationships</i> .....	362
<i>Appraisal</i> .....	364
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	365
<b>APPENDIX ONE:</b> .....	<b>367</b>
GLOSSARY .....	367
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>368</b>
I. PRIMARY SOURCES .....	368
A. UNPUBLISHED .....	368
B. AUDIO VISUAL.....	374
C. PUBLISHED.....	375
II. SECONDARY SOURCES.....	380

# Table of Illustrations, Figures, and Tables

- ILLUSTRATION 1:** THIS VERSION OF THE NEW ZEALAND COAT-OF-ARMS GAINED THE APPROVAL OF QUEEN ELIZABETH II IN 1956. INCLUDED ON THE OFFICIAL SYMBOL OF THE NEW ZEALAND ARE REFERENCES TO THE EMPIRE (THE CROWN), AND BI-CULTURALISM, TWO CENTRAL TENETS IN CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE NEW ZEALAND NATION. SOURCE: [HTTP://WWW.MCH.GOV.TZ/COAT-OF-ARMS.HTM](http://www.mch.govt.nz/coat-of-arms.htm) **8**
- FIGURE 1:** NUMBER OF RESIDENTS OF CHRISTCHURCH IDENTIFYING AS MAORI IN THE CENSUS, 1945-1976. **30**
- FIGURE 2:** PROPORTION OF MAORI POPULATION WITHIN URBAN CENTRES, INDEXED TO 1945 LEVELS. POPULATION INCREASES IN THE FOUR URBAN CENTRES ARE MARKEDLY HIGHER THAN THE NATIONAL MAORI POPULATION INCREASE (THE NATURAL POPULATION INCREASE), INDICATING HIGH LEVELS OF URBANISATION. **31**
- ILLUSTRATION 2:** FEBRUARY IMAGE FOR THE *COLOURFUL NEW ZEALAND CALENDAR*, 1968, WHITCOMBE AND TOMBS LTD FOR THE FELICITY CARD CO. LTD. THE CALENDAR'S CAPTION READ: YOUNG MAORI PEOPLE VIEW THE CITY OF GISBORNE FROM KAITI HILL. THEIR ANCESTORS CAME TO NEW ZEALAND FROM THE LEGENDARY PACIFIC HOMELAND OF HAWAII ROUGHLY 750 YEARS AGO. GISBORNE TODAY IS A THRIVING CITY ON THE EAST COAST OF THE NORTH ISLAND, GLADYS GOODALL COLLECTION, GLADYS GOODALL, CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND. **62**
- FIGURE 3:** CUMULATIVE NUMBER OF FAMILIES OFFICIALLY RELOCATED TO URBAN CENTRES UNDER THE POLICY OF RELOCATION 1961-1967. SOURCE: HALF YEARLY AND ANNUAL RELOCATION RETURNS, 1962-1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, VOLS. 3 AND 4, BOXES 1101F AND 1101G, ANZ, WELLINGTON. **77**
- TABLE 1:** DEPARTMENT OF MAORI AFFAIRS' ANNUAL INTAKE OF YOUNG MAORI MEN FOR EACH TRADE IN FOUR CENTRES. SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF MAORI AFFAIRS, *TRADE TRAINING SCHEMES FOR MAORI AND ISLAND BOYS*, DEPARTMENT OF MAORI AFFAIRS, WELLINGTON, 1973. **78**
- FIGURE 4:** CUMULATIVE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS OFFICIALLY RELOCATED TO URBAN CENTRES UNDER THE POLICY OF RELOCATION 1961-1967. SOURCE: HALF YEARLY AND ANNUAL RELOCATION RETURNS, 1962-1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, VOLS. 3 AND 4, BOXES 1101F AND 1101G, ANZ, WELLINGTON. **80**
- TABLE 2:** GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND LEGISLATION CONCERNING HOUSING, 1894-1975. SOURCE: GAEL FERGUSON, *BUILDING THE NEW ZEALAND DREAM*, DUNMORE PRESS WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE HISTORICAL BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1994. **108**
- TABLE 3:** HOUSING LEGISLATION AND POLICY TARGETED SPECIFICALLY TOWARD MAORI, 1919-1961. SOURCE: GAEL FERGUSON, *BUILDING THE NEW ZEALAND DREAM*, DUNMORE PRESS WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE HISTORICAL BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1994; MARK KRIVAN, "THE DEPARTMENT OF MAORI AFFAIRS HOUSING PROGRAMME, 1935-1967", MA THESIS, MASSEY UNIVERSITY, 1990. **116**
- ILLUSTRATION 3:** THE BANK OF NEW ZEALAND SOUGHT TO ASSURE MAORI THAT THEY WERE WELCOME TO USE THE BANK'S SERVICES THROUGH THE PAGES OF *Te Ao Hou*. **132**
- ILLUSTRATION 4:** THE STATE, THROUGH THE PUBLICLY OWNED POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK, SOUGHT TO EDUCATE MAORI IN THE PRINCIPLES OF BANKING AND SAVING. IN DOING THIS, THEY MADE APPEALS TO TRADITIONAL MODES OF MAORI LIFE. **133**
- ILLUSTRATION 5:** THE DEPARTMENT OF MAORI AFFAIRS IMPRESSED UPON MAORI OWNERS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROPER MAINTENANCE OF THEIR NEW HOMES. IN ORDER FOR HOMES TO BE EFFECTIVE SITES OF INTEGRATION, MAORI HOMES HAD TO BE INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM PAKEHA HOMES. PAKEHA NEIGHBOURS WERE NOT GOING TO TOLERATE 'SHACKS' IN THE SUBURBS. SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF MAORI AFFAIRS, *OUR HOME* (WELLINGTON: GOVERNMENT PRINTER, 1966). **163**
- ILLUSTRATION 6:** MRS JOHN ORMSBY, WINNER OF THE 1955 SILVER CHALLENGE CUP FOR THE BEST KEPT MAORI HOME AND GARDEN. SOURCE: *Te Ao Hou*, No.11, JUNE 1955, P.28. **168**
- ILLUSTRATION 7:** THE HOME OF EVELYN KOHU, MILLERS ROAD, TAURANGA. FIRST PLACE IN THE JUDEA MAORI WOMEN'S WELFARE LEAGUE GARDEN COMPETITION 1965. SOURCE: INSPECTION REPORTS ON STATE HOUSES BY WELFARE OFFICERS AND ASSISTANCE BY MWWL GARDEN COMPETITION, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WELLINGTON. **170**
- TABLE 4:** TOTAL NUMBER OF MAORI URBAN HOSTEL PLACES, AND THEIR PROPORTION BY BOYS AND GIRLS, 1948-1968. SOURCE: AJHR, 1948, G-9, P.10, AJHR, 1953, G-9, PP.11-12; DRAFT REPORT, SEPTEMBER 1953, AAMK 869, 37/1, VOL.3, BOX 1116A, ANZ, WELLINGTON. **189**
- TABLE 5:** OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENTS OF MAORI HOSTELS IN 1948. NOTE THAT THE DATA COMBINES MALE AND FEMALE RESIDENTS, WITH NO BREAKDOWN BY GENDER AVAILABLE. SOURCE: AJHR, 1948, G-9, P.10. **198**



- ILLUSTRATION 8:** ADVERTISEMENTS APPEARED IN *TE AO HOU* THROUGHOUT THE 1950S AND 1960S ENCOURAGING YOUNG, SINGLE MAORI WOMEN TO MOVE TO THE CITIES TO TAKE UP DOMESTIC POSITIONS IN HOSPITALS AND HOTELS. WHILE SOME ADVERTISEMENTS SUCH AS THAT PLACED BY THE AUCKLAND HOSPITAL BOARD DEPICTED IDEAL PAKEHA FEMININITY, OTHERS SUCH AS THAT PLACED BY WELLINGTON HOSPITAL DEPICTED YOUNG MAORI WOMEN IN THEIR NEW URBAN-BASED ROLES. SOURCE: *TE AO HOU*, SEPTEMBER 1965, No.52, P.12. (AUCKLAND); *TE AO HOU*, MARCH 1967, No.58, P.22 **199**
- ILLUSTRATION 9:** *TE AO HOU*, DECEMBER 1959, No.29. **201**
- ILLUSTRATION 10:** BUILDING ON ESSENTIALISED NOTIONS OF WOMEN, RECRUITMENT CAMPAIGNS SOUGHT TO ENCOURAGE YOUNG MAORI WOMEN INTO NURSING AND NURSE AIDING. IN THIS ADVERTISEMENT, THE LESSER ROLE OF NURSE-AID IS EMPHASISED AS AN OPTION FOR YOUNG MAORI WOMEN. *TE AO HOU*, OCTOBER 1958, No.24. **202**
- ILLUSTRATION 11:** LIKEWISE, MAORI WOMEN WERE ALSO RECRUITED INTO THE LESS DESIRABLE FIELD OF PSYCHIATRIC NURSING. *TE AO HOU*, OCTOBER 1958, No.24, P.58. **202**
- ILLUSTRATION 12:** *TE AO HOU*, OCTOBER 1958, No.24, P.4. **206**
- ILLUSTRATION 13:** REVEREND FALKINGHAM, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE CHRISTCHURCH CENTRAL MISSION. SOURCE: *ENTERPRISE*, JUNE 1962, VOL.1, No.1, P.1. **207**
- TABLE 6:** PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT OR STUDY OF THE YOUNG MAORI WOMEN IDENTIFIED AS NEEDING HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION IN CHRISTCHURCH, C.1951. NOTE THAT MAORI WOMEN IN DOMESTIC POSITIONS CONSTITUTED 55 PER CENT OF THE WOMEN NEEDING HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION IN THE CITY. SOURCE: MR BARRETT, MAORI WELFARE OFFICER, CHRISTCHURCH TO HEAD OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF MAORI AFFAIRS, UNDATED (C1951), MA 1, W2490, 37/41/ BOX 167, ANZ, WELLINGTON. **208**
- ILLUSTRATION 14:** THE WAIATA MAORI CHOIR C. 1938. SISTER ROPATA (TAKA MOSS) WITH THE CHOIR. STANDING NEXT TO HER IS REVEREND HOHEPA TUTAWHAIO (JOE MOSS). TAKA ROPATA WAS A MEMBER OF THE CHOIR FROM 1931-34. IN LATER YEARS, SHE WAS IN CHARGE OF THE MALE CHOIR AND TOURED THE BRITISH ISLES WITH THE CHOIR IN 1937-38. SOURCE: MAORI CHOIRS, METHODIST ARCHIVES, MORLEY HOUSE, CHRISTCHURCH. **212**
- ILLUSTRATION 15:** MAORI FEMALE RESIDENTS OF ROSENEATH HOUSE, CHRISTCHURCH, C.1971. SOURCE: THE CHRISTCHURCH PRESBYTERIAN SOCIAL SERVICE ASSOCIATION, 62<sup>ND</sup> ANNUAL REPORT, 1971, PRESBYTERIAN ARCHIVES, CHRISTCHURCH. **214**
- TABLE 7:** NUMBER OF YOUNG MAORI WOMEN TAKING UP APPRENTICESHIPS IN CHRISTCHURCH 1958-1962. **216**
- <sup>A</sup> THE DATA FOR 1960 DID NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN TAILORING AND DRESSMAKING. **216**
- SOURCE: K. RIWAI, ANNUAL REPORTS, 1 JANUARY 1958–31 DECEMBER 1962, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, BOX 1107C, ANZ, WELLINGTON. **216**
- ILLUSTRATION 16:** AN ARIEL VIEW OF THE NEW HOSTEL PROPERTY, AND THE SURROUNDING SUBURB. THE AREA OF THE HOSTEL PROPERTY IS SHADED IN YELLOW. ALTHOUGH IN ILLUSTRATION 17 IT SEEMS THAT THE NEW HOSTEL WAS ISOLATED AND IN A SEMI-RURAL SETTING, IT WAS IN FACT LOCATED IN THE MIDST OF A MIDDLE CLASS RESIDENTIAL SUBURB, ST ALBANS. SOURCE: MA 2, W2490, 37/48, VOL.7, ANZ, WELLINGTON. **221**
- ILLUSTRATION 17:** THE SPRINGFIELD ROAD PROPERTY PURCHASED IN 1957 AT A COST OF £6500. SOURCE: MA 2, W2490, 37/48, VOL.7, ANZ, WELLINGTON. **222**
- ILLUSTRATION 18:** THE NEW DORMITORY BLOCK OPENED IN JANUARY 1960. THE BUILDING MATERIALS FOR THE DORMITORY WERE DONATED BY BUILDING FIRMS, AND THEREFORE THE BLOCK WAS ERECTED DEBT-FREE. THE VALUE OF THE BUILDING WAS ESTIMATED TO BE £5,500. SOURCE: MA 2, W2490, 37/48, VOL.7, ANZ, WELLINGTON. **223**
- TABLE 8:** WITH THE EXCEPTIONS OF MARY ELLISON AND THE MOODYS, THE MASTERS AND MATRONS OF REHUA, IN ITS INCARNATIONS AS BOTH A HOSTEL FOR MAORI GIRLS AND BOYS, WERE MAORI. AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF JOE AND TAKA MOSS FROM THE HOSTEL IN 1953, IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE 1960 APPOINTMENT OF RANGI ELLISON AS MASTER, AND HIS SISTER MORI ELLISON AS COOK, THAT THERE WAS AGAIN A NGAI TAHU PRESENCE ON THE STAFF OF THE HOSTEL. **242**
- ILLUSTRATION 19:** MRS R. JAMIESON, SECRETARY OF THE WOMEN'S GUILD FELLOWSHIP, HANDS OVER THE NORTH CANTERBURY METHODIST GUILDS' FUNDRAISING CONTRIBUTION TO THE RUNNING OF REHUA HOSTEL TO THE MISSION TREASURER IN THE NEWLY BUILT MEETING HOUSE AT REHUA. SOURCE: *ENTERPRISE*, JULY 1963, VOL.2, No.1. **245**
- ILLUSTRATION 20:** THE REHUA MAORI CONCERT PARTY C.1954. THIS PARTY, ORGANISED BY THE MATRON OF THE HOSTEL, WAS COMPRISED OF MALE HOSTEL RESIDENTS AND YOUNG WOMEN WORKING AND STUDYING IN CHRISTCHURCH. SOURCE: CHRISTCHURCH CENTRAL MISSION, *INVESTMENT IN*

HUMANITY, UNDATED (C.1955), UNINDEXED, METHODIST ARCHIVES, MORLEY HOUSE, CHRISTCHURCH.

248

**ILLUSTRATION 21:** THE OPENING OF REHUA MAORI APPRENTICES' HOSTEL IN SPRINGFIELD ROAD, 13<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 1957. SOURCE: STAN MCKAY PHOTOGRAPH, CANTERBURY MUSEUM, REF: 16694. THE PHOTOGRAPH APPEARED IN THE *CHRISTCHURCH STAR-SUN*, 15<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 1957 WITH THE FOLLOWING CAPTION: "A MAORI GREETING BEING PERFORMED DURING THE OPENING ON SATURDAY OF THE REHUA MAORI APPRENTICES' HOSTEL ON SPRINGFIELD. ALTHOUGH THE MAN LEADING THE HAKA IS NOT IDENTIFIED, IT IS MORE THAN LIKELY HERB RENNIE, MASTER OF THE HOSTEL. THE MAN IN THE BACKGROUND AND WEARING THE CLOAK IS ERUERA TIRIKATENE, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR SOUTHERN MAORI.

251

**ILLUSTRATION 22:** CARVERS AT WORK ON THE MEETING HOUSE, 1960. SOURCE: REHUA: TE WHATU MANAWA MAORITANGA O REHUA – SOUVENIR AND PROGRAMME OF THE OPENING CEREMONIES, SATURDAY 3 DECEMBER 1960, UNINDEXED, METHODIST ARCHIVES, MORLEY HOUSE, CHRISTCHURCH.

254

**ILLUSTRATION 23:** LIKE THE CHRISTCHURCH *PRESS*, THE OFFICIAL BROCHURE FOR THE OPENING OF THE MEETING HOUSE SOUGHT TO EMPHASISE THE INTEGRATING ROLE OF THE WHARENUI AT REHUA BY HIGHLIGHTING THE ROLE THAT THE PAKEHA POPULATION HAD PLAYED IN ITS CONSTRUCTION. THE ACCOMPANYING CAPTION IN THE 1960 BROCHURE STATED "TWO MEMBERS OF THE W.E.A. MAORI CLASS COMPLETING WORK ON THE LAST OF THE TUKU TUKU PANELS. MRS HENARE TOKA OF AUCKLAND, TRAINED LOCAL CLASSES IN THE ANCIENT ART OF TUKU TUKU". SOURCE: REHUA: TE WHATU MANAWA MAORITANGA O REHUA – SOUVENIR AND PROGRAMME OF THE OPENING CEREMONIES, SATURDAY 3 DECEMBER 1960, UNINDEXED, METHODIST ARCHIVES, MORLEY HOUSE, CHRISTCHURCH.

256

**ILLUSTRATION 24:** ADVERTISEMENT TARGETED AT MAORI WOMEN FOR STORE CREDIT AT GEORGE COURT'S DEPARTMENT STORE, AUCKLAND, *Te Ao Hou*, JUNE 1959, No.27.

295

**ILLUSTRATION 25:** GREGORY RIETHMAIER'S, *REBECCA AND THE MAORIS*, THROUGH IMAGES AND TEXT CONSTRUCTED MOKO AS ANCIENT AND OUTSIDE OF 'MODERN' CONSTRUCTIONS OF BEAUTY. CONVERSELY, COSMETICS WERE CONSTRUCTED AS YOUTHFUL AND AN INTEGRAL COMPONENT OF 'MODERN' BEAUTY. THE TEXT AND THE IMAGES DEEMED THIS STYLISED AND TEMPORARY ALLUSION TO THE "ANCIENT" ART AS ACCEPTABLE FOR THE YOUNG "MODERN" GIRL, BUT NOT THE TRADITIONAL AND PERMANENT MARK OF THE KAUWAE AS DISPLAYED BY THE KUIA.

301

**ILLUSTRATION 26:** "A GROUP OF SECONDARY SCHOOL GIRLS TAKE PART IN A CHARM COURSE RUN BY MRS ANNA MACGREGOR, HELD IN PUNGA-HARURU IN 1964", P. *Te Ao Hou*, DECEMBER 1966, NO.57.

304

**ILLUSTRATION 27:** CUTEX ADVERTISEMENT FROM *Te Ao Hou*, NOVEMBER 1957, NO.20.

307

**ILLUSTRATION 28:** CUTEX ADVERTISEMENTS BEGAN TO APPEAR IN *Te Ao Hou* FROM THE SUMMER 1953 (NO.3) ISSUE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MAORI AFFAIRS PUBLICATION. THE IMAGE ON THE LEFT IS FROM *Te Ao Hou*, DECEMBER 1955, NO.13, AND THE IMAGE ON THE RIGHT FROM *Te Ao Hou*, APRIL 1956, NO.16, P.61.

307

**ILLUSTRATION 29:** THIS CUTEX ADVERTISEMENT BEGAN TO APPEAR IN *Te Ao Hou* FROM OCTOBER 1958, NO.24.

308

**ILLUSTRATION 30:** 'THREE FLOWERS' COSMETIC AND TOILETRY PRODUCTS BEGAN TO BE ADVERTISED IN *Te Ao Hou*, FROM SUMMER 1954. EVEN MORE THAN WITH CUTEX, MAORI WOMEN WERE THE SPECIFIC TARGETS OF THE MARKETING OF THIS LOCALLY MANUFACTURED PRODUCT. THIS ADVERTISEMENT FIRST APPEARED IN *Te Ao Hou*, SUMMER 1954, NO.7, P.57.

309

**ILLUSTRATION 31:** *Te Ao Hou*, DECEMBER 1955, NO.13, P.59.

310

**ILLUSTRATION 32:** *Te Ao Hou*, MARCH 1955, NO.12, P.60.

311

**ILLUSTRATION 33:** MAUREEN KINGI, MISS NEW ZEALAND 1962 AT THE INTERNATIONAL BEAUTY CONGRESS PARADE OF NATIONS.

313

**ILLUSTRATION 34:** REBECCA FAULKNER WITH THE WRITER AND PHOTOGRAPHER OF *REBECCA AND THE MAORIS*, GREGORY RIETHMAIER. RIETHMAIER CAME TO NEW ZEALAND AS SECRETARY AND WIRELESS OPERATOR ON COUNT VON LUCKNER'S YACHT *SEETEUFEL* (SEA DEVIL). ACCUSED OF BEING A GERMAN SPY, RIETHMAIER WAS INTERNED ON SOMES ISLAND DURING THE WAR. FOLLOWING THE WAR, HER DECIDED TO STAY IN NEW ZEALAND. HE ATTENDED AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY, BECAME A PROFESSIONAL PHOTOGRAPHER, AND BUILT A HOME IN AUCKLAND.

314

**ILLUSTRATION 35:** CAROLE CUNNINGHAM AS THE TOURIST AND PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT'S MISS HAERE MAI, 1966.

315

- ILLUSTRATION 36:** MAUREEN KINGI DEPICTED AS THE REIGNING MONARCH OF NEW ZEALAND BEAUTY GRACED THE COVER OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN'S NEW MAGAZINE *WOMEN'S VIEWPOINT*, IN JUNE 1962. 316
- ILLUSTRATION 37:** MAUREEN KINGI GREETES QUEEN ELIZABETH II FOLLOWING THE ROYAL VARIETY CONCERT STAGED AT THE DUNEDIN TOWN HALL IN HONOUR OF THE QUEEN'S FEBRUARY 1963 TOUR TO NEW ZEALAND. 318
- ILLUSTRATION 38:** THE CAPTION ACCOMPANYING THIS IMAGE READ: "A FLOWER OF HER RACE, WEARING THE ATTRACTIVE DANCE KILT OR *PIUPIU*, BODICE AND HEADBAND OF HER PEOPLE ADMIRES AN EXOTIC FLOWER IN PARADISE VALLEY, ROTORUA". FROM *WONDERLAND PANORAMA*, WHITCOMBE AND TOMBS, CHRISTCHURCH, 1964, GLADYS GOODALL COLLECTION. 321
- ILLUSTRATION 39:** GREGG'S BIRD PAINTING COMPETITION. TO 1, 2/84/4, ANZ, WELLINGTON 321
- ILLUSTRATION 40:** MOANA MANLEY, MISS NEW ZEALAND 1954. *Te Ao Hou*, VOL.3, SPRING 1954, P.46. 324
- ILLUSTRATION 41:** FROM: COLOURFUL NEW ZEALAND CALENDAR, PRINTED BY WHITCOMBE AND TOMBS LTD FOR THE FELICITY CARD CO. LTD, 1968. THE CAPTION TO ACCOMPANYING THE IMAGE READ: "ROTORUA - COOKING IN THE POOLS, N.Z. THE TUKOHU OR LONG TAILED BASKET IS A SPECIALLY SHAPED WOVEN FLAX BASKET USED FOR COOKING KUMARAS (SWEET POTATO) AND OTHER FOOD IN THE NATURAL OILING POOLS AT ROTORUA. THE LONG TAIL IS USED FOR LOWERING THE BASKET SAFELY INTO THE BOILING WATER, THEN IT IS ANCHORED TO A HEAVY STONE, LOG OR NEARBY TREE. LIKE LITTLE BOYS THE WORLD OVER, THIS MAORI BOY CAN HARDLY WAIT FOR THE FOOD TO BE READY". IN THIS IMAGE, ALTHOUGH NOT ACKNOWLEDGED, MAUREEN KINGI POSES WITH HER YOUNG SON. GLADYS GOODALL, GLADYS GOODALL COLLECTION, CHRISTCHURCH. 327
- ILLUSTRATION 42:** MAUREEN KINGI'S C.B.S. APPEARANCE. 328
- ILLUSTRATION 43:** PHOTOGRAPH TO ACCOMPANY UNDATED PRESS RELEASE FOR THE AMERICAN PRESS, TO 1, 47/91. 329
- ILLUSTRATION 44:** MAUREEN KINGI PERFORMING WITH THE DOUBLE LONG POI. IT WAS KINGI'S PROFICIENCY WITH THE POI AND HER SINGING THAT LED HER TO BE DESCRIBED AS 'AN UNUSUAL AND INTERESTING PERSONALITY". 330
- ILLUSTRATION 45:** CAROLE CUNNINGHAM AS MISS HAERE-MAI, PRESENTS THE FIRST PRESSING OF THE "HAERE-MAI YEAR" ALBUM TO MR R S ODELL, GENERAL MANAGER OF THE TOURIST AND PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT (LEFT), AND MR J L CHAPMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ZEALAND TRAVEL AND HOLIDAY ASSOCIATION. ANOTHER HIGH PROFILE 1960S MAORI MAIDEN, KIRI TE KANAWA PERFORMED THE TITLE TRACK ON THE ALBUM AS "HER PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE SUCCESS OF HAERE-MAI YEAR". *Te Ao Hou*, JUNE 1966, NO.55, P.13. 331
- ILLUSTRATION 46:** JOE BROWN FURTHER CAPITALISED ON THE SUCCESS OF MAUREEN KINGI THROUGH THE RELEASE OF THIS ALBUM. 331
- ILLUSTRATION 47:** MAUREEN KINGI AS THE EPITOME OF A MODERN AND INTEGRATED YOUNG MAORI WOMAN APPEARED ON THE COVER OF *Te Ao Hou* IN SEPTEMBER 1962, (NO.40). 332
- ILLUSTRATION 48:** PAGES TWO AND THREE FROM GREGORY'S RIETHMAIER'S *REBECCA AND THE MAORIS*, IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISHED THE YOUNG WOMAN SUBJECT AS A MAORI MAIDEN WHO ULTIMATELY BELONGED TO THE MODERN WORLD. 333
- ILLUSTRATION 49:** THE COVER OF *Miss New Zealand 1962*, A COMMEMORATIVE BOOKLET PUBLISHED BY JOE BROWN ENTERPRISES. 334
- ILLUSTRATION 50:** FROM *Miss New Zealand 1962: The Story of Maureen Kingi*. IN THIS IMAGE, KINGI WAS FURTHER CONSTRUCTED AS A MODERN AND INTEGRATED MAORI CITIZEN. 336
- ILLUSTRATION 51:** CAROL CUNNINGHAM, AS MISS HARE-MAI, ARRIVING AT BRISBANE, 22 NOVEMBER 1966. LEFT TO RIGHT: MR R.V WAY, PASSENGER MANAGER, P & O LINES, BRISBANE; MR R. STONE, MANAGER, NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT TOURIST BUREAU (BRISBANE OFFICE). TO 1, 2/84/2, ANZ, WELLINGTON. 337
- ILLUSTRATION 52:** ON HER VISIT TO REHUA HOSTEL AND MEETING HOUSE IN 1962, KING APPEARED AS A STYLISH AND 'BEAUTIFUL' YOUNG BEAUTY QUEEN. ON THIS VISIT, HOWEVER, SHE ALSO DEMONSTRATED HER KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTACHMENT TO MAORI CULTURE. IN THE ABOVE PICTURE, KINGI IS REPLYING IN MAORI TO THE OFFICIAL WELCOME AFFORDED TO HER. LATER IN THE VISIT, SHE REMOVED HER SHOES AND LED A PARTY OF COSTUMED YOUNG WOMEN IN AN ACTION SONG. SOURCE: *ENTERPRISE*, VOL.1, NO.3, DECEMBER 1962. 349

# Abstract

---

This thesis examines the mid-twentieth century attempts to create integrated and therefore 'ideal' Maori citizens. These attempts, in turn, led to the re-imagining of the cities and ultimately of New Zealand as an integrated nation. In investigating the creation of integrated citizens and the integrated nation, this thesis asks four central questions: why the policies of integration and urbanisation were pursued; who pursued these policies; how these policies were implemented; and where integration occurred, examining houses/homes, hostels, and bodies as crucial sites where the policies were implemented. In answering these questions, I argue that the creation of both integrated citizens and the integrated nation were gendered processes. In particular, this thesis focuses on the role of women. Playing out stereotypically maternal roles within supposedly 'apolitical' and 'private' domestic spaces, Maori women became the target of state policy. In recognition of their importance to integration, the state aided Maori women in the establishment of their own voluntary organisation, the Maori Women's Welfare League. In addition to aiding the state, this organisation provided pivotal leadership in the urban environments. Through their organisation Maori women not only assumed leadership positions that were formerly the domain of Maori men, but also adopted many 'cultural missionary' roles formerly the domain of Pakeha women. Shifting the focus to young, single women and their bodies, I further argue that bodies and beauty became crucial to constructions of ideal citizens, and that women's bodies became emblematic of the integrated nation. Maori, however, were not simple victims of the policy of integration. Maori women, in particular, negotiated the policies and found agency. Through apparent complicity with the state, the women were able to exploit the aspects of the policy aimed at retaining aspects of Maori culture. Furthermore, urbanisation and integration are not presented as solely North Island phenomena; instead, the focus is extended to include the South Island, and in particular to the city of Christchurch.

# Acknowledgments

---

First, and foremost, I am indebted to my supervisor, Katie Pickles. Her energy, enthusiasm, drive, support, and ideas were all crucial to the enterprise of completing my thesis. It has been through working with Katie, that I have been able to develop my ideas concerning women's and feminist scholarship. My gratitude also needs to be extended to others within the History Department, University of Canterbury. Ann Parsonson provided valuable information, support, advice, and ideas, Philippa Mein-Smith provided support, and valuable input in the final stages of the thesis. Likewise, Graeme Dunstall, Chris Connolly, Miles Fairburn, and Luke Trainor have all provided me with valuable advice, support, and encouragement throughout my thesis and my time within the Department more generally. I am also grateful to Barbara Brookes of the History Department, University of Otago for inviting me to participate at the symposium on the house and home at Otago University, and for her ongoing input and encouragement.

My thanks also need to be extended to Jean Sharfe and the Christchurch 2000 database in locating vital sources in the initial stages of my research. The help and friendliness of the Canterbury History Department's administrative staff, Judy Robertson, Rosemary Russo, and Pauline Wedlake, have also made the task of writing a thesis a little easier.

I am also heavily indebted to the help and assistance of librarians and archivists throughout the country. The staff of the Methodist Archives of New Zealand in Christchurch gave me exceptional assistance and were always willing to aid me in locating sources. Likewise, I would like to extend my gratitude to the staff of Archives New Zealand in Wellington and Christchurch, the staff of the Alexander Turnbull Library, the staff of the Central Library of the University of Canterbury, and the Macmillian Brown Library, and the staff of the Christchurch diocesan archives of both the Catholic and Anglican Churches. I am particularly grateful for the assistance of David Retter and Jocelyn Chambers of the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington for making the life of a researcher living outside of Wellington a little easier. I am also grateful to Jane Teal of Anglican Care and Te Marie Tau of Ngai Tahu for arranging and granting me permission to use their archives.

Various travel grants from the History Department, University of Canterbury have made it possible for me to attend various conferences throughout New Zealand. These conferences were invaluable for the development of my ideas and arguments. In particular, I am grateful to the Department and the New Zealand Federation of Graduate Women who both

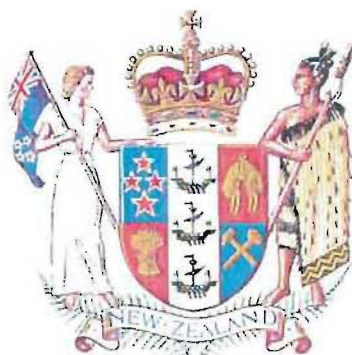
generously contributed towards my attendance at the Women's History Network Conference at London Guildhall University in 2001.

Many of accumulated debts, however, have been personal. I will forever be grateful for the friendship and support of my fellow thesis writers in the History Department, University of Canterbury. In particular, I would like to thank Annie Stuart, Angela Wanhalla, Rosemary Goodyear, Maartje Abbenhuis, Andrew Conway, Sarah Coleman, Kerry-Ann Hughs, Leanne Boulton, Phil Ferguson, John Edmundson, and Geoff Vincent. A special thanks needs to be extended to Annie who helped me in the final stages by proofreading a section of the thesis, and Andrew who helped me with some last minute checking. I am also grateful for the friendship and sharing of ideas of Chris Brickell. Likewise, I am grateful to Britt Romstad for her friendship and for always being willing to discuss ideas. Rachael Walkington, Kiri Hannifin, and Tracey Hutching are all to be thanked for always being willing to have me stay on trips away from home. I am also grateful to my parents, Gordon and Maureen Woods for both their emotional support and their practical assistance. A special thank-you, however, needs to be extended to Michael MacAskill who not only put up with me throughout my thesis, but provided friendship, support, and practical assistance above and beyond the call of duty.

There is one last debt of gratitude to acknowledge, and that is to those who shared their histories and their pasts with me. I am grateful to Maureen Waaka, Gregory Riethmaier, and Gladys Goodall for their personal communications. I am also heavily indebted to those who agreed to be interviewed by me, but who I cannot name. It was the input from these people who made the period under investigation come alive for me.

## chapter one:

# Introduction



**Illustration 1:** This version of the New Zealand Coat-of-Arms gained the approval of Queen Elizabeth II in 1956. Included on the official symbol of the New Zealand are references to the Empire (the Crown), and bi-culturalism, two central tenets in constructions of the New Zealand nation. Source: <http://www.mch.govt.nz/coat-of-arms.htm>

“**H**e iwi tahi tatou” - We are now one people. This proclamation of New Zealand’s first Governor, William Hobson, at the Treaty table on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February 1840, has underwritten constructions of the New Zealand nation since its first utterance. Today, one hundred and sixty-two years later, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the notion of bi-culturalism encoded in Hobson’s edict dominates the political, cultural, popular, and social discourses of the New Zealand nation. Official symbols of the nation, such as the coat-of-arms, exemplify the central place of bi-culturalism in national imaginings (see Illustration 1).

Just as in the words of Governor Hobson, the official coat-of-arms of the nation evoked the idea of Maori and Pakeha jointly constituting the nation. Throughout New Zealand’s history, however, Maori have been constructed as simultaneously a component of, and opposite to the New Zealand nation. Maori possessed an ambivalent relationship with the evolving constructions of the nation. On one hand, as this thesis demonstrates, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Maori remained geographically separate from Pakeha, and provided a counterpoint to the modern ‘New Zealand’. Yet, occurring parallel to the exclusions, Maori and Maori motifs and symbols, from the beginning of the twentieth century became increasingly emblematic of a nation desperately seeking to construct an identity differentiated from its imperial centre, Britain, and its larger colonial neighbour, Australia.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the use of Maori and Maori motifs, and images in early nineteenth century constructions of the New

This thesis looks to the years during and following World War II, a time of the mass urbanisation of the Maori population, and a time when the New Zealand State sought to further integrate Maori into the New Zealand nation. This thesis argues that between 1942 and 1969, the State, along with various religious organisations, and in many instances Maori themselves, sought to create Maori as ‘integrated’ and therefore ‘ideal’ Maori citizens. The fuller integration of Maori and the production of ‘ideal’ Maori citizens in turn led to the re-creation of the cities and ultimately New Zealand as bi-cultural. The timeframe under consideration begins with the industrial conscription of Maori labour during World War II, often considered a catalyst that stimulated the pace of Maori urbanisation,<sup>2</sup> and concludes in 1969, with the dawning of recognised Maori protest.<sup>3</sup>

The thesis argues that the mid-twentieth century creation of integrated and ‘ideal’ Maori citizens, and the integrated nation was a gendered process. It demonstrates that the State understood Maori women to integrate more readily than their male counterparts, and that this State pre-conception led to Maori women becoming the focus of much State activity. Politicians along with bureaucrats articulated an explicit belief that it was Maori women who integrated more readily, and who therefore could do more in integrating the ‘race’. Terrance McCombs, the Labour member for Lyttelton, expressed such a view in Parliament in 1949, when he argued that the State should encourage church schools to establish more hostels for the training of Maori girls. His rationale was that it was desirable that Maori girls “be given the opportunity to learn European standards of living, because they could do more to raise the standard of living of their people than the boys could”.<sup>4</sup> In this context, it is argued that Maori women gained new resources and power and emerged as leaders in their new urban environments. Armed with greater power and resources in the cities and towns, Maori women not only assumed leadership roles that might have otherwise been fulfilled by Maori men, Maori women were also able to usurp the ‘cultural missionary’ role, formerly the domain of Pakeha women.

An understanding of Maori women as being the crucial agents of change in their communities is not one isolated to the mid-twentieth century. Both late nineteenth and early twentieth century commentators, along with subsequent scholars of the period, have argued that it was Maori women who were charged with bringing about the transformation of Maori

---

Zealand nation see: James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Penguin, Auckland, 2001, pp.209-210, Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1986, p.204.

<sup>2</sup> Ranginui J. Walker, “Maori People Since 1950”, in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.498-519, p.500.

<sup>3</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.477.

<sup>4</sup> *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (hereafter referred to as NZPD), 1949, Vol.287, p.2397.



society in the context of colonisation. Speaking on behalf of the Young Maori Party in 1901, Reverend Bennett argued, "If the race is to be regenerated it must be done through the instrumentality of our Native women". This was a view that prominent Maori leader and politician Apirana Ngata endorsed.<sup>5</sup> In their examinations of the politics of Maori girls' schooling Kuni Jenkins and Kay Morris Matthews have argued that both the Church and State viewed Maori women "as critical agents of change in a move away from what they saw as an older Maori world to the more modern world heralded by the arrival of the Pakeha settlers".<sup>6</sup> They argue that both "curriculum documents and church manuscripts point to the fact that it was Maori girls, rather than Maori boys who were charged with bringing about the transformation of Maori society".<sup>7</sup>

This thesis argues additionally that Maori were not simply victims of integration. Writing in opposition to an historiographical tradition that posited Maori as passive victims "who had everything done to them", in a recent article Morris Matthews and Jenkins argue that "Pakeha could only work as far as Maori were prepared to work with them".<sup>8</sup> This thesis charts a middle ground and disrupts the agency/passivity dichotomy. It argues that in the case of mid-twentieth century constructions of integrated and 'ideal' Maori citizens, while there was not the absolute resistance on the part of Maori, there was not absolute domination either. Although in many ways the mid-twentieth century policies aimed at integrating Maori sought to, and in some situations did, continue the colonising objective of assimilation, it is argued that Maori, and in particular Maori women, sometimes negotiated these policies and found agency. Just as James Belich argues that members of the Young Maori Party, and particularly Apirana Ngata, earlier in the century had helped preserve Maoriness through mixing co-operation and engagement with the State with protest,<sup>9</sup> Maori women in the mid-twentieth century in many ways aided the State in implementing policies aimed at the integration of the Maori people. It was by co-operating with the State in the integration of the 'race',<sup>10</sup> that Maori women were able to negotiate and exploit the aspects of the policy aimed at the retention of aspects of Maori culture. It was in their seeming complicity that Maori women

---

<sup>5</sup> Sandra Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since they Won the Vote*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1993, p.198.

<sup>6</sup> Kuni Jenkins and Kay Morris Matthews, "Knowing their Place: the political socialisation of Maori women in New Zealand through schooling policy and practice, 1867-1969", *Women's History Review*, 7, 1 (1998), pp.85-105, p.89. For further elaboration on the politics of Maori girls' schooling see also: Kuni Jenkins and Kay Morris Matthews, *Hukareere and the Politics of Maori Girls' Schooling 1875-1995*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1995, Kay Morris Matthews and Kuni Jenkins, "Whose Country is it anyway? The Construction of a new identity through schooling for Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand", *History of Education*, 28, 3 (1999), pp.339-350.

<sup>7</sup> Jenkins and Morris Matthews, "Knowing their Place", p.89.

<sup>8</sup> Morris Matthews and Jenkins, "Whose Country is it anyway?" p.340.

<sup>9</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.206.

<sup>10</sup> This term is used throughout the thesis with the understanding that 'race' is always a social construction.

were able to resist the potentially overwhelming and colonising integration policies of the mid-twentieth century.

In investigating the production of integrated citizens and an integrated nation, this thesis answers four central questions. Firstly, it explores why integration emerged as the preferred race relations policy in the period 1942-1969; secondly, it explores who argued for, and then subsequently worked towards achieving the objective of integration. Thirdly, it asks how those seeking integrated citizens and an integrated nation sought to achieve their objective. Finally, it asks where integration took place. In answering this, three spaces are explored. It is argued that houses/homes, urban hostels, and bodies were all crucial sites in the construction and production of 'ideal' Maori citizens and mid-twentieth century versions of the New Zealand nation.

## THEMES

Several major themes underwrite this thesis. Domesticity and domestic spaces are shown to be crucial to the policies and processes of urbanisation and integration. Melanie Nolan has shown, in her recent study of New Zealand women and the State,<sup>11</sup> that the New Zealand State "embodied contradictory tendencies on domesticity – promoting it, bending and stretching it, undermining it".<sup>12</sup> Within this thesis, the ways in which the State, aided by various voluntary organisations, sought to utilise domestic spaces and domesticity in the production of ideal Maori citizens are explored. Historically, domesticity and domestic spaces have been crucial in the 'assimilation' of Maori women. Central to the perception of women being crucial agents in the transformation of the 'race' was their acquisition of domestic skills. European women since their arrival in New Zealand sought to 'civilise' Maori women through teaching them appropriate domestic skills.

It was as women in domestic spaces and roles that the mid-twentieth century State targeted Maori women as the key agents of integration. On one level, Maori women embraced this focus and used the traditionally 'feminine' roles and spaces. In doing so, however, they utilised those domestic spaces and roles to resist potential threats to Maoriness. In the lives of mid-twentieth century urbanising Maori women, the home and paid work were never completely separate. As this thesis shows, domesticity was not only crucial for married women in the role of housewives, but it was also crucial for young, single Maori women who entered the paid workforce.

---

<sup>11</sup> Melanie Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State*, University of Canterbury Press, Christchurch, 2000.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p.36.

Following from this, another central theme of the thesis is the political and radical potential of domestic spaces. These spaces have been defined traditionally as belonging to the 'private' sphere and therefore as being apolitical. Despite being designated as part of the feminine and private sphere, domestic spaces are shown to have been of vital interest to mid-twentieth century policy makers intent on the production of ideal Maori citizens. Maori women, in their new urban environments, are shown to have sometimes successfully accommodated and negotiated the ideological intent of State policies, and thus to have exercised agency. That agency was sourced from the base of the supposedly apolitical domestic spaces.

The relationships between several groups constitute further themes in this thesis. Throughout the thesis, the relationship between urban migrants and the tangata whenua of the areas where they moving to are explored. With a focus on Christchurch, I examine the experiences of the tangata whenua, Ngai Tahu in response to a large influx of North Island Maori migrants. Questions of the role and status of the iwi are examined in the context of changing configurations of Maori spaces as multi-tribal. Another significant relationship examined, is the relationship between the State and various voluntary organisations in seeking to produce integrated citizens and the integrated nation. It is shown that the State was not alone in its efforts to integrate Maori, but were aided by Maori themselves through the Maori Women's Welfare League, and by a raft of largely religious voluntary organisations. Influenced by Margaret Tennant's work on the place of the voluntary sector in New Zealand's welfare economy, it is argued that in aiding the State, those voluntary organisations occupied "an important place, complementing rather rivalling the more extensive role of the State".<sup>13</sup>

A further central theme of this thesis, concerns the changing imaginations and constructions of the New Zealand nation. Over recent decades, there has been a move away from seeing the 'nation' as a solely sovereign political entity. It is now widely accepted that nations are constructions and inventions; that it is nationalisms that invent nations where they did not previously exist.<sup>14</sup> Nations, in the words of Benedict Anderson, are understood as "imagined communities";<sup>15</sup> that is, as systems of cultural representations where people come

---

<sup>13</sup> Margaret Tennant, "Sisterly Ministrations: The Social Work of Protestant Deaconesses in New Zealand 1890 - 1940", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 32, 1 (1998), pp.3-22, p.22.

<sup>14</sup> There is a large and growing international body of literature concerned with the creation and invention of nations and nationalism, see for example: Patricia Grimshaw et al, *Creating a Nation*, McPhee Gribble, Ringwood, Victoria, 1994, Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terrance O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, Luke Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism: Manipulation, conflict, and compromise in the late nineteenth century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994.

<sup>15</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso,

to imagine a shared experience with an imagined community.<sup>16</sup> With mid-twentieth Maori urbanisation came a destabilisation of the geographic and social boundaries between Maori and Pakeha, and the ways in which New Zealanders constructed and invented the ‘imagined community’ of New Zealand became increasingly fraught and contested.<sup>17</sup>

Although Maori motifs and supposed harmonious race relations had been central to constructions of New Zealand’s national identity since the late nineteenth century,<sup>18</sup> Maori themselves in their rural communities had been largely peripheral to the ‘nation’. With the mid-twentieth population movement to the cities and towns, spaces in which the majority of the Pakeha population resided, the place of Maori within constructions of the nation began to shift. The performance of sanctioned aspects of Maori culture by both Maori and Pakeha came to be seen by many politicians and bureaucrats as exemplifying New Zealand’s reputation as a bi-cultural nation. ‘Maoriness’ also assumed an increased importance in constructions of the nation in the context of the State seeking to define and market New Zealand as a destination in the rapidly expanding post-war tourism market. Maori, however, and particularly Maori women, worked within the construction of Maori and Pakeha as “one people” and in doing so sought to move their involvement in the New Zealand nation beyond the symbolic. In the cities and towns, Maori women worked to ensure that Maori language and culture did not become an ancient relic; inside their homes and in the hostels it was Maori women who sought to school both Maori and Pakeha in ‘Maoriness’. From its inception, the Maori Women’s Welfare League sought to have Waitangi Day, the day when Hobson declared Maori and Pakeha “one people”, declared as a day central to the nation. To the women of the League, the 6<sup>th</sup> of February was the nation’s birthday and as such they sought to have it made a national holiday.<sup>19</sup>

## THE POLITICS OF WRITING THE THESIS

Questions abound over the politics of a Pakeha scholar writing and researching a thesis that explores the creation and production of ‘ideal’ Maori citizens and the integrated nation. In recent years the politics of writing history has become an increasingly problematised issue. Historians are increasingly becoming aware that the writing of history entails issues of representation, which in itself contains issues of epistemology and ideology.

---

London, 1991.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, pp.4, 6-7.

<sup>17</sup> Barbara Brookes, “Nostalgia for ‘Innocent Homely Pleasures’: The 1964 New Zealand Controversy over Washday at the Pa”, in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp.210-225, pp.212-213.

<sup>18</sup> Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.204.

<sup>19</sup> Bodkin to Love, 16 May 1952, MS-Papers-1996-019; Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1969, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

Writing of the politics of history in imperial and colonial contexts, Himani Bannerji reminds us that the project of writing history, and the representations involved in these projects presents us with a great deal of complexity.<sup>20</sup> Through the writing of history, historians have the ability to make the absent present, and the invisible visible. It is through historical scholarship that many historical subjects and moments, distant through time and space, enter into knowledge. Works of history, then, are “represented, constructed, and narrated existences” that according to Bannerji are “only too obviously discursive and perspectival”.<sup>21</sup> She warns that without any negative intention on the scholar’s part, works of history become imbued deeply with the ideological knowledge frameworks of their writers. Their chosen forms of representations may or may not “permit certain presences or visibilities”.<sup>22</sup> As the critics of post-colonial theory have cautioned, the “projects of recovery”, of rendering the invisible visible, “may continue, produce, and reinforce conceptual practices of power”.<sup>23</sup>

Although a contested term, post-colonialism is understood in this thesis as a perspective that seeks to critique and to undermine the project of colonisation.<sup>24</sup> In line with the literature exploring New Zealand colonial history, when applying these theories to New Zealand’s past, it is important to recognise that the ‘post’ in post-colonialism does not, as is sometimes assumed, imply that New Zealand is out of the colonising phase and has now entered a new phase of de-colonisation. A post-colonial reading seeks to unsettle and challenge the authority of colonisation and colonialism and to highlight its ambivalence and diversity. Through such a critique, colonisation is revealed in both texts and contexts as an artificial and multi-layered construct. In the case of this thesis, a post-colonial approach shows mid-twentieth century Maori urbanisations and the policies of integration to be colonising narratives imposed on Maori.

There are, however, limitations of post-colonial theory that need to be acknowledged and recognised. Critics have pointed to the potentially homogenising and universalising tendencies of the approach. Although the fundamental aim of the approach is one of political liberation, care needs to be taken not to re-inscribe colonialist discourses through application of the theories. There is a danger in the approach that colonists emerge as one-dimensional

---

<sup>20</sup> Himani Bannerji, “Politics and the Writing of History”, in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998, pp.287-301, On the racial politics of research in New Zealand see: Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Zed Books and the University of Otago Press, London; Dunedin, 1999.

<sup>21</sup> Bannerji, “Politics and the Writing of History”, p.287.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p.288.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. It must be stressed, however, such a caution is not confined solely to post-colonial approaches, for example such a critique could equally be applied to the abstract individualism of liberalism.

<sup>24</sup> See for example two of the formative post-colonial texts: Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London and New York, 1994, Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Routledge and Keagan Paul, London, 1978.

agents of imperialism, and indigenous people as victims. Such a conceptualisation does justice to neither the colonised nor the coloniser, and obscures the past through oversimplification. Therefore, in this thesis, rather than see mid-twentieth century Maori solely as hapless victims of a coercive and hegemonic Pakeha State and society, the ways that Maori resisted are examined. Just as scholars have shown how nineteenth century Maori exercised agency in the face of a colonising power,<sup>25</sup> post-war Maori, and in particular women's, apparent complicity and accommodation, are shown to include powerful modes of resistance and negotiation.<sup>26</sup> The women in this thesis, far from being powerless victims, used their positions within colonialist discourses to better the material lives of Maori, preserve their different cultural values, and assert the role of Maori women in the changing configurations of post-war Maori society.

It is particularly within feminist scholarship that issues surrounding the politics of writing history have surfaced in recent decades. In her seminal 1991 essay, Chandra Talpade Mohanty argued that colonisation had "come to denote a variety of phenomena in recent feminist and left writings in general",<sup>27</sup> but almost always it implies a relationship of "structural domination and suppression ... of the subject(s) in question".<sup>28</sup> Mohanty posits, and many after her have concurred, that first-world feminisms are colonising discourses themselves. She maintains that Western feminisms have constructed and produced 'Third World Woman' as a singular and monolithic subject, and in doing so has appropriated and colonised the constitutive complexities of the lives of many indigenous women and women of colour.<sup>29</sup>

It has been argued by feminist scholars, both black and white, that it is racism that underlies white women academics' prerogative to 'speak on behalf' of black women. As early as 1984, black American radical feminist, bell hooks argued that it was racism that allowed white feminists and academics to "construct feminist theory and praxis in such a way that it is far removed from anything resembling radical struggle". She argued that despite token inclusions of black women within feminist academia and organisations, white feminists

<sup>25</sup> Ann Parsonson, "The Challenge to Mana Maori", in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.167-198.

<sup>26</sup> This is a view that is being developed in the international literature particularly in relation to indigenous women. See for example: Julia Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*, University of California Press, Berkley, 1994, Frances Gouda and Julia Clancy-Smith, "Introduction", in Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, eds, *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1998, pp.1-20.

<sup>27</sup> Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes:Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses", in Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds, *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1991, pp.51-80, p.52.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, pp.51-54.

were ‘totally unwilling to surrender hegemonic dominance of theory and praxis’.<sup>30</sup> Nearly ten years later, Anna Yeatman, a white woman academic, advanced similar arguments.<sup>31</sup> Yeatman identified that historically some members of dominant groups had chosen to champion causes, to represent those who in the past had been voiceless. For example, in feminist circles, both activist and academic, middle-class white women had the prerogative to speak on behalf of women who were less fortunate and privileged than themselves. Like hooks, Yeatman identified that it was from racism and a history of oppression that white women gained this prerogative.

This has led some coloured women scholars to claim exclusivity in the examination of coloured women’s lives. In the United States there has been a lively debate amongst black feminist scholars for the last thirty or so years. In 1977, Barbara Smith published her path-breaking article, “Toward a Black Feminist Criticism” in which she argued that a body of shared experiences exists that shapes black women’s language, literary and cultural practices.<sup>32</sup> The implication of this was that only someone who has access to this shared body of experiences can adequately study black women. By the 1980s and 1990s, some black feminists were challenging this view by arguing that black feminist criticism could not afford to be essential and ahistorical. They argued that the position of Smith and others reduced the experiences of black women to a common denominator. In the early 1990s, black feminist scholar Kimberlè Crenshaw argued instead for the lives of women of colour to be analysed in terms of ‘intersectionality’- the interactions of race, gender, and class as they shape lives and social practices.<sup>33</sup>

In New Zealand, the question of Pakeha scholars studying the Maori past has become increasingly problematic in recent years. From the early 1980s, Maori academics such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Ranginui Walker both identified research as historically being a colonising discourse for Maori.<sup>34</sup> Into the 1990s, some Maori scholars began to question the

<sup>30</sup> bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre*, South End Press, Boston, 1984, p.53.

<sup>31</sup> Anna Yeatman, “Voices and representation in the politics of difference”, in S. Gunew and A. Yeatman, eds, *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, [NSW], 1993, pp.228-45.

<sup>32</sup> Barbara Smith, “Toward a black feminist criticism”, in Judith Newton and Deborah Rosenfelt, eds, *Feminist criticism and social change : sex, class, and race in literature and culture*, Methuen, New York, 1985, pp.3-18.

<sup>33</sup> For an articulation of this argument see: Kimberle Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color”, in Martha Albertson Fineman and Rixanne Mykitiuk, eds, *The Public Nature of Private Violence*, Routledge, New York, 1994, pp.93-118.

<sup>34</sup> Ranginui Walker, “Educational replanning for a multicultural society”, in G. Robinson and B. O’Rourke, eds, *New Zealand Society: A Book of Readings*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1980, quoted in Patricia Maringi G. Johnston, “Maori Women and the Politics of Theorising Difference”, in Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice, eds, *Feminist Thought in Aotearoa/ New Zealand: Connections and Differences*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998, p.34. For Tuhiwai Smith see an early paper discussed in Johnston, “Maori Women and the Politics of Theorising Difference”, p.34, and her monograph for a more recent articulation of her arguments: Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies*.

appropriateness of Pakeha researchers undertaking research on the Maori past. In 1991, Joseph Pere claimed that some Pakeha practitioners of Maori history “do not necessarily relate to the important values, beliefs and attitudes of our [Maori] institutions”,<sup>35</sup> and as such needed to consult and work with iwi.<sup>36</sup> In a similar view, Maori feminist academic, Patricia Johnston wrote “the prerogative of exploring difference, of reclaiming difference, of reclaiming our identities, of becoming visible in positive ways, lies clearly with Maori women...”<sup>37</sup>

Such a view has not gone unchallenged by Pakeha historians. In a recent article in the *New Zealand Journal of History*, Angela Ballara outlined some of the problems facing Pakeha historians engaged in cross-cultural historical scholarship.<sup>38</sup> She acknowledged the lack of cultural understanding that Pakeha scholars may bring to the field of Maori history, but asked the question “are the difficulties for most modern Maori scholars not essentially the same as those for Pakeha historians?”<sup>39</sup> Ballara concluded that scholars, be they Maori or Pakeha, needed to fully understand the wider cultural, political, and colonial context of any sources used, and to acknowledge that the “practice of academic history is not the recapture of a set of fixed events waiting to be related; it is a phase of reconstruction of the past, a part of a debate”.<sup>40</sup> Eight years prior to the publication of that article, in 1992, Pakeha feminist historians Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant had also explored the concept of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ in New Zealand history. They posed the question of who was entitled to write about particular categories of women.<sup>41</sup> Brookes and Tennant pointed out that just as male historians had hesitated to write about the history of women, so some Pakeha feminist historians had felt it improper to write about Maori in history.<sup>42</sup> Historically, they argued, Pakeha feminist historians aware that gender differences were “antithetical to racial solidarity” had maintained a “respectful distance” from Maori women’s history.<sup>43</sup> New Zealand feminist historians were, however, aware that the maintenance of such a distance had resulted in the perpetuation of the invisibility of Maori women in the writing and teaching of

---

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Anaru Hetekia Tekani Pere, “Hitori Maori”, in Colin Davis and Peter Lineham, eds, *The Future of the Past: Themes in New Zealand History*, Department of History, Massey University, Palmerston North, 1991, p.45.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, pp.45-46.

<sup>37</sup> Johnston, “Maori Women and the Politics of Theorising Difference”, p.29.

<sup>38</sup> Angela Ballara, “‘I riro i te hoko’: Problems in Cross-Cultural Historical Scholarship”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1 (2000), pp.20-33.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.29.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.33.

<sup>41</sup> Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant, “Maori and Pakeha Women: Many Histories, Divergent Pasts?” in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, and Margaret Tennant, eds, *Women in history 2*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992, pp.25-48.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p.29.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.



New Zealand women's history. It has often been, according to the authors, "easier, less painful, to homogenise women's experience, or to insert a hurried 'of course things were different for Maori women', and move on".<sup>44</sup>

Brookes and Tennant argued that some historians drew a distinction between Maori tribal histories and histories of cultural interaction. It is the histories of cultural interaction that they argue Pakeha historians have been more comfortable in producing, and in these have indeed made significant and crucial contributions.<sup>45</sup> Unlike comparable Australian works, however, these studies have not confronted the issue of gender difference in the contacts. Writing in the early 1990s, Brookes and Tennant argued that the time had come in New Zealand history for historians of New Zealand women "to look more systematically at the two histories of women in New Zealand, in order to tease out dimensions to the experience of both".<sup>46</sup> They argued that many of the existing themes in New Zealand women's history "may take on quite a different cast if viewed for the point of intersection of race and gender".<sup>47</sup> It is from this call, for what Crenshaw coined around the same time 'intersectionality', that this thesis derives.

## SOURCES

### *Archival and Published Sources*

The thesis draws on a variety of sources to examine the policies, processes, and practices of urbanisation and integration. This discussion explores the sources used in broad-brush strokes, and does not provide an exhaustive commentary of the sources consulted in researching this thesis. The 'official record' of the Department of Maori Affairs files, along with papers from various other Government departments and agencies (the Department of Labour, the Tourist and Publicity Department, and the State Advances Corporation, later the Housing Corporation) and their annual reports published in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* form a valuable source. Adding to the archival material available, given the contemporary nature of the period under examination, there is also a particularly rich stream of published primary material. Various Government departments, academics, social commentators, and church groups published a large number of books,

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> This is a large and growing field, but for some seminal contributions see: Angela Ballara, *Proud to be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand*, Heinemann, Auckland, 1986, James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1988, Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2001, Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Allen and Unwin in association with the Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1987, Parsonson, "The Challenge to Mana Maori", Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'amalgamation' in nineteenth century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1995.

<sup>46</sup> Brookes and Tennant, "Maori and Pakeha Women", p.30.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

pamphlets, and articles analysing and commentating on urbanisation and integration as it occurred. Likewise, contemporary newspapers ran many articles dealing with aspects of the urbanising and integrating processes. In particular, this thesis utilises the commentary and opinion that appeared in the *Christchurch Press*. From all of these records, it is possible to discern some of the actions, motives, and agendas of the State and its agencies. Many of these sources also, often inadvertently, reveal a Maori narrative of the policies and processes. The records of both the Maori Women's Welfare League and the various church organisations, involved in the administration of urban hostels, provide a particularly rich source that not only further illuminates the State's agendas and desires, but also shows a counter-narrative of Maori resistance and accommodation.

In a similar vein the Department of Maori Affairs publication, *Te Ao Hou*, is a particularly vital source. Originally mooted in 1950,<sup>48</sup> but first published in 1952, but, the explicit aim of the quarterly publication was to "stimulate the social, economic, cultural, and spiritual development of the Maori people".<sup>49</sup> Entitled *Te Ao Hou* (The New World), the magazine sought to educate the Maori population on the requirements of the 'modern' and Pakeha world, particularly those moving to new urban homes. Thought to be especially useful in implementing welfare policy, the publication sought to illuminate issues such as health, education, housing, and household budgeting.<sup>50</sup> Edited by Eric Schwimmer, a Dutch immigrant to New Zealand in 1946 who had worked for the Department of Maori Affairs,<sup>51</sup> the publication sought to appeal to the Maori population by producing a magazine "in the vernacular" with around eighty percent of articles written in English.<sup>52</sup> Authors of material appearing in the publication were either Maori or had close daily contact with Maori.<sup>53</sup> By the late 1950s, *Te Ao Hou* was sold to 2.5 per cent of Maori, but its readership is unknown. Given the size of many Maori families and the continuing communal nature of many Maori communities, it is likely that the readership was significantly higher than indicated by the sales figures.<sup>54</sup>

The magazine is invaluable for ascertaining Government policy and State attitudes and agendas, although its worth as a source is far greater than this. From the time the publication

---

<sup>48</sup> Ropiha to the Director, Tourist and Publicity Department, 28 November 1950, MA 1, AccW2490, 46/1, Vol.1, Box 199, Wellington, ANZ.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Memorandum for the Controller Maori Social and Economic Advancement, MA 1, AccW2490, 46/1, Vol.1, Box 199, Wellington, ANZ.

<sup>51</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 22 July 1952, MA 1, W2490, 46/1, Vol.1, Box 199, Wellington, ANZ.

<sup>52</sup> Statement Describing the Policy of "Te Ao Hou", 2 August 1957, MA 1, W2490, 46/1, Vol.1, Box 199, Wellington, ANZ.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. One copy of the magazine was undoubtedly read by multiple people – for example Rehua hostel subscribed to the magazine that was therefore available for all the residents of the hostel to read.

was initially mooted, T. T. Ropiha, the Under-Secretary of Maori Affairs, insisted that it be not merely a vehicle for “propaganda purposes”.<sup>55</sup> Although containing information on the legislation and policies administered by the Department of Maori Affairs, it was largely devoted to news and discussion of Maori life, arts and crafts, legends, farming, sports, and to providing a forum for the publication of writing by Maori authors. These reports and discussions provide a unique window into the changing Maori world. Another invaluable source contained in the publication are the advertisements that appeared in it. Increasingly during the 1950s, New Zealand businesses began to target their products to Maori via the pages of *Te Ao Hou*.

### ***Life Stories and oral evidence***

Through archival records and publications such as *Te Ao Hou*, it is possible to assemble fragments and representations of the Maori experiences of, and attitudes to urbanisation and integration. It is oral histories and personal communications, however, which yielded the greatest body of material for examining how Maori participated in and resisted the policies and processes. In all, I conducted thirteen interviews myself, received written personal communications from a further three people, and inter-loaned an additional 12 interviews from the Alexander Turnbull Library’s Oral history Centre.

The group of people that I interviewed myself were accessed by the snowball method: each interviewee would be asked to refer another person or person who might have been willing to participate in the project. The thirteen people comprised both men and women, and Maori and Pakeha. All lived in Christchurch. Interviewees were given the option of having me come to their home or workplace to conduct the interview, or coming to visit me at the University. All but one of the interviews were conducted in either the homes or workplaces of those being interviewed. Six Pakeha women were interviewed; two of whom were in or had been in ‘mixed-marriages’ in Christchurch during the period under investigation. Of the remaining four women, three were involved in Pakeha women’s organisations that worked with Maori in Christchurch during the 1950s and 1960s, and the remaining woman was a resident of a Christchurch hostel that accommodated both Maori and Pakeha women in the 1960s. The remaining seven interviewees were Maori. Comprising two Maori women (both former residents at Roseneath House, a Maori girls’ hostel in Christchurch), and five Maori men. Three of the men had been residents at Rehua hostel in the 1950s and 1960s, another had migrated to Christchurch of his own accord in the 1960s and married a local Pakeha

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

woman, and the fifth interviewee recounted his family history of migration from Northland to Auckland during the 1950s and 1960s.

In attempting to contact further interviewees, I encountered some reluctance, particularly among Maori. In the case of the Rehua research, the contemporaneous production of a documentary involving some of the ex-residents of the hostel led many of the men to believe that they had already told their stories, and they considered that it would be sufficient for me to view the documentary. Additionally, many of those who declined to be interviewed cited work pressure and lack of time to take part in the project. In the case of Maori women, it was simply harder to gain access to women who had been resident in either Rehua in its incarnation as a Maori Girls' hostel (no interviewees were located), or in Roseneath House. The two women from Roseneath House, who I did manage to locate, came via Rehua networks – both were married to ex-Rehua residents. The contacts that both these women passed to me eventually led to dead ends, with the suggested interviewees either being unwilling to be interviewed, or having moved from the supplied address.

The voices of Maori women in particular, however, were able to be supplemented both through published reminiscences and through inter-lending taped interviews from the Oral History Centre at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. The interviews used from this source provided breadth to my own oral archive, in that they included interviews from a group of people, and particularly women, who migrated to the cities during World War II, and also covered a greater geographical area than did my Christchurch based project.

Additional to my own oral history project and to the tapes loaned from the Turnbull library, a number of oral reminiscences published in recent years have also been utilised in this thesis. *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatua*, *Growing up Maori*, and *The Silent Migration*<sup>56</sup> all contain stories of Maori experiences of urban migration, of living in urban environments, and of the processes of integration. All three of the collections contain life stories from a wide variety of Maori, from diverse backgrounds and locations. In these collections, the testimony of individuals are mediated insofar as basic questions are asked and removed from the published text. In particular, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatua*, which contains reminiscences from the founding members of the Maori Women's Welfare League, was invaluable in examining the activities and motives of the League. *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatua* is not primarily a history of the Maori Women's Welfare League. Although a potted history of the League is peppered

---

<sup>56</sup> Patricia Grace, Irihapeti Ramsden, and Jonathan Dennis, eds, *The Silent Migration: Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948*, Huia, Wellington, 2001, Witi Ihimaera, ed, *Growing up Maori*, Tandem Press, Auckland, 1998, Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993.

throughout the narratives, it is rather a record of the members' lives, aspirations, and values. Significantly, in this collection well over half the narratives are in Maori. The remainder are in English, and some are produced in both languages, the informants switching between languages sometimes in mid-sentence. There is, however, no translation of the Maori texts offered to the reader. The compilers of this collection considered translation would mean imposing other words on the narrators; these were the stories of the women, and should therefore be told only in their words.<sup>57</sup> Biographies and autobiographies of a number of mid-twentieth Maori women have also been a useful source.<sup>58</sup>

Another important source of life experiences has been Mike McRoberts' documentary *White Sheep*,<sup>59</sup> that aired on New Zealand television (TV1) on 24 April 2000. This documentary interviewed a group of men who lived in Rehua Hostel during the 1950s and 1960s, and traced how their migration to Christchurch had impacted on their lives. This documentary included ex-hostel residents that I had interviewed, but importantly McRoberts, the son of an ex-resident, had access to a wider group than did I. In the documentary, McRoberts also concentrated upon the families of the men, and paid specific attention to inter-marriage. In exploring this aspect of the men's pasts, the documentary contained interviews with several Pakeha women who married Maori residents of Rehua in the 1950s and 1960s.

## STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Chapter Two places this thesis within the existing New Zealand historiography, discussing how it expands and challenges this literature. It explores the notion of Maori citizenship, and argues that in the mid-twentieth century the State came to understand ideal Maori citizenship in gendered terms. Chapter Three considers how prior to the mass urbanisation of Maori in the mid-twentieth century the nation was spatially configured along racial lines, and how that mass population movement shifted configurations of the nation. It also considers the central question as to why Maori urbanisation and integration occurred, and argues that a complex tangle of Maori desires, race relations aspirations, economic interests, and the context of the Cold War drove the relevant policies and processes. Additionally it

---

<sup>57</sup> Siobhan McKimmey, "Representation and Self-Presentation: The Use of Oral History in Texts about Maori Women", *Women's Studies Journal*, 13, 1 (1997), pp.31-39, p.34.

<sup>58</sup> See: Mihi Edwards, *Mihipeka: Early Years*, Penguin, Auckland, 1990, Mihi Edwards, *Mihipeka : time of turmoil -Nga wa raruraru*, Penguin, Auckland, 1992, Michael King, *Te Puea: A Biography*, Hodder and Stoughton, Auckland, 1977, Michael King, *Whina: A Biography of Whina Cooper*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1991, Amiria Stirling and Anne Slamond, *Amiria: The Life Story of a Maori Woman*, Reed, Auckland, 1995, Heeni Wharemaru and Mary Katherine Duffié, *Heeni: A Tainui Elder Remembers*, Harper Collins, Auckland, 1997.

<sup>59</sup> Mike McRoberts, "White Sheep" in *Documentary New Zealand*, ed, Alan Barnes (2000).

explores the notion of integration in relation to both individual Maori and the New Zealand nation as a whole.

Houses and homes, and the suburbs where they were located, are shown in Chapter Four to have been historically understood as part of the private and feminine sphere, and therefore apolitical. Chapter Four re-casts these spaces as having been historically crucial to the production of 'ideal' citizens in both the New Zealand and international contexts. Such a re-casting of the space is then further complicated through analysing it in terms of race, and it is argued that housing was integral to the mid-twentieth century production of ideal Maori citizens. Housing was a means of facilitating the urbanisation of Maori and of then integrating Maori in their new urban environments. Chapter Five enters these houses and focuses on the homes Maori made in the cities. Feminist analyses of the home are examined and it is concluded that it was in traditionally feminine roles as guardians of the private sphere that Maori women sourced the support and resources of the New Zealand State. With the mother, child, and home relationship as the cornerstone of their organisation, it was as modern Maori housewives that members of the Maori Women's Welfare League aided the State in the construction of Maori as modern, integrated, and therefore, ideal Maori citizens. As the exemplars of domesticity, members of the League not only supplanted Pakeha women's organisations in their efforts to 'civilise' Maori women through domesticity. Maori women members of the League also gained a space from which to speak on a variety of issues affecting Maori in the mid-twentieth century. It was from the supposedly apolitical space of the home that Maori women members of the League sought to reinvent their culture in the urban environments. It was also from the domestic space of the home that League members gained the power to advocate for a greater place for Maori in changing configurations of the New Zealand nation.

Chapters Six and Seven move beyond 'family' homes located in the cities and towns of New Zealand and focus instead on Maori urban hostels. In Chapter Six, it is argued that the State shifted from its wartime and immediate post-war aim to provide hostels as a means to protect young Maori women. The State's position changed to one underwritten by its belief in the relative ease with which young Maori women integrated, to provide hostels as a means to integrate young Maori men. Young Maori women, it was believed, could integrate without the aid of traditional hostels. Just as chapter Five entered the houses located in the suburbs, Chapter Seven goes inside the hostels, and in particular Rehua hostel, and argues that these were spaces that sought to mimic stereotypical family homes and were thus gendered spaces. In order for the hostels to be successful sites in the integration of their young male

charges, women in the role of matron were required to fulfil traditionally feminine and maternal roles. These women, who were usually Maori, like their housewife counterparts, managed to negotiate their roles. Rather than seeking to merely modernise and integrate their young charges, the women who served as matrons of the hostels also sought to foster Maoriness and Maori culture inside the hostels. Not only was this fostering of language and culture important to the young charges, but it also meant that the hostels became crucial sites in the creation of Maori spaces in the cities.

Chapter Eight explores the body as a site where the integration of Maori was to take place. Policy makers believed that one of the most expedient routes to achieving both integrated citizens and the integrated nation was through the literal biological blending of Maori and Pakeha. In that chapter the ways in which miscegenation has historically been viewed in New Zealand are examined, and mid-twentieth century attitudes are placed within this larger historical context. Bodies were also important sites for the construction of ideal Maori citizens among those not 'biologically blended'. Through the use of fashion and cosmetics, Maori, and particularly Maori women, were targeted with the message that bodily modernity equated with social worth and ideal citizenship. In wearing the latest fashions and through the correct use of cosmetics, Maori women received the message that through their bodies they could signify their belonging in the cities and towns. This chapter argues, however, that this was not a simple manipulation of an unsuspecting Maori population, instead Maori women instead often keenly adopted current fashions and cosmetics for their own fulfilment.

Chapter Nine brings the thesis full-circle back to the nation. In this chapter, representations of three young Maori women are studied. It is argued that in the climate of State beliefs about the supposed ease with which young Maori women integrated, these three women and their bodies became exemplars and embodiments of the policies. Images of the women as modern and therefore ideal Maori citizens coupled with images of the women 'going native' combined to produce a set of representations that were useful in both representing the success of the policy of integration to domestic and international audiences, and in constructing New Zealand's national identity. It is argued that constructions of national identity, and inclusion of Maori women as 'Maori maidens' within those constructions were vital in the context of New Zealand establishing itself in the rapidly expanding international tourist market. Like housewives and matrons, however, these women were able to negotiate these potentially colonising images, and in some cases used the

representations as a means to foster and promote Maori culture in the context of the mid-twentieth century integrated nation.

## CONCLUSION

During the period between 1942-1969, the mass movement of Maori from their rural communities to the city, towns, and boroughs of New Zealand aided in dissolving the fiction that New Zealand was a unitary and undifferentiated nation. As Maori and Pakeha increasingly encountered each other in the 'contact zones' of the growing post-war suburbs, it became increasingly apparent to many that the notion of 'one people' that underwrote many constructions of the nation was more myth than reality. Throughout this period, however, the State and in many cases Maori themselves sought to create 'modern', integrated, and therefore ideal Maori citizens. Many Pakeha believed the successful integration of Maori would lead to a realisation of Hobson's dream; that New Zealanders a century after the signing of the Treaty would become "one people". Maori, however, believed in an alternate dream; the bi-cultural nation. Throughout the period 1942-1969, Maori, and particularly Maori women, sought to create a nation that recognised Maori as more than mere symbols of the nation; they sought a nation where Maori helped constitute the imagined community of the nation.



## chapter two:

# Literature Review

There is no one body of New Zealand historical scholarship that this thesis seeks to contribute to or revise. Instead, several seemingly disparate bodies are involved. In this Chapter, I outline the main areas of scholarship to which this thesis makes a contribution. In general terms these areas are the literature dealing with the mid-twentieth century Maori urbanisations; literature examining the history of New Zealand women; examinations of post-war New Zealand; and the body of work that explores constructions of the New Zealand nation and the place of colonialism and colonisations in those constructions. It also examines the literature examining citizenship. It demonstrates the ways that changing notions of citizenship, and modernity occupied a central place in the mid-twentieth century urbanisation and integration of Maori.

## URBANISATION LITERATURE

Despite the importance of the mid-twentieth century Maori urbanisation to New Zealand, relatively few scholarly examinations of the population movement exist. This is even more surprising given that recently James Belich has labelled the urbanisation “the fifth great revolution of Maori history”. He places the mass wartime and post-war movement to the cities as coming after only the adaptations to Aotearoa itself, to the demise of big game, and to European contact and conquest. Writing at the beginning of the twenty-first century, he maintains that New Zealand is still in the middle of that revolution.<sup>1</sup> What studies and analyses that do exist were largely produced contemporaneously with the migrations. These and subsequent examinations can crudely be divided into three approaches. There is a body of work that explores the processes and geographical movement of the people,<sup>2</sup> another body

<sup>1</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.467.

<sup>2</sup> See for example: R.M. Frazer, “Patterns of Maori Migration: An East Coast Example”, in R.J. Johnston and J. Soons, eds, *Proceedings of the sixth New Zealand Geography Conference*, Christchurch, 1971, pp.209-215, L.D.B. Heenan, “A Pioneer Community to Urbanised Society: A Geographical Interpretation of Population Change in the South Island 1881-1961”, PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1969, L.D.B. Heenan, “The Changing South Island Maori Population”, *New Zealand Geographer*, 22, 2 (1966), pp.125-165, J.R. McCreary, “Population Growth and Urbanisation”, in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the nineteen-sixties: a symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp.187-204, Joan Metge, *A New Maori Migration: Rural and Urban Relations in Northern New Zealand*, The Athlone Press, London, 1964, D.I. Pool, “Maoris in Auckland: a Population Study”, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 70 (1961), pp.43-66, D.I. Pool, “The Rural-Urban Migration of Maoris: A Demographic Analysis”, *Pacific Viewpoint*, 7, 1 (1966), pp.88-96, D.I. Pool, “Post War Trends in Maori Population”, *Population Studies*, 21, 2 (1967), pp.87-98, Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population, Past, Present and Projected*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1991, M.F. Poulsen, “Internal Maori Migration, 1951-69”, MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1970, M.F. Poulsen and R.J. Johnston, “Patterns of Maori Migration”, in R.J. Johnston, ed, *Urbanisation in New Zealand*, Reed Education,

considers the reasons for the movements,<sup>3</sup> and the third considers Maori in their new urban contexts.<sup>4</sup> Additionally several newer synthesising works exist, which marry several aspects of the migrations.<sup>5</sup> Scholars found the population movement to be both varied and complex, with World War II acting as a catalyst in the acceleration of an already occurring population movement. Following the war, while some migrated directly from a rural area to a city, some used other rural areas and small towns as stepping-stones en route to the big cities.<sup>6</sup> The reasons for migration were shown to be complex also, with most scholars seeing the population movement being spurred by a variety of inter-related 'push' and 'pull' factors. Pushing Maori from their rural homes was acute over-population in relation to limited resources, the economic marginality of many Maori farms, high rural unemployment, and the generally slow rate of regional development in parts of New Zealand most heavily populated

---

Wellington, 1973, pp.150-174, M.F. Poulsen, D.T. Rowland, and R.J. Johnston, "Patterns of Maori Migration in New Zealand", in Leszek A. Kosinski and R. Mansell Prothero, eds, *People on the Move: Studies on internal migration*, Methuen & Co, London, 1975, pp.309-324, D.T. Rowland, "Processes of Maori Urbanisation", *The New Zealand Geographer*, 28 (1972), pp.1-22, D.T. Rowland, "The Maori Population of the Auckland Urban Area: A Study of their Distribution, Mobility and Selective Demographic and Social Characteristics", MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1969, D.T. Rowland, "Maori Migration to Auckland", *New Zealand Geographer*, 27, 1 (1971), pp.21-57.

<sup>3</sup> See for example: H. Belshaw, "Maori Economic Circumstances", in I.L.G. Sutherland, ed, *The Maori People Today: A General Survey*, New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1940, pp.182-228, G.V. Butterworth, *The Maori in the New Zealand Economy*, Department of Industries and Commerce, Wellington, 1967, G.V. Butterworth, "A Rural Maori Renaissance? Maori Society and Politics, 1920-1951", *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 81, 2 (1972), pp.160-195, R.J. Mardle, "The Growth of a Multi-racial Society in New Zealand", in R.H. Brookes and I.H. Kawharu, eds, *Administration in New Zealand's Multi-racial Society*, Institute of Public Administration (Oxford University Press, London), Wellington, 1967, pp.15-40, J.M. McEwen, "Urbanisation and the Multi-racial Society", in R.H. Brookes and I.H. Kawharu, eds, *Administration in New Zealand's Multi-racial Society*, Institute of Public Administration (Oxford University Press, London), Wellington, 1967, pp.75-84, Metge, *A New Maori Migration*, Robert Miles, "Summoned By Capital", in P. Spoonley, ed, *Tauīwi: Racism and Ethnicity in New Zealand*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1984, pp.223-43, David Pearson, *A Dream Deferred: The Origins of Ethnic Conflict in New Zealand*, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1990, Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*.

<sup>4</sup> See for example: M. Jocelyn Armstrong, "Maori Identity in the South Island of New Zealand: Ethnic Identity Development in a Migration Context", *Oceania*, 57, 3 (1987), pp.195-216, Manuhua Barcham, "The challenge of urban Maori: reconciling concepts of indigeneity and social change", *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 39, 3 (1998), pp.303-314, Emma Davies, "The History of Nga Hau E Wha National Marae", B.A. (Hons) long essay, University of Canterbury, 1999, I.H. Kawharu, "Urban Immigrants and Tangata Whenua", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the nineteen-sixties: a symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp.174-186, Roger C.A. Maaka, "The New Tribe: Conflicts and Continuities in the Social Organisation of Urban Maori", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6, 2 (1994), pp.311-336, James Ritchie, "The Evidence for Anti-Maori Prejudice", in James Ritchie, ed, *Race Realities: Six New Zealand Studies*, Department of Psychology, Victoria University, Wellington, 1964, pp.85-99, Jane Ritchie, "Together or Apart: A Note on Urban Maori Residential Preferences", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 70, 2 (1961), pp.194-199, Jane Ritchie, "Contact and Attitudes in the City", in James Ritchie, ed, *Race Realities: Six New Zealand Studies*, Department of Psychology, Victoria University, Wellington, 1964, pp.75-84, Erik Schwimmer, *The World of the Maori*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1966, Erik Schwimmer, "The Maori and the Government", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the nineteen-sixties: a symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp.328-350.

<sup>5</sup> See for example: M.P.K. Sorrenson, "Modern Maori: The Young Maori Party to Mana Motuhake", in Keith Sinclair, ed, *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1997, pp.323-351, Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1990, Walker, "Maori People Since 1950".

<sup>6</sup> See for example: Heenan, "A Pioneer Community", Heenan, "South Island Maori Population", Metge, *A New Maori Migration*, Poulsen and Johnston, "Patterns of Maori Migration", Poulsen, Rowland, and Johnston, "Patterns of Maori Migration", Rowland, "Processes of Maori Urbanisation", Rowland, "The Maori Population of the Auckland Urban Area".

by Maori. Pulling Maori to the cities were the lure of better social and employment opportunities; or as Metge describes the search for “the big three” factors of work, money, and pleasure”.<sup>7</sup>

Almost inevitably, given the vintage of many of the studies, much of the scholarship is blind to either gender difference in the migration patterns or the role of gender in the migrations. While a handful of studies have broken down the migration streams in terms of age and sex,<sup>8</sup> within much of the scholarship an omnipresent and universalised male Maori urban migrant has largely obscured Maori women’s differing experiences of, and contributions, to urbanisation. Further adding to the obscuring of women from this history has been an almost unrelenting focus on the so-called ‘public’ and therefore masculine sphere. Women, and most especially married women, located in the ‘private’ sphere of the home have been ignored, despite politicians and bureaucrats placing emphasis on the home as a critical site for the successful urbanisation and subsequent integration of Maori. Recently, however, examinations of the Maori Women’s Welfare League have begun to recover and centre the urbanisation experiences of a group of Maori women.<sup>9</sup> Through these studies, the experiences of a largely married group of women and the importance of their domestic skills have received illumination.

This thesis further explores the experiences of married Maori women urban migrants, and centres them as crucial to the processes of integrating into their new environment. It shows these women, and the domestic spaces they occupied, to be central to changing configurations of Maori citizenship in the period 1942-1969. It continues the project begun by Barbara Brookes in gendering post-war Maori urbanisation and integration. Additionally, however, this thesis casts the beam beyond married women and their domestic experiences and illuminates the migratory and integration experiences of young single Maori women. Through the examinations of hostels and bodies as sites of integration, a youth focus is added to the more traditional focus of married women in homes.

---

<sup>7</sup> Metge, *A New Maori Migration*, p.128. She further adds to this list medical service and education.

<sup>8</sup> See for example: Pool, “The Rural-Urban Migration of Maoris”, Poulsen, “Internal Maori Migration”, Rowland, “Maori Migration to Auckland”.

<sup>9</sup> See for example: Brookes, “Nostalgia for ‘Innocent Homely Pleasures’”, Anne Else, “Recording the History of the Maori Women’s Welfare League - interview with Mira Szaszy”, *Women’s Studies Journal*, 6, 1/2 (1990), pp.17-21, Tania Rei, “Te Ropu Wahine Maori Toko i te Ora: Maori Women’s Welfare League 1951-”, in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women’s Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp.34-38, Tania Rei, Geraldine McDonald, and Ngahuia Te Awakotuku, “Nga Ropu Wahine Maori: Maori Women’s Organisations”, in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women’s Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp.3-17, Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women’s Welfare League*.

This thesis not only fractures the existing urbanisation literature through attention to gender, it also shifts the geographical focus of much of the literature. While several studies have analysed the location specificity of the population movements,<sup>10</sup> urbanisation as it exists in the literature is almost wholly a North Island phenomenon. With the exception of the work of Armstrong, Frazer, Heenan, Parsonson, and Poulsen,<sup>11</sup> scholars have tended to dismiss Christchurch, and the South Island more generally, as having a relatively small Maori population and largely ignore it when considering the post-war demographic changes. Christchurch, however, as an urban centre with a relatively small, yet rapidly growing Maori population, makes an important and different case study that adds to the wider picture of post-war Maori urbanisation, and the implementation of the policies of integration. It provides a useful window through which to view urbanisation and integration and their associated policies throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Although never reaching the absolute numbers of North Island cities, in the post-war period the Maori portion of the population of Christchurch soared. The 1945 census<sup>12</sup> showed a Maori population of 589, or 0.4 per cent of its population. Over the next three decades, however, the demography of Christchurch altered radically, as the Maori population increased more than ten times. By the time of the 1976 census, Christchurch had a Maori population of 6 579, or 2.3 per cent of its population (see Figure 1). Indexed to its 1945 population, Christchurch's rate of urbanisation was on par with the North Island cities of Wellington and Auckland, and from 1966 Christchurch actually had a higher rate of urbanisation than the often-examined Auckland (Figure 2).

Urbanisation in Christchurch took more than one form. From the end of the war, increasing numbers of Ngai Tahu began to leave their villages that "ringed the city", Tuahiwi, Taumutu, Rapaki, Onuku, Wairewa, and Koukourarata, and come into Christchurch in search of employment.<sup>13</sup> Ngai Tahu urbanisation alone, is not sufficient to explain the increase in

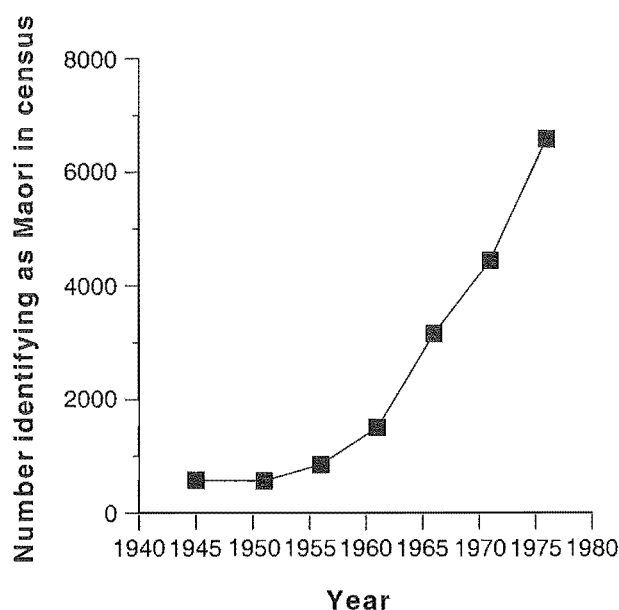
---

<sup>10</sup> See for example: Frazer, "Patterns of Maori Migration", Metge, *A New Maori Migration*, Pool, "Maoris in Auckland", Ritchie, "Together or Apart", Rowland, "The Maori Population of the Auckland Urban Area", Rowland, "Maori Migration to Auckland".

<sup>11</sup> Armstrong, "Maori Identity in the South Island", Frazer, "Patterns of Maori Migration", Heenan, "A Pioneer Community", Heenan, "South Island Maori Population", Ann Parsonson, "Ngai Tahu - The Whale That Awoke: From Claim to Settlement (1960-1998)", in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, eds, *Southern Capital Christchurch: Towards a City Biography 1859-2000*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, pp.248-276, Poulsen, "Internal Maori Migration", Poulsen and Johnston, "Patterns of Maori Migration", Poulsen, Rowland, and Johnston, "Patterns of Maori Migration".

<sup>12</sup> While the census data reveals an upward trend in the Maori population of Christchurch, the absolute numbers needed to be treated with a degree of caution. Such figures, given the social climate of the period along with the framing of census questions – for much of the period under consideration Government statisticians were still preoccupied with establishing 'degrees of blood' as a definition of ethnicity. See Parsonson, "Ngai Tahu - The Whale That Awoke", n.4, pp.379-380.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p.251.



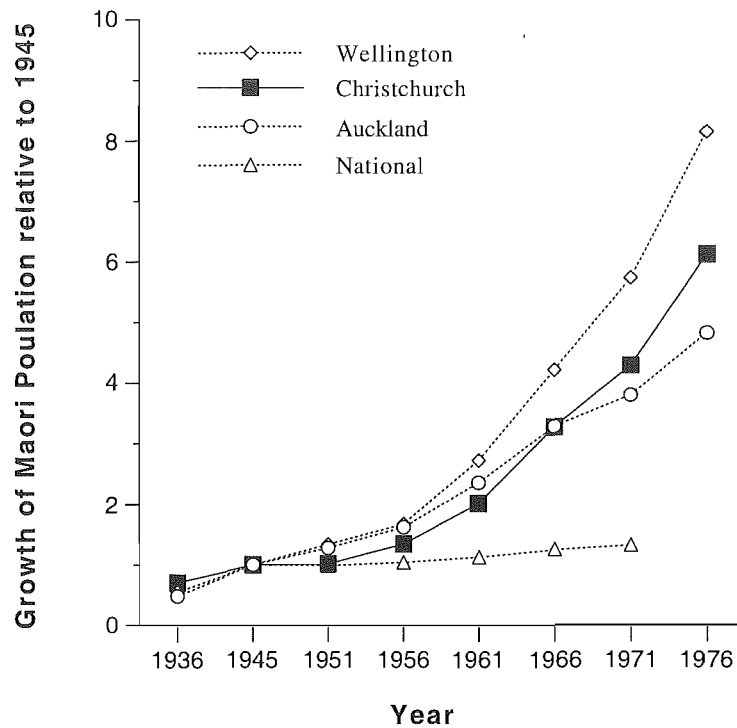
**Figure 1: Number of residents of Christchurch identifying as Maori in the census, 1945-1976.**

a scheme that lasted over three decades, thousands of young North Island men came to Christchurch to learn a trade, with many electing to settle in the city after completion of their apprenticeships.<sup>14</sup> The second stream of North Island migrants to the South Island was also induced by the labour market. As a solution to labour shortages in both the Southland freezing works and the fruit and tobacco-growing region of Nelson, North Island Maori came to the South Island as seasonal labourers. Originally initiated by individuals and by groups of Maori in conjunction with local industries, by the mid-1950s the State became increasingly involved in the orchestration of the movement of North Island Maori to the South Island.

To a State intent on creating a racially integrated nation, Christchurch, and the South Island more generally, represented an ideal site for the production of integrated and therefore ideal Maori citizens. Historically, the high level of intermarriage and perceived crown loyalty of Ngai Tahu had led to the formulation of a powerful discourse of the South Island Maori as more advanced than their North Island counterparts. In his report to Governor Grey in 1861, Walter Buller, the South Island's Native Secretary had noted: "Far removed from the scene of the late war at Taranaki, and too isolated to be influenced by the Waikato "King Movement" and other questions that have agitated the native mind in the North Island, the Canterbury Natives have remained peaceful and undisturbed. They have never ceased to disavow their loyalty to the Queen, and their unabated friendship for the Pakeha".<sup>15</sup> A report from a "part

<sup>14</sup> This migration stream and the trade training stream are examined in detail in Chapter 6.

<sup>15</sup> Walter Buller, Native Secretary, Letter Report on the State of the Natives on the arrival of Sir George Grey, 19 September 1861, Journal of the Provincial Council (Canterbury), 1862, E -No.7, pp.33-36.



**Figure 2: Proportion of Maori population within urban centres, indexed to 1945 levels. Population increases in the four urban centres are markedly higher than the national Maori population increase (the natural population increase), indicating high levels of urbanisation.**

Maori” officer of the Native Department in 1937, posited the dilution of Maori blood as the underlying explanation for the “advanced” State of Southland Maori:

The Maoris of the Invercargill-Bluff district are different from those...to the north...They are more thrifty, take more pride in their homes, and endeavour to better their living conditions. About ninety per cent of them live as Europeans do, each having his or her section...with the exception of a few, the men are all tradesmen and find employment in the towns. There are very few full-blooded Maoris in Southland, a fact which I am inclined to believe, explains... the thriftiness that exists...On account of them mixing more with, and marrying into the *pakeha*, they are perhaps fifty or more years in advance.<sup>16</sup>

Around the same time, Roger Duff, of the Canterbury Museum, writing in the Centennial publication, *The Maori People Today*, described a Maori population in the South Island who through generations intermarriage and miscegenation were “Polynesian in appearance” and “European in work habits”.<sup>17</sup> Following the war, and in a climate of integration, South Island Maori, to many within the Department of Maori Affairs represented a blueprint of the ideal citizenship they sought to instil in Maori throughout the country.

Although the State clearly saw the South Island as an ideal site for the production of ideal Maori citizens, it was Maori themselves, in concert with local industries, who instigated the large-scale southward movement in the early 1950s. Such a non state-orchestrated

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Roger Duff, “South Island Maoris”, in I.L.G. Sutherland, ed, *The Maori People Today: A General Survey*, New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1940, pp.374-398, p.386.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

movement south was clearly to the liking of the Department of Maori Affairs, who in concert with the Department of Labour, had been investigating the plausibility of placing North Island Maori workers in the South Island since the late 1940s. It was, however, the positive race relations space of the South Island, rather than employment prospects, that attracted the Department of Maori Affairs; the desire to relocate North Island Maori to the South Island came before there was a clear demand for their labour. In response to a request from the Secretary of Maori Affairs, T. T. Ropiha, the Department of Labour Stated “it [the South Island] has no [Maori] problems of its own, though at times difficulty is experienced in placing Maoris on suitable employment. There may be labour required on State Hydro schemes”.<sup>18</sup> The introduction of the chain system of killing to South Island freezing works, however, was to create a large demand for un-skilled and semi-skilled labour; a demand that could not be wholly satisfied from the labour resources available in the South Island.<sup>19</sup>

In response to the labour shortage, employers increasingly began to look to the North Island, with its larger labour pool, and particularly the so-called ‘under-employed’ Maori communities. In an effort to overcome the reluctance of Maori workers to travel so far from their homes, South Island freezing works offered inducements in the form of subsidised travel, generous production bonuses in addition to high wages, and accommodation in hostels adjacent to the works. Southland freezing works also began to advertise in North Island newspapers, and at least one carried out a study of the North Island’s Maori population in an effort to determine those areas offering the best potential as a source of labour.<sup>20</sup> The efforts of the South Island employers proved successful with over 1 000 North Island Maori journeying to Southland annually between November and April to work in the freezing works.<sup>21</sup> Small Maori communities such as Wairoa on the East Coast of the North Island reportedly went “quiet in the killing season down south”. Each year as the killing season approached, male workers in the district would receive a letter from a freezing works informing them of their start date accompanied by a boat ticket. Once in receipt of an employment offer and a ticket across Cook Strait, male Maori workers, in search of bulging wage packets, would gather their knives and “jump on a rail car”, leaving their families at home.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Dudson to Ropiha, 11 July 1949, L 1, 30/1/28, Box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>19</sup> Heenan, “South Island Maori Population”, p.135.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.136.

<sup>21</sup> D.G.Clark, “Annual Report”, 1 January 1960- 31 December 1960, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>22</sup> Interview with “Bill”, 23 November 2000.

The South Island also offered employment opportunities for North Island Maori women at the opposite end of the Island in the farming of fruit and tobacco in Waimea County, Nelson.<sup>23</sup> In order to rectify the labour shortage experienced in the region during the picking season, representatives of the Motueka Labour Office embarked on annual recruitment tours of the North Island, with visits to both the Department of Labour and the Department of Maori Affairs.<sup>24</sup> Maori women, and a few men, responded to this call by arriving in the district in groups, often accompanied by an older family member to supervise younger workers.<sup>25</sup> Job placement statistics for the years of 1961 and 1965 show that North Island migrants accounted for 70 per cent and 61.3 per cent respectively of all Maori seasonal workers in the Nelson district.<sup>26</sup>

Both the Maori men and women migrating to the South Island were predominantly youthful. In the period 1951-1956, those aged between 15 and 24 years accounted for 66.1 per cent of males, and 74.2 per cent of females. This trend intensified over time, with that age group constituting 82.2 per cent of male migrants and 82.8 per cent of female migrants in the period 1956-1961.<sup>27</sup> In profiling the age composition of the Maori migrants to the South Island, Heenan noted that the patterns he identified conformed to the findings of Ian Pool's analysis of Maori migration to the major urban centres in the late 1950s.<sup>28</sup> He did find, however, that Maori migrants to the South Island were more likely to be male than the national proportion. While females comprised the majority of Pool's urban migrants aged between 15 and 19 years of age, males heavily dominated the Maori migration to the South Island. Although males continued to outnumber females in the period of 1951-1966, Heenan did note that the masculine nature of the migration stream was a trend on the wane.<sup>29</sup> The masculinity of the migrant stream was a point also noted by Poulsen in his 1970 study of Maori urbanisation. He noted that while for the total migrant population there was a slight sex disparity favouring males, there was "a marked increase in the masculinity of the migrant streams" south of the Taumarunui-Hastings line.<sup>30</sup> Just as O'Shea noted family group migration to the Nelson region, so too did Heenan to the Southland area. Although many of the migrants to the freezing works had no close kinship ties with their travelling companions, he did point to a freezing works that employed as many as 30 to 40 members of a single

<sup>23</sup> Heenan, "A Pioneer Community", p.471.

<sup>24</sup> Heenan, "South Island Maori Population", p.136.

<sup>25</sup> Patricia K. O'Shea, *The Golden Harvest: A History of Tobacco Growing in New Zealand*, Hazard Press, Christchurch, 1997, p.117.

<sup>26</sup> Heenan, "A Pioneer Community", p.462.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p.463.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p.465.

<sup>29</sup> Heenan, "A Pioneer Community", pp.463-465.

<sup>30</sup> Poulsen, "Internal Maori Migration", p.67.



family group from Tauranga, and an even larger number belonging to a family group from Mahia Peninsula.<sup>31</sup> Heenan also noted that a large proportion of the North Island Maori migrants arriving in both Southland and Nelson between 1951 and 1961 were unmarried.<sup>32</sup>

Following the annual completion of the seasonal work in both Nelson and Southland, increasing numbers of the workers elected to settle permanently in the South Island. A 1965 survey of Maori in the Nelson region showed that a large proportion of Maori living permanently in the region had dwelt originally in the North Island.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, in Southland, where freezing work employers noted with favour a trend of North Island Maori workers choosing to marry and settle in the region.<sup>34</sup> It was also a trend that the Department of Maori Affairs noted with satisfaction, with Doug Clark noting in his 1960 annual report: "Well over 1000 North Island Maoris come to Southland each year for the Freezing Works season and many are marrying and staying in Southland. Not only is work available but the co-operation of the European population towards the better type of Maori seems to be better than in the North Island".<sup>35</sup> Once settled in their new South Island homes, the North Island migrants sought contact within local Ngai Tahu tribal institutions. Struggling to accommodate the increasing number of Maori in their community, in 1956 R. A. Whitiri, chairman of the Awarua Tribal Committee sought funding from the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board to build a bigger community centre. Whitiri argued his case on the grounds that the Maori population within the area of Awarua had increased over the last five years more than it had over the twenty or thirty years prior. He pointed to the "boys from the North" who came down to work in the freezing works during "the season" and were increasingly settling in the area permanently.<sup>36</sup>

What then was the significance to the city of Christchurch, the South Island's largest city and located in the middle of the island, of large numbers of North Island Maori migrating to either end of the island? Although increasing numbers of workers were choosing to settle in both Nelson and Southland, following completion of the seasonal work, the great majority of the workers still dispersed at the end of the season. From the Southland freezing works, some, particularly the married workers, returned to the North Island with little delay. Another significant body, however, travelled north up the South Island seeking work, and around June,

---

<sup>31</sup> Heenan, "South Island Maori Population", p.133. Mahia Peninsular is in fact the region that "Bill" refers to in his interview quoted in n.22.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p.132.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p.130.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, p.139.

<sup>35</sup> D.G.Clark, "Annual Report", 1 January 1960- 31 December 1960, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>36</sup> Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 24 October 1956, Minutes 1956-62, A5, MB 140.

an annual influx of unskilled male Maori labourers arrived in Christchurch.<sup>37</sup> In the late 1950s, Christchurch employers were however reluctant to employ from this cohort as they perceived the migrants to be “of the drifter type”.<sup>38</sup> By the 1960s, Doug Clark was reporting more success in placing these men in employment in Christchurch city.<sup>39</sup> Once in employment, some of these men elected to stay in Christchurch.<sup>40</sup>

Possibly comprising some of the seasonal workers from Southland, the permanent migrants to Christchurch were primarily young, single, and male.<sup>41</sup> Whereas family group migration, with a subsequent move to the outer suburbs, dominated Maori urbanisation to Auckland, the young, single, male migrants to Christchurch tended to cluster in the older housing areas of the inner city.<sup>42</sup> Young single North Island Maori women also made their way to Christchurch following the picking season in Motueka, finding employment in factories and as domestics in hotels and hospitals.<sup>43</sup> The flow of North Island migrants into the city of Christchurch was, however, to receive a boost as the State increasingly became involved in facilitating the southward movements of North Island migrants.

## NEW ZEALAND WOMEN’S HISTORY LITERATURE

In centring Maori women in mid-twentieth century urbanisations and the creation of ideal Maori citizens, this thesis connects the urbanisation and integration literature with the body of scholarship examining New Zealand women. In particular, this thesis concentrates on the literature concerning women in post-war New Zealand. In her 1996 centennial history of the National Council of Women, Dorothy Page noted that the 1950s was not a heavily researched era for New Zealand women’s history.<sup>44</sup> Much of the literature that does exist charts a path from relative liberation for New Zealand women during the war years to domesticity and conformity in the post-war years.<sup>45</sup> This New Zealand literature is in line

<sup>37</sup> D.G.Clark, “Annual Report”, 1 April- 31 December 1958, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> D.G.Clark, “Annual Report”, 1 January 1960- 31 December 1960, 1 January – 31 December 1961, 1 January 1962- December 1962, 1 January 1964-31 December 1964, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>40</sup> Heenan, “South Island Maori Population”, p.138, Poulsen, “Internal Maori Migration”, p.69.

<sup>41</sup> Poulsen, “Internal Maori Migration”, pp.69,107.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p.107.

<sup>43</sup> Heenan, “South Island Maori Population”, p.135. This migration stream is examined in detail in Chapter Six.

<sup>44</sup> Dorothy Page, *The National Council of Women: A Centennial History*, Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books, Auckland, 1996, p.108.

<sup>45</sup> See for example: Michael King, *After the War: New Zealand Since 1945*, Hodder and Stoughton, Auckland, 1988, Helen May, “Motherhood in the 1950s: An Experience of Contradiction”, in S.Middleton, ed, *Women and Education in Aotearoa*, Allen and Unwin in association with Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1988, pp.57-71, Helen May, “Postwar women 1945-1960 and their daughters 1970-1985 : an analysis of continuity, contradiction, and change in two generations of Pakeha women as mothers, wives, and workers”, PhD thesis, Victoria University, 1988, Helen May, “The Early Post-War Years for Women: A Personal View - An Interview with Beverley Morris”, *NZ Women’s Studies Journal*, 5, 2 (1989), pp.61-75, Helen May, *Minding Children, Managing Men: Conflict and Compromise in the Lives of Postwar Pakeha Women*, Bridget Williams Books,

with much North American scholarship that posits a similar domestic and conformist view of post-war women.<sup>46</sup>

Central to both the New Zealand and American works is the 1963 groundbreaking work of American journalist Betty Friedan. In *The Feminine Mystique*,<sup>47</sup> Friedan, herself a suburban housewife,<sup>48</sup> identified “the problem that has no name”, or the trap of the housewife whose aspirations are stifled within the four walls of the house. In her journalistic exposé, Friedan argued that journalists, educators, advertisers, and social scientists had colluded to confine women within the home with an ideological stranglehold. Through an analysis of short story fiction in four mainstream women’s magazines, Friedan concluded that full-time domesticity stunted women’s ability and need to grow. According to Friedan, women and especially suburban women, suffered from a deep discontent. Friedan’s sentiments struck a chord with many women, and the book became an instant best seller. Hundreds of women have testified that the *Feminine Mystique* changed their lives and some historical accounts credit the text with launching the so-called ‘second wave’ feminist movement.<sup>49</sup>

It is women’s and feminist historians’ tacit acceptance of the stereotype of American post-war women that Joanne Meyerowitz tags as a problem within the post-war historiography. Meyerowitz argues that since the publication of Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique*, historians, while questioning the homogenised account of women’s lived experiences, have accepted wholesale Friedan’s version of the post-war ideology, the conservative promotion of domesticity.<sup>50</sup> That no serious historian can deny the conservatism of the post-war era is a fact that Meyerowitz is quick to make, but what Meyerowitz maintains is that historians must be wary of the “unrelenting focus on women’s subordination”, as this

---

Wellington, 1992, Deborah Montgomerie, “War and Women: Work and Motherhood”, *NZ Women’s Studies Journal*, 3, 2 (1988), pp.3-16, Deborah Montgomerie, “The Limitations of Wartime Change: Women War Workers in New Zealand”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 23, 1 (1989), pp.68-86, Deborah Montgomerie, “Sweethearts, Soldiers, Happy Families: Gender and the Second World War”, in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp.163-190, Deborah Montgomerie, *The Women’s War: New Zealand Women 1939-45*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2001, Redmer Yska, *All Shook Up: The Flash Bodgie and the Rise of the New Zealand Teenager in the Fifties*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1992. There is also a body of un-published postgraduate research that echoes these arguments, see for example: Susan Bishop, “‘Married with Children’: Perceptions of New Zealand Women’s Lives in the 1950s, A Social and Literary Study”, B.A. (Hons) long essay, University of Otago, 1991, Nadine Phillips, “Women and Employment in New Zealand during the 1950s: The Dominance of Domesticity and the Breadwinner Wage”, B.A. (Hons) long essay, University of Otago, 1995.

<sup>46</sup> In the North American context see for example: Eugenia Kaledin, *Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s*, Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1984, Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, Basic Books, New York, 1988, Elaine Tyler May, *Pushing the Limits: American Women 1940-61*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994.

<sup>47</sup> Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, revised edition, Laurel, New York, 1984.

<sup>48</sup> May, *Pushing the Limits*, pp.134-135.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, pp.134-135, Joanne Meyerowitz, “Beyond the Feminist Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958”, in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1994, pp.229-262, p.230.

<sup>50</sup> Meyerowitz, “Beyond the Feminist Mystique”, p.230.

serves to erase much of the history of the post-war era.<sup>51</sup> The women that Friedan, and subsequent historians, identified were almost exclusively white, middle class, married, and suburban. Such a conceptualisation led to women who did not fit this profile, and many did not, being excluded from consideration. Lesbians, women of colour, working class, activist, and unmarried women have all to an extent been latter day victims of the 'problem that has no name'.

Recent works have begun the task of exploring women in this period who were other than suburban housewives. Meyerowitz' edited volume, *Not June Cleaver*,<sup>52</sup> is the first attempt to bring pieces of this new scholarship together in one volume. It aims to avoid positing one overarching history of women or one gender ideology for a particular period. The volume is recognition that the period is a complex and fractured one. It would be a mistake, and one that Meyerowitz is keen to avoid, to abandon completely the domesticated suburban women of the period in our considerations. The Revisionists look to radical and politicised women to counterbalance the ubiquitous suburban stereotype. Those histories by their own admission avoid women on the political right, consumerism, and glamour.

Recent works examining the history of New Zealand women have begun to cast the net wider than suburban housewives in their examinations of post-war New Zealand women, and in doing so have begun the task of fracturing the post-war New Zealand woman of earlier works. New Zealand women in the decades following World War II no longer feature in the literature solely as housewives, but instead are shown resisting popular bodily constructions, and being active in university education, wage earning, and women's organisations that sought to better the lives of women.<sup>53</sup>

There is no doubt that there needs to an acknowledgment of the multiplicities of women's experiences in the post-war era, and that these experiences need to be studied, but we do need to exercise a degree of caution. There is a danger, though not an inherent one,

---

<sup>51</sup> Joanne Meyerowitz, "Introduction: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960", in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1994, pp.1-16, p.4.

<sup>52</sup> Joanne Meyerowitz, ed, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1994.

<sup>53</sup> On resisting popular bodily constructions see: Chris Brickell, "Through the (New) Looking Glass", *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 1, 3 (2001), pp. 241-269; on post-war involvement in university education see: Katie Pickles, ed, *Hall of Fame: Life Stories of New Zealand Women* Clerstory Press, Christchurch, 1998; on participation in the paid labour market see: Nolan, *Breadwinning*; on involvement in organisations seeking to better the conditions of post-war New Zealand women see: Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'", Page, *The National Council of Women*, Louise Shaw, "A Woman's Place?" in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp.165-181. There is also a wealth of material on post-war New Zealand women in non-housewife roles contained within both Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, Anne Else, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993.

that an approach that seeks to expand the study of women could result in the reproduction of the public/private dichotomy as an analytical framework. In an attempt to reposition women other than white, middle class, married suburbanites as central to considerations, housewives could be relegated to the margins and ignored as apolitical. The irony of the situation is that the recognition of women's domestic experiences has been an explicit aim of feminist historians for many years. In many areas of history, there has been a recasting of women's domestic experiences as crucial to fully understanding the past.

Although also examining young single women and their paid employment, and examining the bodily focus of integration, domesticity and housewives nonetheless remain central to this thesis. Both domesticity and housewives, however, reworked through analysing in terms of 'race', are shown to be more complicated than mere objects of conformity. The housewives in this thesis differ from many of their predecessors in the literature in that they are not middle class and white. To abandon domesticity and domestic spaces in a study of the creation of integrated citizens and nation between 1942 and 1969, would serve only to obscure the participation and experiences of a large and influential group of Maori women.

In placing the urbanisation and integration experiences and contributions of Maori women within the context of literature examining the lives of New Zealand post-war women, the historiographical focus is shifted, and Maori women are shown to be present in a period of history which has an almost unrelenting focus on Pakeha women. A substantial and growing body of biographies and work recording the recollections of mid-twentieth century Maori women sits largely unconnected from Pakeha women's and feminists' studies that seek to analyse the world of New Zealand women in the decades following World War II.<sup>54</sup> In not wanting to intrude on Maori history, until recently Pakeha feminist and women's historians produced a largely Pakeha-centred and white view of New Zealand women both during and following World War II.<sup>55</sup> In recent years, however, more Pakeha women's and feminist

---

<sup>54</sup> For biographies, life stories, and collections of reminiscences containing reminiscences of mid-twentieth century Maori women see: Edwards, *Mihipeka*, Edwards, *Mihipeka*, Grace, Ramsden, and Dennis, eds, *The Silent Migration*, Ihimaera, ed, *Growing up Maori*, King, *Te Puea*, King, *Whina*, Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Stirling and Slamond, *Amiria*, Wharemaru with Duffié, *Heeni: A Tainui Elder Remembers*.

<sup>55</sup> Examples of the Pakeha centred histories of wartime and post-war New Zealand women's lives abound in both the published and unpublished thesis form. In the published form see: May, "Motherhood in the 1950s", May, "The Early Post-War Years for Women", May, *Minding Children, Managing Men*, Montgomerie, "War and Women: Work and Motherhood", Montgomerie, "The Limitations of Wartime Change". A large number of theses and honours research essays also promoted this view, see: Bishop, "Married with Children", Barbara Duff, "Families and State Housing: Ideas, Practices, Change and Problems, 1936-1973", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1998, May, "Postwar women 1945-1960", Susan McIntosh, "Harnessed to Beauty: The Image of Women in the Media, 1942-1948", B.A. (Hons) long essay, University of Otago, 1992, Phillips, "Women and Employment".

historians have begun to include Maori women in their analyses of the mid-twentieth century, and to analyse their experiences as being different from that of their Pakeha counterparts. Works such as Deborah Montgomerie's and Melanie Nolan's monographs both include substantial material on Maori women in World War II and on their relationship to the New Zealand State, respectively.<sup>56</sup> Barbara Brookes' article on the 'Washday controversy' explores the workings and concerns of the Maori Women's Welfare League, and sets this as a counter to the more middle-class and white views of the 1950s and 1960s that emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s.<sup>57</sup> Other works, such as Gael Ferguson's monograph on housing in New Zealand, and Margaret McClure's, Bronwyn Labrum's, and Bronwyn Dalley's explorations of aspects of welfare in New Zealand, although neither feminist, nor indeed even women centred histories, contain significant material concerning Maori women that also serve to dehomogenise our understandings of the lives of wartime and post-war New Zealand women.<sup>58</sup>

## POST-WAR NEW ZEALAND LITERATURE

Maori urbanisation and constructions of both integrated citizens and the nation are also placed within the wider context of the literature examining post-war New Zealand. Like much of the literature examining New Zealand women, discussions and examinations of the mid-twentieth century demographic upheaval of Maori sit largely unconnected from more general discussions of post-war New Zealand. The result of this historiographical dislocation is that despite the massive upheaval Maori society experienced throughout this period, the decades following World War II in New Zealand have emerged as very Pakeha-centred decades. Until the mid-1990s, scholars examining 1940s and 1950s New Zealand concurred that in the post-war period the country was a contented, domesticated, and largely affluent society that was, however, uniformly dull and conformist.<sup>59</sup> Within the supposed "social

<sup>56</sup> Montgomerie, *The Women's War*, Nolan, *Breadwinning*.

<sup>57</sup> Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'".

<sup>58</sup> Gael Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, Dunmore Press with the assistance of the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Palmerston North, 1994, Margaret McClure, *A Civilised Community: A History of Social Security in New Zealand 1898-1998*, Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Auckland, 1998, Bronwyn Labrum, "Persistent Needs and Expanding Desires: Pakeha Families and State Welfare in the Years of Prosperity", in Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum, eds, *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2000, pp.188-210, Bronwyn Labrum, "Family needs and family desires: discretionary state welfare in New Zealand, 1920-1970", PhD thesis, Victoria University, 2000, Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters: Child Welfare in Twentieth Century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Auckland, 1998.

<sup>59</sup> This is a strain that runs through many histories of this period see for example: Graeme Dunstall, "The Social Pattern", in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.451-481, King, *After the War*, Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country?: The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History*, Penguin, Auckland, 1987, Yska, *All Shook Up*.

tranquillity”<sup>60</sup> of the two decades following the war, many writers note, however, that not everyone benefited from New Zealand’s ‘golden weather’, and that within this period, rebellion particularly on the part of youth, was evident.<sup>61</sup> Works such as Julie Glamuzina and Alison Laurie’s exploration of the infamous Parker-Hulme murder, showed 1950s New Zealand, and particularly the city of Christchurch, to be an “oppressive, racist, class-fixated city with a colonialist inferiority complex”. Their work also showed 1950s New Zealand to be a patriarchal and homophobic society.<sup>62</sup> According to Jock Phillips, “in many respects the 1950s saw the triumph of the New Zealand male stereotype”.<sup>63</sup> Complicating the masculinity of the period, however, was, according to Phillips, the reality of men’s growing involvement with their families. Throughout the post-war period, domesticity not only became increasingly important for women, but also for men.<sup>64</sup>

Recently, however, scholars have begun to further fragment and complicate this view of post-war New Zealand. Bronwyn Labrum has argued that “the familiar representation of a contented, domesticated society was not as simple as historians have often made out”. Instead, she argues that New Zealand in the post-war period was “riven with contradictions, tensions, and ambiguities”, and herself sketches a “more fluid and contradictory picture of a time that was not necessarily abundant, satisfied or complacent for everyone”.<sup>65</sup> Likewise, Fiona McKergow has dispensed with the widely-held perception of New Zealand in the immediate post-war period as being characterised by “a grim austerity, followed by a stifling and hide-bound conservatism”, in favour of “a richer more multi-layered view of New Zealand during these decades”.<sup>66</sup> Chris Brickell in his article examining New Zealand women’s responses to the “New Look” fashions of the 1940s and 1950s has also argued for a more nuanced view of the period, as has Frazer Andrewes in his study of post-war New Zealand masculinity.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> Dunstall, “The Social Pattern”, p.451.

<sup>61</sup> Yska, *All Shook Up*, p.45, and May, *Minding Children, Managing Men*, pp.2,21,64 both note that not all New Zealanders benefited from New Zealand’s post-war prosperity. Yska, *All Shook Up*, pp.58-84 explores “youth aflame”, and Dunstall also notes the signs of rebellion evident amongst adolescents from the late 1950s, the commercialisation of youth culture by the early 1960s, and the politicisation of youth culture by the late 1960s, Dunstall, “The Social Pattern”, p.451.

<sup>62</sup> Julie Glamuzina and Alison Laurie, *Parker and Hulme: A Lesbian View*, Firebrand Books, Ithaca, New York, 1995, p.29.

<sup>63</sup> Phillips, *A Man’s Country?*, p.263.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, pp.263-268.

<sup>65</sup> Labrum, “Persistent Needs and Expanding Desires”, pp.188-189, Labrum, “Family needs and family desires”.

<sup>66</sup> Fiona McKergow, “Opening the Wardrobe of History: Dress, Artefacts and Material Life of the 1940s and 1950s”, in Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum, eds, *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2000, pp.163-187, p.164.

<sup>67</sup> Frazer Andrewes, “Representations of Masculinity in Postwar New Zealand”, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1995, Frazer Andrewes, “The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit: White-Collar Masculinity in Post-War New Zealand”, in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University

This thesis seeks to continue the recent historiographical trend of fracturing and complicating the picture of post-war New Zealand. Through both a weaving together and a picking apart of 'race' and gender, the period is shown to be more complicated than the bland, dull, tranquil, and conformist society that traditional accounts have painted it to be. Only a handful of studies of post-war New Zealand exist which place the mass urbanisation within the wider social fabric of the nation.<sup>68</sup> This thesis aids in complicating the picture of the period 1942-1969 by adding 'race' into the mix. Instead of bland conformity, this thesis shows the post-war years to be a time when the Maori population underwent a radical demographic shift, and when urban Maori women in particular mounted a sustained campaign to resist the assimilating potential of State policies. Many accounts of post-war Maori in the cities paint the 1950s and early 1960s as one largely devoid of Maori political activism, as a prelude to the main event of Maori 'activism' in the late 1960s and 1970s.<sup>69</sup> However, as works such as Jock Phillips' study of the Royal Tour of 1953-1954 have shown, some Maori in the immediate post-war period were far from compliant and contented.<sup>70</sup> This thesis continues this project, and shows Maori, and particularly Maori women, to have been already active politically in the period between 1942 and 1969.

## COLONIAL NATION LITERATURE

This thesis also joins a growing body of literature which challenges a linear or whiggish approach to history; an account of New Zealand's past that posits colonisation leading naturally to settlement and colonialism, and finally to nationhood and national maturity.<sup>71</sup> In this thesis, colonisation is shown to be an enduring ideology, mindset, and set of practices that intruded upon settlement and ultimately upon nationhood. Underpinning all of the themes, policies, and processes examined in this thesis are the processes of colonisation. The concept of colonisation, according to Byrnes refers to the cultural oppression and economic control of one people by another.<sup>72</sup> In the New Zealand context, colonisation refers to the relationship between the indigenous people, Maori, and both the colonising power of Britain and the white settler (Pakeha) population. Colonisation involved complex sets of practices that differed across time and space. Although the domination and

---

Press, Auckland, 1999, pp.191-212, Brickell, "Through the (New) Looking Glass".

<sup>68</sup> See for example: Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'", Dunstall, "The Social Pattern".

<sup>69</sup> See for example: Dunstall, "The Social Pattern", p.451, Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, pp.209-219.

<sup>70</sup> Jock Phillips, *Royal Summer: The visit of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip to New Zealand 1953-54*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates Press, Wellington, 1993, pp.27-39.

<sup>71</sup> On this see: Byrnes, *Boundary Markers*, p.8.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.



violence of colonising powers globally cannot be denied, recent scholarship has dissolved the fiction that colonisation can be seen as a one way exercise of power; colonisation is now viewed as a process of exchange as well as domination.

Scholars have demonstrated that while at an ideal level colonial space was designated into clear-cut territories between the colonised and the colonisers, at the actual level this distance was impossible to maintain and led to the development of what has variously been termed a “third culture”, the “middle ground”, and “contact zones”.<sup>73</sup> Within Anthony King’s “third culture”, contact between the coloniser and colonised resulted in a very different form of cultural system to the colonial culture in Britain; that is, in the colonies, indigenous cultures modified British culture.<sup>74</sup> In a similar vein, within Mary Louise Pratt’s conception, the “contact zone” is seen as the social spaces “where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other”.<sup>75</sup> She emphasises “the often radically asymmetrical relations of power” that exist between the colonised and the coloniser.<sup>76</sup> Pratt labels this exchange “transculturation”,<sup>77</sup> and emphasises the need to understand the relations between the colonised and coloniser in terms of intersecting “trajectories”, in terms of “co-presence” and “interaction”.<sup>78</sup>

It is in the context of the continued colonisation or the re-colonisation of Maori that this thesis situates the mid-twentieth century urbanisations and subsequent integration. In doing this, this thesis continues the idea that recent scholarship has begun to advance that the colonisation project continued into the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>79</sup> Traditional constitutionally-based narratives of New Zealand’s limp toward nationhood usually concede that it is impossible to fix a date at which the Pacific settler colony ended its colonial relationship with Britain. Formally constituted as a colony of Britain in 1840 with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, narratives of the colonial/imperial past traditionally point to a gentle and gradual erosion of the relationship. Events such as the coming of responsible

---

<sup>73</sup> For the “third culture” see: A.D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976; for the “middle ground” see: Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991; and the “contact zone” see: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Routledge, London, 1992.

<sup>74</sup> King, *Colonial Urban Development*.

<sup>75</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p.4.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, p.7.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p.6.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, p.7.

<sup>79</sup> For the development of Belich’s arguments on the re-colonisation of New Zealand see: James Belich, Untitled paper delivered at the Public Service Senior Management Conference, Wellington, New Zealand, 1999, James Belich, “Colonization and History in New Zealand”, in Robin Winks, ed, *Historiography*, Volume V, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, pp.182-193, Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, See also Katie Pickles, “Kiwi Icons and the Re-Settlement of New Zealand as Colonial Space”, *unpublished paper*, (1999).

Government in 1856, the 1907 adoption of Dominion status, and the overcoming of independence reluctance with the eventual adoption of the Statute of Westminster in 1947, are charted as part of a gradual linear progression towards the severing of imperial ties.<sup>80</sup>

More recently, however, scholars have begun to see New Zealand's colonial history as more complex and long-lived than these accounts portray. In the mid-1980s, New Zealand scholars began to argue for the persistence of colonisation in the cultural sphere beyond the period usually designated 'colonial'.<sup>81</sup> Peter Gibbons demonstrated how the processes of the appropriation of the indigenous cultures, the eradication of indigenous people and things, and the Europeanisation of landscape, all occur in Pakeha writing as well as in the material transformation of New Zealand well beyond the period traditionally considered colonial.<sup>82</sup> Also seeking to expand the accepted boundaries of 'colonisation' was James Belich, who argued that from the 1880s to the 1980s, New Zealand underwent a period of 're-colonisation'. Links with Britain were both tightened and reshaped as New Zealand became London's town supply district, and London in turn became New Zealand's cultural capital. Bridging the vast geographical breach, in Belich's formulation, were refrigerated meat ships.<sup>83</sup> Trade and economics provided the pivot for Belich's notion of re-colonisation. Writing about the same time, however, Katie Pickles began to advance a more culturally-centred argument to show that New Zealand has continued as a colonial space until the present time.<sup>84</sup> Through a reading of some of the current 'kiwi icons', Pickles argued that

<sup>80</sup> See for example: W. David McIntyre, "Imperialism and Nationalism", in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.337-347, Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, pp.101-103; 178-181.

<sup>81</sup> Peter Gibbons, "A Note on Writing, Identity, and Colonisation in Aotearoa", *Sites: A Journal for Radical Perspectives on Culture*, Spring 1985 (1986), pp.32-38, Jock Phillips, "Musings in Maoriland - Or Was there a Bulletin School in New Zealand?" *Historical Studies*, 20, 81 (1983), pp.520-555. For a discussion on this see: Jeanine Graham and Peter Gibbons, "Editorial Introduction", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp.3-4.

<sup>82</sup> Gibbons' position was later articulated in: Peter Gibbons, "Non-fiction", in T Strum, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998, pp.31-118. In 2002, the *New Zealand Journal of History* published a special issue of the journal where Gibbons restated his notion of cultural colonisation, Peter Gibbons, "Cultural Colonisation and National Identity", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp.8-17. Several articles were published in this issue that examined Gibbons' thesis: Giselle Byrnes, "'A dead sheet covered with meaningless words?' Place Names and the Cultural Colonisation of Tauranga", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp.18-35, Ross Galbreath, "Displacement, Conservation and Customary Use of Native Plants and Animals in New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp.36-50, Fiona Hamilton, "Pioneering History: Negotiating Pakeha Collective Memory in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp.66-81, Chris Hilliard, "Colonial Culture and the Province of Cultural History", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp.82-97, Kirstie Ross, "'Schooled by Nature': Pakeha Tramping Between the Wars", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp.51-65.

<sup>83</sup> Belich, "Colonization and History in New Zealand". In this piece, Belich argued that the re-colonisation of New Zealand persisted through to the 1940s (p.183), but later that year he extended this periodisation through to the 1980s. See Belich, "Colonization and History in New Zealand", Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp.313, 321, 393.

<sup>84</sup> Pickles, "Kiwi Icons".

New Zealand, on the dawn of the new millennium, remained “under the spell of British colonialism”.<sup>85</sup>

In this thesis, the processes and policies of urbanisation and integration are read as part of the State’s attempts at mid-twentieth century colonisation or re-colonisation. Following from the work of Anthony King, the ways in which increased contact between Maori and Pakeha brought about by Maori urbanisation, and the attempts to integrate Maori and to fashion the integrated nation, are read in terms of Maori culture altering the dominant Pakeha culture. Complicating, and sometimes undermining, these attempts at colonisation and re-colonisation, however, is Maori agency. Throughout the thesis, the ways that Maori negotiated and accommodated the policies and processes of urbanisation and integration are considered.

## CITIZENSHIP

This thesis asks who and what were ‘ideal’ Maori citizens? It answers these questions through examining the policy of integration, and argues that integration, and the modernity embedded within the policy, provided the template for Maori to achieve the lofty heights of ideal citizenship. It examines what ideal citizenship for meant Maori in the post-war period. It probes the meanings of citizenship, and examines the historical place of Maori within notions of New Zealand citizenship. It shows that as Maori urbanisation increasingly dissolved the interior frontiers, Maori citizenship of the New Zealand nation was reconfigured. These changing configurations of Maori citizenship are shown to have been heavily gendered and increasingly women-focused.

In recent decades, scholars from a variety of perspectives have examined the notion of citizenship. These discussions of citizenship have been dominated by T. H. Marshall’s model of citizenship, first advanced in 1950.<sup>86</sup> In that and subsequent work,<sup>87</sup> Marshall defined citizenship in terms of three sets of rights: civil or legal, political, and social. For Marshall, civil or legal rights are those institutionalised through the law, and included things such as the right to own property, freedom of speech, thought, and faith, the liberty of the individual, and the right to justice. Political rights are those rights granted in the parliamentary political system and councils of local Government and include the right to vote and participate in the exercise of political power. The third category, social rights include the right to a certain level of economic welfare and security as well as the right “to share in the full social heritage

---

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1950.

<sup>87</sup> T.H. Marshall, *Social Policy in the Twentieth Century*, Hutchinson, London, 1975, T.H. Marshall, *The Right to Welfare and Other Essays*, Heinemann, London, 1981.

and to live as a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society".<sup>88</sup> These were rights that Marshall saw as being institutionalised in the welfare state, such as unemployment benefits, the provision of health and education, and access to State assistance for housing. Marshall saw these rights as evolving in a linear fashion, with civil rights emerging first in the eighteenth century, political rights in the nineteenth century, and social rights in the twentieth century.

More recent examinations of citizenship have criticised the Marshallian conception as being too simplistic. For example, Sylvia Walby criticises, among other aspects of his analysis, Marshall's three stage process of linear citizenship attainment, on the grounds that the development of women's rights negates the model.<sup>89</sup> In the late 1980s, Stuart Hall and David Held extended Marshall's tight categories, and advanced instead a notion of citizenship that centred on belonging, and membership of a community.<sup>90</sup> Within this framework, citizenship became defined in terms of identity, and in particular national identity. Citizenship became understood as a set of practices that defined social membership in a particular society or nation-state. A citizen was someone who belonged, who was a member of a given nation, or a member of a given city or region within a nation. This work dovetailed with the emerging literature on nations and identity.<sup>91</sup> These latter works signalled a move away from thinking about nations, nationalisms, and identities in tight political and constitutional terms, to a more culturally-focused project. Thus, belonging and citizenship came to be imagined in cultural terms.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, feminist scholars rapidly advanced the unpacking of the notions of belonging and citizenship within the nation. Both the nation and citizenship were shown to be gendered constructions, from which women had historically been largely excluded.<sup>92</sup> Central to the project of writing women back into the nation was Carole

<sup>88</sup> Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, p.10.

<sup>89</sup> Sylvia Walby, "Is Citizenship Gendered", *Sociology*, 28, 2 (1994), pp.379-395, p.384.

<sup>90</sup> Stuart Hall and David Held, "Citizens and Citizenship", in Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques, eds, *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1989, pp.173-188.

<sup>91</sup> See for example the works discussed in chapter one: Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, Hobsbawm and Ranger, *Tradition*.

<sup>92</sup> There is a huge international body of literature in this area, but see for example some key works: Grimshaw et al, *Creating a Nation*, C. Hall et al, "Introduction", *Gender, Nationalisms and National Identities: Special Issue of Gender and History*, 5, 2 (1995), pp.159-164, L. Kealey and J. Sangster, eds, *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics* Toronto University Press, Toronto, 1989, L. Kerber, A. Kesler-Harris, and K. Kish Sklar, eds, *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1995, Marilyn Lake, "Mission Impossible: How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation: Nationalism, Gender and Other Seminal Acts", *Gender and History*, 4, 3 (1992), pp.305-322, Marilyn Lake, "Feminist History as National History: Writing the Political History of Women", *Australian Historical Studies*, 106, 1 (1996), pp.154-168, Ann McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Routledge, New York, 1995, Nira Yuval-Davis, "Women and the Biological Reproduction of 'The Nation'", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19, 1 (1996), pp.17-24, Nira Yuval-Davis, "Gender and Nation", in Linda McDowell and

Pateman's 'maternal citizenship', or what Iris Marion Young termed 'differentiated citizenship'.<sup>93</sup> In *The Sexual Contract*, Pateman advanced a form of citizenship that recognised women as women. Within Pateman's conceptualisation, political significance was placed on a capacity that men lack: to create life. Motherhood, according to Pateman, needs to be treated with equal political relevance to what has traditionally been seen as the ultimate test of citizenship: a man's willingness to both fight and die for his country.<sup>94</sup>

Not all feminist political philosophers were in favour of the sexually differentiated form of citizenship that Pateman and Young advanced. Scholars such as Chantal Mouffe, Mary Dietz, and Anne Phillips questioned the wisdom of ascribing to women a role in politics that they considered served to cement women as being the antithesis of citizens and political participants.<sup>95</sup> Feminist historians, however, working as they do with periods of the past that contain their own imagined and constructed citizenships in gendered terms, have found Pateman's maternal citizenship a powerful tool in their reconstructions of women as belonging in their communities and ultimately their nations.<sup>96</sup>

In the late 1990s, faced with the decline of the significance of the nation-state in a rapidly globalising world, scholars of citizenship changed their focus and began to conceptualise citizenship in cultural terms. Along with Marshall's original categories of

Joanne P. Sharp, eds, *Space, Gender, Knowledge*, Arnold, London, 1997, pp.403-408.

<sup>93</sup> Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1988, Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1989, Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1990.

<sup>94</sup> C. Pateman, "Feminism and Participatory Democracy", unpublished paper presented to the meeting of the American Philosophical Association, St Louis, Missouri, May 1986, p.26, discussed in Chantal Mouffe, "Feminism, Citizenship and Radical Democratic Politics", in Judith Butler and Joan Wallach Scott, eds, *Feminists Theorize the Political*, Routledge, New York, 1992, pp.369-384, p.375.

<sup>95</sup> Mary Dietz, "Citizenship with a Feminist Face: The Problem of Maternal Thinking", *Political Theory*, 13, 1 (1985), pp.19-37, Mary Dietz, "Context Is All: Feminism and Theories of Citizenship", in Jill K. Conway, Susan C. Bourque, and Joan Wallach Scott, eds, *Learning About Women: Gender, Politics and Power*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1989, pp.1-24, Mouffe, "Feminism, Citizenship and Radical Democratic Politics", Anne Phillips, *Democracy and Difference*, Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1993.

<sup>96</sup> There is a large body of work accumulating that advances this argument. See the collected volume: S. Koven and S. Michel, eds, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* Routledge, London, 1993. In particular see: Eileen Boris, "The Power of Motherhood: Black and White Activist Women Redefine the Political", in S. Koven and S. Michel, eds, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, Routledge, London, 1993, pp.213-245, S. Koven and S. Michel, "Introduction: Mother Worlds", in S. Koven and S. Michel, eds, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, Routledge, London, 1993, Marilyn Lake, "A Revolution in the Family: The Challenge and Contradictions of Maternal Citizenship in Australia", in S. Koven and S. Michel, eds, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, Routledge, London, 1993, pp.378-395. Prior to this collection Marilyn Lake had explored this argument in the Australian context – see: Lake, "Mission Impossible". Grimshaw et al, *Creating a Nation*. continued the argument for domestic or maternalist feminism in the Australian context. See also: Marilyn Lake, "Personality, Individuality, Nationality: Feminist Conceptions of Citizenship 1902-1940", *Australian Feminist Studies*, 19, Autumn (1994), pp.25-38, Marian Quartly, "Mothers and Fathers and Brothers and Sisters: The AWA and the ANA and Gendered Citizenship", in Renate Howe, ed, *Women and the State: Australian Perspectives: Special Issue of the Journal of Australian Studies*, 37, Melbourne, 1993, pp.22-30, Judith Smart, "'For the Good that We Can Do': Cecilia Downing and Feminist Christian Citizenship", *Australian Feminist Studies*, 19 (1994), pp.39-60.

citizenship, it was suggested that a cultural dimension to citizenship needed to be included.<sup>97</sup> While cultural citizenship is still in the process of being defined, it can be conceptualised broadly in terms of “the capacity to participate effectively, creatively and successfully within a national culture”.<sup>98</sup> According to Diane Richardson, “cultural rights, institutionalised through ‘cultural industries’ such as the mass media, would include the right to participate in the culture of a particular society, and to representation in the media and popular culture”.<sup>99</sup> Therefore, social exclusion under this conception “can be understood partly in terms of the lack of cultural space accorded to certain groups in society”.<sup>100</sup> This aspect of cultural citizenship was recognised by Jan Pakulski, who analysed cultural citizenship in terms of the right to symbolic presence and visibility (vs marginalisation); the right to endignifying representation (vs stigmatisation); and the right to propagation of identity and maintenance of lifestyles (vs assimilation).<sup>101</sup> Fundamentally, cultural citizenship is advocating ‘differentiated citizenship’, with the differences drawn along a number of sometimes intersecting axes.<sup>102</sup>

How then do these theories of citizenship inform analysis of post-war Maori urbanisation and the policies of integration? Historically, the Treaty of Waitangi, which imparted to Maori the “rights and privileges of British subjects”, defined Maori rights to citizenship in the Marshallian sense at least. For Maori and settlers alike, being a New Zealand citizen was defined as having the same rights as a British subject. New Zealand citizenship, and thus identity, continued to be defined in colonial terms and was not substantially changed even with the passage of the 1948 British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act, which continued to reflect New Zealand’s colonial relationship to Britain.<sup>103</sup> From the mid-nineteenth century, however, successive legislation and court rulings systematically identified Maori as having a different status from other New Zealanders with consequences for the exercise of citizenship, including voting rights and procedures and

<sup>97</sup> Jan Pakulski, “Cultural Citizenship”, *Citizenship Studies*, 1, 1 (1997), pp.73-86, Diane Richardson, “Sexuality and Citizenship”, *Sociology*, 32, 1 (1998), pp.83-100, Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001.

<sup>98</sup> Bryan S. Turner, “Outline of a General Theory of Cultural Citizenship”, in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp.11-32, p.12.

<sup>99</sup> Richardson, “Sexuality and Citizenship”, p.87.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Pakulski, “Cultural Citizenship”, p.8.

<sup>102</sup> For more discussions in the defining of cultural citizenship see: Richardson, “Sexuality and Citizenship”, Diane Richardson, “Extending Citizenship: Cultural Citizenship and Sexuality”, in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp.153-166, John Solomos, “Race, Multi-Culturalism and Difference”, in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp.198-211, Nick Stevenson, “Culture and Citizenship: An Introduction”, in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp.1-10, Turner, “Outline of a General Theory of Cultural Citizenship”, Anna Yeatman, “Feminism and Citizenship”, in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp.138-152.

<sup>103</sup> Paul Spoonley, “Citizenship in a Post-Nation State”, *Sites*, 35, Spring (1997), pp.1-19, pp.3-4.

political representation. The treaty referred to Maori in two ways, both as individual subjects with the rights of any British subject, but also as members of iwi and hapu. As Paul Spoonley has argued, at least in principle, Maori have held dual citizenship since 1840.<sup>104</sup> Within definitions of citizenship, the colonial State imagined Maori in part as differentiated citizens.

Citizenship, in terms of membership and belonging, however, has historically been more complicated. As argued in the introductory chapter, the relationship of Maori to the constructed New Zealand nation had been complex and at times contradictory since the initial stages of colonisation. Maori motifs, images, legends, and even people, had been used since colonisation to assert New Zealand's national difference.<sup>105</sup> Into the twentieth century, 'Maoriness' was also cast as a traditional and ancient 'other' against which to assert the modernity of the nation.<sup>106</sup> Thus, Maori were simultaneously a component of, and opposite to, the emerging sense of New Zealand nationhood. According to Barbara Brookes, throughout the post World War II period, the question of New Zealand identity was an increasingly contested issue, in which the place of Maori was increasingly being brought into focus, and serving to further complicate the notion of the nation.<sup>107</sup> On the one hand, she argued, there was the "unified", and increasingly urban national identity identified by Lawrence Jones: "...a people who succeeded in a commercial version of the Pastoral Dream, built on its foundations a capitalist, welfare-state version of the Just City, and who [were] in the process of putting on a Decramastic roof and building a two-car garage to convert it into an affluent suburb".<sup>108</sup> Maori, however, "disrupted this Dream, were excluded from the Just City, and denied access to the Affluent Suburb".<sup>109</sup> Pakeha New Zealand's increasingly urban and suburban identities were dependent upon Maori being the 'other' to the post-war suburban ideal. Maori, along with the fern and the tiki, marked New Zealand as being unique, and "provided the 'natural' backdrop against which the affluent suburbs existed".<sup>110</sup> For Brookes, the modernity and sophistication of New Zealand's towns and cities could only be appreciated when contrasted to the rural hinterland. The modernity and sophistication of its Pakeha citizens drew on a parallel opposition to rural Maori.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>105</sup> Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.204.

<sup>106</sup> Ben Dibley, "Telling Times: Narrating Nation at the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-7." *Sites*, 34, Autumn (1997), pp.1-18, p.7. See also on this point: Bernard Kernot, "Maoriland Metaphors and the Model Pa", in John Mansfield Thomson, ed, *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-07*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1998, pp.61-78.

<sup>107</sup> Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'", pp.212-213.

<sup>108</sup> Lawrence Jones, "Versions of the Dream: Literature and the Search for Identity", in David Novitz and Bill Willmott, eds, *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, GP Books, Wellington, 1989, pp.187-211, p.203. Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'" quotes this passage at pp.212-213.

<sup>109</sup> Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'", p.213.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

These oppositions continued to be important for New Zealand throughout the post-war period, particularly in the assertion of national identity and the marketing of New Zealand. Increasingly both the State and Maori themselves were seeking ways for Maori to belong, to gain membership in the modern urban nation. As Brookes identified, such a desire also directly interlocked with another myth of New Zealand national identity, the myth of egalitarianism, which in turn fed the myth of harmonious race relations.<sup>111</sup> Bringing Maori into the nation's cities, and bestowing upon them the benefits of the recently erected welfare state, would provide Pakeha New Zealand an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how well and how inclusively it treated its 'native' peoples. Barely beneath the surface of the desire for an 'integrated' nation was the desire to bring Maori within the boundaries of the modern and prosperous nation. The rapidly growing Maori population located in their rural homes were not achieving social parity with Pakeha New Zealanders, but it was hoped that urbanisation and subsequent integration would bring Maori to a 'kind of equality'.<sup>112</sup>

The election of the first Labour Government of New Zealand in 1935 did much to alter State conceptions of Maori citizenship. Fundamentally embedded in the welfare state that Labour erected in its first term, was the notion of the citizen. According to Maureen Molloy, its notion of citizenship was complex, involving more than individual rights. It was a form of citizenship that sought to recognise differentiated citizenship in relation to both women and Maori.<sup>113</sup> Maori were often the recipients of the fruits of the welfare State on differential grounds. In areas such as health, education, and housing, Maori were subject to differing policy from their Pakeha counterparts. Within the Marshallian notion of citizenship, Maori were becoming included within the social category of citizenship. Thus, the universal welfare State, superficially at least, extended to Maori at least a degree of citizenship equality.

Citizenship in terms of membership and belonging, and within a cultural conception, still eluded Maori, however. Labour in its first term recognised that Maori citizenship needed to encompass a cultural element, and advocated the preservation of language, crafts, music, and ritual.<sup>114</sup> Despite this, attributes that made Maori 'Maori' remained largely peripheral to constructions of citizenship. Maoriness, as defined by the State, was important for the nation,

---

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. This is a component of New Zealand's constructed identity that has long roots see: Sinclair, "The Beginnings of a Colonial Nationalism", p.114.

<sup>112</sup> Claudia Orange, "A Kind of Equality: Labour and the Maori People 1935-1949", MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1977. Miranda Johnson, "Aotearoa: Land of the Wrong White Crowd. Paakehaa anti-racist organisations and developing historical consciousness, 1970-1981", Unpublished paper presented at the New Zealand Historical Association Conference, Connections: From Local to Global, Christchurch, 2001, discusses the policy of integration, and particularly the Hunn Report in relation to constructions of the modern New Zealand nation.

<sup>113</sup> Molloy, "Citizenship, Property and Bodies".

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, p.299.



in terms of both definitions and of marketing. The State desired Maori citizens who lived modern urban, and therefore Pakeha, lifestyles but who were capable of ‘performing’ their culture when needed. The State did not tolerate those aspects of Maori culture that were antithetical to the production of a modern urban industrialised and racially integrated society, such as connections to ancestral lands.

Increasingly throughout the period under examination, an ‘ideal’ form of Maori citizenship began to be articulated by the State. Such a conception of citizenship, although officially tolerating components of Maori culture, effectively sought to turn Maori into brown versions of the Pakeha ideal citizen. Post-war conceptions of ‘ideal’ citizenship, for either Maori or Pakeha, had strong antecedents in nineteenth century constructions of New Zealand as an ‘ideal society’.<sup>115</sup> Ideal citizens owned, or at least aspired to own, their own property. In order to achieve this, they adhered to the basic tenets of the protestant work ethic: duty; hard work; and thrift. Added to these criteria, modernity and urban living further defined ideal Maori citizenship. Integrated, modern, and urban Maori, as opposed to unintegrated rural Maori, most closely fulfilled the definition of the ideal post-war citizen, and therefore most *belonged* in New Zealand’s cities, and ultimately to the New Zealand nation.

During World War II and the post-war period, Maori attempted to strengthen Maori citizenship in terms of membership of the New Zealand nation. Undoubtedly aware of the equation between the ANZACs of World War I and ultimate citizenship, Apirana Ngata, prominent Maori politician and leader, urged young Maori men to enlist in the war effort as *The Price of Citizenship*.<sup>116</sup> Ngata was not alone in this belief. Charles Bennett, who served in the Battalion, maintained that “we knew at the time what the price of citizenship was and we were prepared to pay it”.<sup>117</sup> Such intuition in many respects proved insightful, as the men of the famed 28<sup>th</sup> Maori Battalion returned home following the war as heroes. Their heroic deeds on the battlefields of North Africa and elsewhere in the Mediterranean led to many rewards on their return, including access to housing and reputedly to the official substitution of the term Maori for Native in Government affairs.<sup>118</sup> In attempting to place Maori within traditional Pakeha notions of citizenship, Ngata and his colleagues did not seem to be seeking

<sup>115</sup> On the nineteenth century constructions of New Zealand as an ‘ideal society’ see: Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1989.

<sup>116</sup> Apirana Ngata, *The Price of Citizenship*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Wellington, 1943. Maori leaders such as Maui Pomare had argued that Maori efforts in World War I should be read in a similar light. Pomare hoped that racial divisions in New Zealand would be eroded as the blood of Maori and Pakeha “comingled in the trenches of Gallipoli”. See Jock Phillips, “War and National Identity”, in David Novitz and Bill Willmott, eds, *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, GP Books, Wellington, 1989, pp.91-109, p.97.

<sup>117</sup> Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women’s Welfare League*, p.316.

<sup>118</sup> NZPD, 1945, 268, p.362.

a form of citizenship that recognised difference from Pakeha. Nor was it a form of citizenship that recognised the multitude of differences within Maoridom. Ngata sought to extend the long tradition of Maori seeking unity, and posited a unitary 'Maori' identity rather than fractured identities that recognised the differing identities of individual iwi and hapu.<sup>119</sup> Utilising a strategy that James Belich has termed "brilliantly subversive co-operation",<sup>120</sup> Ngata sought to increase Maori claims to the benefits of the State, and to simultaneously continue his work of reviving Maori culture.<sup>121</sup>

Citizenship paid for by the Maori war effort, was, however, a heavily gendered form of citizenship. The Maori citizen in Ngata's imagination was a heroic male soldier. In the period and spaces under examination in this thesis, however, Maori women were also crucial to reconfigurations of Maori citizenship. Just as early twentieth century Pakeha feminists and voluntary women had negotiated a differential form of citizenship for themselves as maternal citizens,<sup>122</sup> so too did post-war Maori women. They did so in an international climate of what British scholars have labelled the "domestication of the concept of citizenship".<sup>123</sup> Increasingly throughout the post-war period, politicians and bureaucrats constructed Maori women as 'mothers of the race'. This maternal figure came to be recognised within official formulations as exemplifying 'ideal' Maori citizenship. Throughout the 1950s, maternal Maori figures came to stand alongside Maori workers and soldiers as being ideal citizens. Traditionally feminine duties, such as managing and caring for a home, and caring for children, came to be defined as falling within ideal citizenship. The 1957 annual report of the Department of Maori Affairs contained such a view: "The great majority of Maoris settled in European communities are doing a service to their race by the way they meet their financial commitments, care for and control their children, look after their homes and gardens, and generally conform to the canons of good citizenship".<sup>124</sup> In fulfilling maternal and wifely 'duties', the State deemed Maori women to be conforming to the canons of good citizenship; they were ideal Maori citizens.

To address the annual conference of the Maori Women's Welfare League provided politicians with ample opportunity to explicitly articulate their belief in Maori women as

---

<sup>119</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.205. Belich does make the point, however, that this "was a pan-tribal or nationalist agenda" that was "more compatible with tribalism than the pan-Maori sentiments of the Ratana movement".

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, p.206.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, pp.200-206.

<sup>122</sup> For a full discussion of this see: Megan Woods, "Re/producing the Nation: Women Making Identity in New Zealand, 1906-25", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1997.

<sup>123</sup> Penny Tinkler, "English Girls and the International Dimensions of British Citizenship in the 1940s", *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, 8, 1 (2001), pp.103-126, p.108.

<sup>124</sup> AJHR, G-9, 1957, p.18.

being ‘mothers of the race’, and to their centrality in their families achieving ideal Maori citizenship. At the first annual conference of the women’s organisation, Ernest Corbett, the Minister of Maori Affairs, labelled the assembled delegates as “mothers of the race”, and encouraged them in their works:

The mother is, indeed, the centre of family life. When the problems of the Maori people are ones that are so dependent on the conduct of the individual – the Maori man and the woman, the boy and the girl – added responsibility must be laid and stressed on the importance of the mother’s influence...Go forward on the road on which you have set your foot to the glory of your race and to the satisfaction of the mother, the head of the family.<sup>125</sup>

Later in his speech, he referred to women, in their role as mothers, as being the leaders of the people. He implored the gathered Maori women to take the example of the “new Queen of our great Empire”. For according to Corbett she was the “embodiment of motherhood and all it stands for”, and her example should be “striven for by all women, brown and white”.<sup>126</sup> Thirteen years later in an address to the League, Ralph Hanan, as Minister of Maori Affairs, continued the State’s essentialised view of the members as being ‘mothers of the race’:

... the Maori people had made progress in the year since your last Conference. Fortunately, I am able to tell you that more progress – quite spectacular progress - has been achieved.

And it is you, the members of the Maori Women’s Welfare League ...who have helped to make this possible. You have interested yourselves in the health of the children...In their home upbringing and training...And you have impressed on them the need to live with sound habits...

And you, the mothers of the people, are those best fitted for this great humanitarian work... for the influence of the mother among all races of people is the greatest and most intimate human influence. Because of this influence it is you who can obtain best results in dealing with the problems of the Maori people today, because you command respect as the mothers of the race.<sup>127</sup>

To have citizenship sourced from their maternal function was not a process confined to married women with children. The biological capacity of young single women to be the future mothers of the race also earned them this form of citizenship. It was through their bodies, adorned in the latest fashions and cosmetics, that young single Maori women could signal their belonging to the cities and to the nation. Throughout the mid-twentieth century, and in the context of Maori urbanisation, fashion and cosmetics became crucial to constructions of ideal Maori citizenship. Although not confined to young women, this was a form of ideal citizenship that was highly gendered.

Maori women’s relationship to citizenship was, however, highly complicated and full of contradictions. While on one level, Maori women sought to achieve the ideal citizenship that the State defined, on the other hand they sought to subvert this conception. By accepting the mantle of being ‘mothers of the race’ and being ideal citizens, Maori women not

<sup>125</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1952, MS-Papers-1396-001, ATL.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1965, MS-Papers-1396-009, ATL.

only bettered their own and their families material living conditions, but they also achieved a sense of belonging in their new urban homes. Unlike many post-war male Maori leaders after the death of Ngata in 1950, however, the Maori Women's Welfare League also sought cultural citizenship. In many ways, the women of the League continued Ngata's "brilliantly subversive co-operation"<sup>128</sup>. League members were able to utilise the resources of the State to foster Maori language and culture in the cities. It was in the homes and hostels of the cities, so-called domestic and therefore feminine spaces, that Maori women reinvented their culture in the urban context.

## MODERNITY

Central to the constructions of Maori within national identity and as ideal citizens was the concept of modernity. There has been a tendency among New Zealand historians to pay very little attention to this concept. While the very word 'modernity' evokes a range of meanings, it is generally accepted that modernity is associated with changes in the social form that move away from 'tradition' as the basis of culture, and towards Western capitalism and culture. Classical sociologist Georg Simmel theorised modernity in terms of a tension between the rapid development of science, technology, and objective knowledge, and the erosion of subjective personal culture.<sup>129</sup> While many scholars equate modernity with the rise of capitalism and commodification, and link it to urbanisation and industrialisation, it is important to understand that modernity is as concerned with psychology and culture as much as with economics.<sup>130</sup> The timing of the major waves of Pakeha settlement, in the mid to late nineteenth century, was undoubtedly a factor in keeping New Zealand historians away from the subject. There is a view of New Zealand as being largely 'modern' from its Pakeha outset. Some, however, have explored the subject and have largely concurred that it was the inter-war period, and particular the 1920s, that heralded New Zealand's entry into 'modernity'.<sup>131</sup> For Erik Olssen, the processes that led to the emergence of 'modern' New Zealand are rooted in the 1890s. It was the end of the 1920s, however, that he staked out as the beginnings of 'modern' New Zealand. He argued that by this time a new society had emerged "from the colonial frontier": that the "fragmented regions and localities of the

<sup>128</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.206.

<sup>129</sup> Alan Swingewood, *Cultural Theory and the Problem of Modernity*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1998, p.32.

<sup>130</sup> Bruce M Knauff, *From Primitive to Postcolonial in Melanesia and Anthropology*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1999, p.169.

<sup>131</sup> See for example: Katie Pickles, "Workers and Workplaces - Industry and Modernity", in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, eds, *Southern Capital Christchurch: Towards a City Biography 1859-2000*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, pp.138-161, Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 4th edition. Penguin Books, Auckland, 1991, p.245, Danielle Sprecher, "Good Clothes are Good Business", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp.141-162.

1870s" had integrated to form "modern New Zealand"<sup>132</sup>. The new society was one characterised by towns and cities, bureaucracy, specialisation, and organisation. This was a society where the social structure was more complex; the division of labour more intricate, and the distinction between rural and urban areas more obvious. Olssen emphasised that these changes occurred at different speeds and at different times in different areas,<sup>133</sup> and established a clear link between modernisation and industrialisation.<sup>134</sup> Within the traditional historiography there is therefore some recognition that the experience of modernity in New Zealand was not unified, in that modernity was felt differently at different times in different regions. There is also a growing realisation that gender intersected with modernity to produce differing experiences for men and women.<sup>135</sup>

While modernity has been fractured and problematised in these terms, 'race' has remained a stable category. 'Modernity', as it has traditionally appeared in the history books, is essentially a narrative of Pakeha New Zealand.<sup>136</sup> The relationship of Maori to modernity is a complex issue that has received scant attention in the literature.

Even the most cursory of glances at the recent literature surrounding modernity will reveal the area to be highly contested, and to be the subject of much academic debate. Debates surrounding postmodernity and postcolonialism have produced a growing instability around the very category of modernity itself in recent years. Traditional accounts of modernity and modernisation, such as the Olssen account, charted a linear progression that saw 'traditional' societies become not only industrialised and urbanised, but also rationalised, bureaucratised, and secularised. Such a view, which has been criticised as being teleological and Eurocentric, does not adequately describe the complexity of modernity in many situations.<sup>137</sup>

It has been suggested that the roots of modernity are impossible to locate, and that any century from the sixteenth to the nineteenth could be, and has been, named as the first 'modern' century. A political scientist might point to the work of Hobbes in the seventeenth century when attempting to situate the origins of modernity. A literary critic, however, would be more likely claim that the mid to late nineteenth century lays a greater claim to the birth of

---

<sup>132</sup> Erik Olssen, "Towards a New Society", in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.254-284, p.254.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, p.255.

<sup>135</sup> For gendered considerations of modernity see: Pickles, "Workers and Workplaces", Sprecher, "Good Clothes".

<sup>136</sup> There are exceptions to this: see for example Sprecher, "Good Clothes", p.143.

<sup>137</sup> For a discussion on this in the Malaysian context see: Maila Stivens, "Modernising the Malay mother", in Kalpana Ram and Margaret Jolly, eds, *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and postcolonial experiences in Asia and the Pacific*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, pp.50-80.

modernity. Feminist scholar Rita Felski argues instead that it is more useful to see modernity not as a homogenous concept that was born at a particular moment in history, “but rather that it comprises a collection of interlocking institutional, cultural, and philosophical strands which emerge at different times and which are often only defined as ‘modern’ retrospectively”.<sup>138</sup>

It is the West that is viewed as the elect and natural home of modernity. Colonisation presented other societies with the choice to remain in the ‘past’ or to modernise their societies. In the context of colonisation, modernisation was a synonym for Europeanisation.<sup>139</sup> The idea of the modern was deeply implicated from its beginnings with the project of domination over indigenous people throughout the world. Throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, Western nations used technological advances as a justification for imperial domination. The customs and practices of indigenous peoples were forced to give way to the march of ‘progress’. While on the one hand there was a close alignment between modernity and progress rationality, reason, and democracy; tradition, as the domain of indigenes, was associated with the spiritual and irrational.<sup>140</sup> Working within a social Darwinist schema, many colonists of new lands believed that the irrational and ancient beliefs and practices of indigenous peoples would disappear with the introduction of Western rationality and efficiency.<sup>141</sup>

### ***Post-War Maori Modernity***

In the context of urbanisation and integration, the relationship between Maori and modernity became even more complex. As previously argued, although Maori culture was important for the display of the nation, the desire for modern and integrated Maori citizens became woven into the traditional colonial Maori/Pakeha, ancient/modern dichotomies.

<sup>138</sup> Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995, p.12.

<sup>139</sup> Simon During, “What Was the West?: Some Relations Between Modernity, Colonisation and Writing”, *Sport*, 4 (1990), pp.63-89, p.63.

<sup>140</sup> There is an ever increasing literature on the relationship between colonialism/imperialism and modernity. See for example: Fred Dallmayr and G.N. Devy, “Introduction”, in Fred Dallmayr and G.N. Devy, eds, *Between Tradition and Modernity: India's Search for Identity*, AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, 1998, pp.15-52, Dibley, “Telling Times”, During, “What Was the West?: Some Relations Between Modernity, Colonisation and Writing”, Margaret Jolly, “Women-Nation-State in Vanuatu: Women as Signs and Subjects in the Discourses of *Kastom*, Modernity and Christianity”, in Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas, eds, *Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific*, Harwood Academic Publishers, Amsterdam, 1997, pp.133-162, Margaret Jolly, “Introduction: Colonial and postcolonial plots in histories of maternities and modernities”, in Kalpana Ram and Margaret Jolly, eds, *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and postcolonial experiences in Asia and the Pacific*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, pp.1-25, Knauff, *From Primitive to Postcolonial*, Jeffrey Sissons, “National Moments: Dance and Nationhood in the Cook Islands”, *Sites*, 30 (1995), pp.153-164, Jeffrey Sissons, “Nation or Desti-Nation? Cook Islands Nationalism since 1965”, in Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas, eds, *Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific*, Harwood Academic Publishers, Amsterdam, 1997, pp.163-188, John Taylor, *Consuming Identity: Modernity and Tourism in New Zealand*, Auckland, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1998, Research in Anthropology and Linguistics, Number Two, Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*, Routledge, London, 1990.

<sup>141</sup> Dallmayr and Devy, “Introduction”, p.16, Knauff, *From Primitive to Postcolonial*, p.169.

Bureaucrats, politicians, and Maori themselves used the terms ‘modernity’, ‘integration’, and ‘ideal citizenship’ synonymously. John Taylor argues that although many Maori were participants in and contributors to a cultural ‘revival’ following the war, the image of Maori tended towards “performance of the past”.<sup>142</sup> He argued, in the tourism context, that the performers were continually seen as being temporally displaced from their traditions, as merely re-enacting the ways of their pre-European forebears. Unlike turn-of-the-century representations, the post-war period tended towards what Taylor labelled “physical anachronism”.<sup>143</sup> Maori culture and tradition, argues Taylor, were presented to Western audiences, including Pakeha New Zealanders, as fragments from the Maori past served up by ‘modern’ performers. The construction of ‘Maoriness’ as an ancient and unchanging entity, as it had been at the 1906 Exhibition, was no longer appropriate in the post-war context. Contradicting the desire to use representations of ancient and exotic Maori to distinguish New Zealand was the post-war desire for the integration and the modernisation of Maori. Thus, ‘modernised Maori’ played out the part of the sensualised native.<sup>144</sup>

Taylor argued that there was a second generic representation of Maori in the post-war period, that of the ‘modern Maori’. There existed a dichotomous conception of Maori as both ‘other’, and as fully integrated and ‘modernised’ citizens. In the representation of a ‘modern Maori’, a smartly dressed young Maori was juxtaposed against a sign of the ‘traditional past’. Taylor detected a desire, that became increasingly apparent throughout the 1960s, to represent a temporal split between a ‘traditional’ past and a modern present.<sup>145</sup> Young Maori men and women living in the urban centres were depicted wearing modern fashions of the time, looking every inch the urban sophisticate of 1950s and 1960s New Zealand.<sup>146</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This thesis fractures understandings of the integration and urbanisation of Maori. It shows how gender and location fundamentally altered and shaped experiences of the policies and processes. Furthermore, this thesis connects the mid-twentieth century urbanisation and integration of Maori with several bodies of historical scholarship, in order to demonstrate the complex and far-reaching ramifications the policies had on both individuals and New Zealand society as a whole. It argues that understandings of urbanisation and integration serves to further nuance the scholarship concerning mid-twentieth New Zealand women, mid-twentieth

---

<sup>142</sup> Taylor, *Consuming Identity*, p.28.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, p.29.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, pp.28-29.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid, pp.29-30.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid, p.30. There is a strong association between youth and modernity. For a discussion of this in the Cook Islands context see: Sissons, “National Moments”, p.155.

century New Zealand social history, and ultimately scholarship examining constructions and imaginations of the New Zealand nation.

Throughout this thesis, it also argued that urbanisation and integration were entwined with notions of citizenship. It was modern and integrated Maori who were able to lay claim to fulfilling the State's definition of ideal Maori citizens in the mid-twentieth century. In seeking to construct Maori as ideal citizens, throughout the period under investigation the State extended to Maori greater access to citizenship rights within the Marshallian sense. Following 1945, Maori as a reward for their wartime heroics gained greater access to the category of rights that Marshall around the same time defined as "social rights". This greater access to the fruits of the welfare state went some way to improving material living conditions for many Maori. Maori women, particularly through the Maori Women's Welfare League, however, sought to not only extend Maori citizenship in the Marshallian sense, they also sought to gain Maori a form of 'cultural citizenship'. Through exploiting the aspects of the policies that sought to promote and preserve Maori culture as national markers, Maori in the mid-twentieth century on some occasions were able to preserve much of their culture in the cities.



## chapter three:

---

# Dissolving the Frontiers

**W**hy did Maori leave their rural communities for lives in the towns and cities in such vast numbers in the mid-twentieth century? This chapter addresses this question, and in doing so examines the interplay between urbanisation and integration. It argues that there was no simple linear progression from one to the other. Instead, it shows the processes and policies to be more complex, with the desire for integration sometimes stimulating the urbanisation of Maori. The urbanisation of Maori is shown to have been far from an historical inevitability, but instead the result of a determined policy initiative on the part of the State that interweaved with the desires of many Maori for lives in the cities. As this chapter also demonstrates, however, for some, both Maori and Pakeha, the ‘dissolving of the frontiers’ was not the desired option; urbanisation during and following the war was a contested issue. This chapter also examines the policy of integration from its formulation through to its most famous articulation in the 1960 Report on Department of Maori Affairs. While not disowning the similarities, this chapter differentiates integration from the earlier policy of assimilation. It shows the policy of integration to have held potential for Maori to negotiate the policy and foster their culture in the cities.

## RACIAL SPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS OF ‘NEW ZEALAND’

This section examines the ways in which New Zealand as a nation was spatially configured along racial lines, and argues that divisions of space were crucial to the colonisation of New Zealand. In particular, it posits urban spaces as crucial in establishing colonial rule in the settler colony, and argues that from the nineteenth century Maori were excluded from these spaces. In recent years, space and place have undergone reformulations within social theory. Gone are detached, positivistic conceptions of space, and in their place is an understanding of space as socially produced. Space is now understood as possessing a multiple and complex nature, and as being formed and reformed through complex networks of relations across different places and times.<sup>1</sup> Utilising these reconfigurations, scholars of imperialism and colonialism have come to examine the spatial dimensions of the processes involved with the acquisition of new lands. Imperialism, according to Edward Said, is “an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored,

---

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of these ideas see: Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1994. For an early articulation in the New Zealand context see: Eric Pawson, “The Social Production of Urban Space”, *New Zealand Geographer*, 43, 2 (1987), pp.123-129.

charted, and finally brought under control”.<sup>2</sup> To Jane Jacobs, “imperial expansions established specific spatial arrangements in which the imaginative geographies of desire hardened into material spatialities of political connection, economic dependency, architectural imposition and landscape transformation”.<sup>3</sup> It is in the spatial practices of mapping and naming that Jacobs contends that the spatial imaginary in the imperial project is perhaps the most evident.<sup>4</sup> In the late 1980s, Brian Harley, drawing on Foucaultian notions of knowledge and its relationship to power, demonstrated the strong relationship between cartography and the production of ‘known’ space in the imperial project.<sup>5</sup> Following on from the ideas of deconstruction in the post-modern and post-structural senses, pioneered by Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida, Harley contended that cartography was a form of language, and maps were a text that when deconstructed yielded much about discourses of power.

Such an approach has been applied recently to New Zealand’s colonial past in the work of Giselle Byrnes.<sup>6</sup> Utilising a ‘spatial history’ approach,<sup>7</sup> in *Boundary Markers*, Byrnes explores how land was transformed and of how colonisation is and has been expressed through language, drawing on the work of land surveyors as a particular example.<sup>8</sup> In this work, Byrnes charts how space (the unknown) became place (the known) in the nineteenth century colonising project through tracing the intentions as well as the actions of the historical subjects.<sup>9</sup> Through processes such as European land surveying and mapping, Maori spaces, previously defined and marked out by the “survey pegs” of waiata and other oral arts,<sup>10</sup> were named and became places understandable to the European mind.

---

<sup>2</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, Alfred A Knopf, New York, 1993, p.271.

<sup>3</sup> Jane M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*, Routledge, London, 1996, p.19.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> J.Brian Harley, “Maps, knowledge, and power”, in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels, eds, *The Iconography of Landscape*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, pp.277-312. For a discussion of the wider historiography in this area see: Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics*, Reaktion Books, London, 1997, pp.9-28.

<sup>6</sup> Byrnes, *Boundary Markers*.

<sup>7</sup> This was an approach to history pioneered by Australian historian Paul Carter. In Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: an exploration of landscape and history*, Knopf, New York, 1988. Carter sought to re-read the work of surveyor-explorers in Australia using a brand of history he branded as ‘spatial history’. Fundamentally, this was a form of history that focused on the methods of transforming space (the unknown) into place (the known), through tracing the intentions as well as the actions of the historical subjects. For Carter it was through “spatial forms and fantasies” that “a culture declares itself” (p.xxii). Within Carter’s conceptualisation, the naming of colonial spaces was crucial, for “it was names themselves that brought history into being”. Furthermore, it was names “that invented the spatial and conceptual co-ordinates within which history could occur”. It was the ordering and naming of space that provided the agreed point of reference; it was through these processes that “here” and “there” could be defined (p.46). Such an approach, according to Carter, sought to explore “the lacuna left by imperial history”. It moved beyond the traditional fund of the historical record and instead employed letters home, the explorers’ journals, and unfinished maps as the “literature of spatial history” (pp.xxii-xxiii).

<sup>8</sup> Byrnes, *Boundary Markers*, p.5.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ngahuia Dixon, “The Power of Place in the Maori Psyche”, Unpublished paper presented at the New Zealand Historical Association Conference, Connections: From Local to Global, Christchurch, 2001.

The ordering of colonial spaces, such as that described in the work of Byrnes, was, according to Jane Jacobs, “especially evident in the planning of colonial cities around the spatial template of the grid”. Encoded within these planned spaces, there was, according to Jacobs, a placing of “rational spatiality of urban order over the unknown (‘irrational’) spatiality of Aborigines/Nature”. With the transportation of the urban grid onto the colonial lands, the arrival of imperial authority was signified.<sup>11</sup> Since the mid 1970s, scholars have shown that architecture and town planning that regularly mimicked the imperial home was an attempt to construct idealised forms of race relations in the colonies.<sup>12</sup> The planning and laying-out of the cities became a mechanism by which colonial beliefs about cleanliness, civility, and modernity were realised. Colonial cities were designed to emphasise the distinction between the ruler and the ruled. More recent scholarship has argued that colonial town planning was “an idealised embodiment of colonial relations”.<sup>13</sup> These boundaries were, however, far from rigid.<sup>14</sup>

Within only a matter of decades of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and of Hobson’s proclamation that New Zealanders were one people, Maori were increasingly excluded from New Zealand’s budding urban spaces; spaces that were increasingly important to the developing nation. By the 1920s, despite the continued place of rural New Zealand in national imaginings, Pakeha New Zealand was a predominantly urban society.<sup>15</sup> Maori, however, continued to live in isolated and scattered rural communities. Despite attempts at pan-Maori organisations, most of the Maori population saw itself not as Maori but as members of iwi (tribes) and hapu (sub-tribes). Iwi lived away from other iwi, and Maori away from Pakeha.<sup>16</sup> This pattern persisted well into the twentieth century. As late as 1936, 83 per cent of the Maori population was located outside of the towns and cities,<sup>17</sup> and with only limited social contact with Pakeha society,<sup>18</sup> remained overwhelmingly rural and peripheral to the growing New Zealand urban nation.

This was a scenario contested by Maori, as the example of Ngai Tahu in Christchurch illustrates. From the earliest plans for the colony of Canterbury, and in particular the city of Christchurch, town-planning served to establish boundaries between Ngai Tahu and the

<sup>11</sup> Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, pp.21-22.

<sup>12</sup> See for example: King, *Colonial Urban Development*. For a later articulation of his ideas see: A.D King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy*, Routledge, London and New York, 1990.

<sup>13</sup> Sara Mills, “Gender and Colonial Space”, *Gender, Place, and Culture*, 3, 2 (1996), pp.125-147, p.137.

<sup>14</sup> King, *Colonial Urban Development*. See also Mills, “Gender and Colonial Space”, p.137.

<sup>15</sup> Olssen, “Towards a New Society”, p.258.

<sup>16</sup> Michael King, “Between Two Worlds”, in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.285-307, p.285.

<sup>17</sup> Pearson, *A Dream Deferred*, p.111.

<sup>18</sup> Butterworth, “A Rural Maori Renaissance?” p.161.

colonising settlers. Central to the Canterbury Association's plans for Christchurch was an ordering of the city on a grid plan.<sup>19</sup> The space that became Christchurch city was a space that for its first one hundred years of colonisation was a space largely devoid of indigenous inhabitants. In a recent pictorial history of the city of Christchurch, Geoffrey Rice notes that in the late nineteenth century, Maori faces were rare sights in the city.<sup>20</sup> This was no accident of history, as Ngai Tahu's attempts for a space within the city were thwarted actively by the colonial State. Te Marie Tau argues that the traditional Ngai Tahu presence in Christchurch ended in 1868 with the Native Land Court's decision to deny applications for reserves within the boundaries of the city.<sup>21</sup> The result of Chief Judge Fenton's denial of the application was that Ngai Tahu, both geographically and socially, remained peripheral to the city.<sup>22</sup> Instead of space within the city boundaries, many Canterbury Ngai Tahu resided in villages that ringed the city at Tuahiwi, Taumutu, Rapaki, Onuku, Wairewa, and Koukourarata.<sup>23</sup>

Despite being denied space within the nation's colonial cities, from the late nineteenth century Maori were a mobile population. From the late 1870s, Maori began to leave their communities in search of work. In the 1920s, this trend began to intensify. Usually, however, these migrations were to other rural areas where work was available, were of a temporary nature, and the migrants were overwhelmingly male. Even if a migrant did not return to his own community, the 'wanderer' would usually settle in another Maori rural community.<sup>24</sup> The coming to power of the first Labour Government, and subsequent changes in policies, meant that by 1936 Maori urbanisation had become "an important factor".<sup>25</sup> By the end of the 1930s, the flow of Maori from rural to urban areas had progressed to a point where hostels became necessary to house Maori workers in several centres.<sup>26</sup> Although this was the beginning of the movement to the cities and towns, many of the Maori listed as urban

<sup>19</sup> W. David McIntyre, "Outwards and Upwards - Building the City", in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, eds, *Southern Capital Christchurch: Towards a City Biography 1859-2000*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, pp.85-114, pp.86-89.

<sup>20</sup> Geoffrey W. Rice, *Christchurch Changing: An Illustrated History*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1999, p.44.

<sup>21</sup> Te Marie Tau, "Ngai Tahu - From 'Better Dead and Out of the Way' to 'To be Seen to Belong'", in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, eds, *Southern Capital Christchurch: Towards a City Biography 1859-2000*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, pp.222-247, p.223. Chief Judge F.D. Fenton denied the applications on the grounds that kaumatua were unable to produce plans or survey maps of the areas, and in any case, the Crown had already sold the land under question to settlers.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p.224.

<sup>23</sup> Parsonson, "Ngai Tahu - The Whale That Awoke", p.251.

<sup>24</sup> Butterworth, "A Rural Maori Renaissance?" p.161, Metge, *A New Maori Migration*, p.98. Metge has identified a high degree of rural mobility in North Auckland even before World War I.

<sup>25</sup> Poulsen, "Internal Maori Migration", p.109.

<sup>26</sup> Memorandum: 12 May 1939, AAMK 869, 37/1, Vol.1, Box 1115f, ANZ, Wellington; Butterworth, "A Rural Maori Renaissance?" pp.161-162. By the end of the 1930s, hostels had been established at Auckland, Tuakau, Pukekohe, Tauranga, New Plymouth, Havelock, Nelson, and Bluff.



**Illustration 2: February Image for the *Colourful New Zealand Calendar*, 1968, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd for the Felicity Card Co. LTD. The calendar's caption read: Young Maori people view the city of Gisborne from Kaiti Hill. Their ancestors came to New Zealand from the legendary Pacific Homeland of Hawaiki roughly 750 years ago. Gisborne today is a thriving city on the East Coast of the North Island, Gladys Goodall Collection, Gladys Goodall, Christchurch, New Zealand.**

residents were in reality living in Maori settlements that had been engulfed by the spread of the cities, with the Ngati Whatua at Orakei being a notable example.<sup>27</sup>

The movement of Maori from their 'traditional' rural homes for lives in the cities, towns, and boroughs of New Zealand in the years during and following World War II, served to radically disrupt the "interior frontiers"<sup>28</sup> of the colonial nation. In only three decades, the Maori population transformed from predominantly rural (74%) in 1945 to predominantly urban based (77%) by 1976.<sup>29</sup> Such was the rapidity of this migration, that a cross-national study suggested that this was possibly the most rapid urban-ward movement of a national population anywhere, at least until the end of the 1960s.<sup>30</sup> For Maori, the geographic movement from country to town represented one of the most radical population movements since their arrival in the islands that came to constitute modern New Zealand. It was with this spatial transformation that Maori and Pakeha, geographically and socially remote from one another for nearly a century, began to encounter each other in the 'contact zones'<sup>31</sup> of the streets of the rapidly expanding post-war suburbs of New Zealand's towns and cities.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p.162.

<sup>28</sup> Ann L. Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34, 3 (1992), pp.514-551, p.516.

<sup>29</sup> Pearson, *A Dream Deferred*, p.111.

<sup>30</sup> Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, p.154.

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion of the 'contact zone' in the context of imperial travel writing see: Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

Despite the large numbers of Maori moving to the cities and towns during and following World War II, in many ways Maori continued to be constructed as belonging to an ancient world, peripheral to modern Pakeha cities. Occurring parallel with the desire to integrate Maori more fully into the ‘modern’ (and therefore urban) nation, there remained a conscious desire to construct ‘Maoriness’ as being temporally distant from the modern Pakeha cities and nation. Images such as the 1968 Whitcombe and Tombs calendar shown in Illustration 2 exemplify such an attempt. Gladys Goodall, the photographer who took the above image, recalls that in composing the photograph she sought to juxtapose the ancient Maori world with the modern Pakeha city.<sup>32</sup>

For many Maori who migrated to the towns and cities during and after World War II, this was their first encounter with urban New Zealand; spaces that came to be called *te ao hou* – the new world. Despite this, however, we need to temper understandings of the interior frontiers of the nation; they were not uncomplicated and straightforward geographic boundaries drawn on ‘racial’ lines. The reality, as it usually is, was far more complicated than the constructions. Maori urbanisation cannot be adequately understood as a simple breaching of Maori/ Pakeha rural/urban dichotomies. Although an overwhelmingly rural people until the post World War II period, some Maori had resided in urban areas since the nineteenth century, or as discussed above, had resided in areas that came to be subsumed by the expanding urban spaces of the nation. Likewise, particularly in the period to the 1920s, large numbers of Pakeha New Zealanders were rural dwellers. Instead, we need to understand the interior frontiers of the New Zealand nation as complex tangles of class, ‘race’, and gender relations.

## WHY URBANISE AND INTEGRATE?

Given the importance of the spatial configurations drawn along racial lines to constructions of New Zealand, the question as to why in the period between 1942 and 1969 there emerged a desire for the urbanisation of Maori, and the production of both integrated Maori citizens and an integrated nation requires attention. There is no simple answer to this question, but instead an interlocking mesh of Maori desires, economic interests, State race relations aspirations, and the context of the Cold War. In the period, 1942-1969 these interests came together and resulted in the mass migration of Maori to the cities and towns of New Zealand. This section outlines these four contributing factors that are further elaborated on throughout the thesis. It also shows that not all were in favour of the urbanisation and integration of Maori, in fact throughout the period under examination both Maori and Pakeha

---

<sup>32</sup> Personal Communication with Gladys Goodall, 13 March 2001.



contested Maori urbanisation. Even while Maori were leaving their rural communities in large numbers, some, both Maori and Pakeha, argued for the retention of the 'interior frontiers' of the nation. They argued that the 'natural' place for Maori remained in rural New Zealand.

Although the antecedents of the mass population movement pre-dated the out-break of World War II, the war was a major factor in stimulating the pace of Maori urbanisation. World War II was for New Zealand, as for many countries, an economic catalyst. In order to supply the needs of the war, the country increased both agricultural and industrial production, and by 1941 was critically short of labour. The 1942 introduction of industrial conscription, sought to both combat the lack of labour and keep a lid on wages.<sup>33</sup> Although not conscripted into the armed services, Maori were included in the industrial conscription of the nation's labour to support the essential industries. The formation of the Maori War Effort Organisation (MWEO) in June of 1942 was largely due to the need to identify Maori who would contribute to the war effort either as front line combatants or as part of the effort being waged on the home front. Under the auspices of the MWEO, the 315 tribal committees mobilised Maori men and women for armed service, agricultural production, and industrial conscription.<sup>34</sup> By 1 April 1945, 15 000 Maori were employed in essential industries,<sup>35</sup> and for many young Maori this meant a shift from their rural homes to work in essential industries in the cities.

The 1942 'manpowering regulations' included women, although Deborah Montgomerie argues it largely "went against the grain".<sup>36</sup> An interim report of August 1941 targeted 'redundant' women as a potential source of labour. Included in this potential labour force were Maori women, although it seems that the type and location of the work that Maori women were able to carry out was at times limited due to the 'racism' of various Government officials. To some officials, the best use of Maori women was to protect Pakeha women from the heaviest and most arduous tasks.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Nancy M. Taylor, *The New Zealand People at War: The Home Front*, 2 vols Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45, vol. 2 Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1986, pp.663-741.

<sup>34</sup> Orange, "An Exercise in Maori Authority", pp.159-160, Claudia Orange, "The Price of Citizenship? The Maori War Effort", in John Crawford, ed, *Kia Kaha: New Zealand in the Second World War*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 2000, pp.236-251.

<sup>35</sup> Montgomerie, *The Women's War*, p.97.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p.83.

<sup>37</sup> Ian Carter, "Most Important Industry: How the New Zealand State Got Interested in Rural Women, 1930-1944", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 20, 1 (1986), pp.27-43, pp.39-40, Montgomerie, *The Women's War*, p.98.

In the years immediately following the war, many viewed the population movement of Maori from country to city as a wartime aberration and sought to re-establish the pre-war interior frontiers of the nation. Within the Department of Maori Affairs, many believed the urbanisation of Maori to be a temporary phenomenon.<sup>38</sup> Within Parliament, the nation's elected representatives articulated similar reservations at the population movement, with one member in arguing in 1950 that the "drift to the towns was to be deplored".<sup>39</sup> With the object of "arresting the drift to the cities", politicians argued that rural New Zealand was the 'natural' home of Maori, and therefore more money and energy needed to be spent keeping Maori there.<sup>40</sup> Although on coming to office in 1949, the National party continued the State's facilitation of urbanisation begun by the first Labour Government, there remained in the party an inherent belief that Maori did not belong in the cities and towns of the nation. As late as 1960 the party released a policy document stating, "in our education system, every effort should be made to inculcate a love for the land as a calling [amongst Maori] and to discourage an undue drift to the centres of urban population".<sup>41</sup> Maori urban migrants were labelled as being "in a strange land", and the dislocation experienced in the urban environments was blamed for the increase in Maori crime and child delinquency.<sup>42</sup> Many pointed to the crime statistics, which showed a disproportionate number of urban Maori both appearing before the courts and serving sentences in the nation's jails.<sup>43</sup>

Within Maoridom, individuals and groups also voiced their opposition to Maori moving to the towns. The first stirrings of Maori opposition were heard during World War II, when Maori leaders made clear their displeasure at the undermining of the rural basis of Maori society by the manpowering regulations.<sup>44</sup> In 1943, Sir Apirana Ngata, the member for Eastern Maori, voiced this opposition in the house. He spoke out against the National Service Department's failure to consult tribal committees when directing Maori out of their tribal areas. According to Ngata, "most committees had not supported policies that encouraged urbanisation".<sup>45</sup> Especially troubling for the member for Eastern Maori was the timing of the transition from country to town. Ngata argued that Maori reaching "anything like the standard of rehabilitation that this country demands of him" was a relatively recent

---

<sup>38</sup> Orange, "A Kind of Equality", p.169.

<sup>39</sup> NZPD, 1950, Vol.292, p.3617.

<sup>40</sup> See for example: Johnstone (Raglan), *Ibid*; Sutherland (Hauraki), NZPD, 1945, Vol. 270, p.303; Cotterill (Wanganui); NZPD, 1949, Vol. 285, p.142.

<sup>41</sup> National Party, "Report of the Special Committee of Maori Affairs", June 1959-April 1960, MS-Papers-1403-555/8, ATL.

<sup>42</sup> NZPD, 1949, Vol.285, p.142.

<sup>43</sup> Orange, "A Kind of Equality", p.175.

<sup>44</sup> Montgomerie, *The Women's War*, p.97.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*.



phenomenon, and that increased Maori in the cities could potentially undermine this gain.<sup>46</sup> Following the war, individual Maori continued to cast Maori as belonging in the rural regions of New Zealand. At the 1957 conference of the Maori Women's Welfare League, President Whina Cooper stated that she believed that the majority of Maori should remain in their own homes and not be moved to the cities, as "after all Maoris are rural people and not urban".<sup>47</sup>

Against the tide of anti-urbanisation apparent in post-war New Zealand, was a growing realisation that urbanisation was desirable not only for individuals, but also for the New Zealand nation and economy as a whole. Peter Fraser, unlike the majority of politicians and bureaucrats around him, developed an early appreciation that the urbanisation of Maori was not necessarily negative. Driven by an understanding of the need for Maori mobility in employment, Fraser countered the critics of the 'urban drift' of Maori, and argued that urbanisation was not "necessarily detrimental" for Maori.<sup>48</sup> Echoing his predecessor's realisation that there was a certain inevitability, and even desirability of Maori coming into the towns and cities to take up employment, Walter Nash, leader of the Labour opposition, in 1950 articulated a more muted enthusiasm for the urbanisation and integration of Maori: "While it might be advantageous to get them [Maori] back on to the land, they should, if they so desired, have the opportunity of availing themselves of the advantages offered by work in the cities".<sup>49</sup>

By the mid 1950s, the New Zealand State was actively facilitating the urbanisation of the Maori population. For families and individuals not already eager to try their luck in the cities and towns, the State increasingly turned to more coercive policies. Sometimes referred to as an 'urban drift' by contemporaries, the post-war transfer of Maori from their rural communities to the cities was in fact a highly organised and orchestrated migration. For the State, there was an 'inevitability' about the migrations, brought about by economic and social needs.<sup>50</sup> By the early 1960s, there was a concern within the Department of Maori Affairs over the popular usage of the term 'urban drift'. One bureaucrat considered the Department would be wise "to discourage the written and oral use of the term". Central to his concern over the use of the term was that "a drift is purposeless, hap-hazard and usually undesirable whereas we see the movement to the towns as inevitable, imposed by economic and social needs, and increasingly planned and purposeful partly as a result of our guidance".<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> NZPD, 1943, Vol.263, p.150.

<sup>47</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1957, MS-Papers-1396-003, ATL.

<sup>48</sup> Orange, "A Kind of Equality", p.170.

<sup>49</sup> NZPD, 1950, Vol.292, p.3620.

<sup>50</sup> File note on newspaper article, 2 July 1962, AAMK 869, 30/20, Vol.3, Box 1101f, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

## ***Maori Desires***

Within Maoridom, individuals such as Eruera Tirikatene, the Member for Southern Maori, argued that if Maori so wished they should be welcomed in the cities. In 1949, Tirikatene in response to a “strong desire ... to put Maoris out of the towns” argued that Maori moving to Auckland were “going there to serve the nation in doing work”. Furthermore, he argued that if there was insufficient work in their rural communities, then Pakeha should not “raise an ‘iron curtain’ around the town he took from the Maori ... for a few red blankets.”<sup>52</sup> It was not only Maori leaders who favoured urbanisation; many individual Maori were drawn to the cities by the “big three” factors identified by Joan Metge - “work, money, and pleasure”.<sup>53</sup> For many Maori, urbanisation presented an opportunity to substantially improve material living conditions. Urban New Zealand was expanding, both economically and socially, and many young Maori wanted to be a part of it. By moving to the cities, it has been argued, many young Maori sought to “shake off the hampering authority and conventions of their elders”.<sup>54</sup> Many Maori parents also actively encouraged their children to seek a better life for themselves in the cities.<sup>55</sup>

## ***Economic Interests: ‘A Reserve of Industrial Labour’***

In 1984, Robert Miles argued that Maori constituted a surplus pool of labour at a time of economic expansion.<sup>56</sup> Six years later, David Pearson concurred with this view and noted that prior to World War II, Maori were regarded largely as peripheral to the requirements of capitalist production.<sup>57</sup> For Pearson, the economic conditions and State policies of the preceding decades, the 1930s and 1940s, had contributed in assigning to Maori the status of an urban proletariat.<sup>58</sup> In this section, I examine in detail the policies and attitudes that led to the post-war New Zealand State viewing the rural Maori population increasingly as a ‘reserve of industrial labour’.

As early as 1939, Professor H. Belshaw, speaking at the first conference of young Maori leaders, identified that Maori would increasingly have to migrate to the cities and towns of New Zealand, as the land that remained in Maori hands was simply not sufficient to support the rapidly growing Maori population.<sup>59</sup> It also became increasingly apparent to

---

<sup>52</sup> NZPD, 1949, Vol.285, pp.409-410. Tirikatene’s suggestion that Auckland had been bought “for a few red blankets” brought considerable consternation in the house. In response to a barrage of interjections, the Member for Southern Maori was forced to back up his claim with reference to written histories of the city.

<sup>53</sup> Metge, *A New Maori Migration*, p.128.

<sup>54</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.472.

<sup>55</sup> National Film Unit, *To Live in the City* Wellington: National Archives, Wellington, 1967.

<sup>56</sup> Miles, “Summoned By Capital”.

<sup>57</sup> Pearson, *A Dream Deferred*, p.113.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Young Maori Conference, *Report on Young Maori Conference*, Auckland, Auckland University College,

Maori leaders, academics, educationalists, and bureaucrats that the rural communities could not employ all the Maori labour resources. In November 1940, W. L. S Britton, the headmaster of Tokomaru Bay Native School, published an article that viewed the future employment of Maori youths as a problem.<sup>60</sup> Central to Britton's concern was the issue of a rapidly expanding Maori population and a diminishing Maori land base, first identified by Professor Belshaw at the previous year's Maori leaders conference.<sup>61</sup> In subsequent issues, the pages of the *New Zealand Vocational Association Bulletin* hosted discussion on this increasingly vexed topic.<sup>62</sup> 'Vocational Guidance for the Maori' preoccupied the 1941 annual conference of the Vocational Guidance Association, with the topic spawning three sessions. Later that year, at the suggestion of the conference, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research agreed to fund an investigation into the problems of vocational training, guidance, and the placement of Maori youth.<sup>63</sup>

In the post-war period, there was a general acceptance that the diminishing Maori land base and a growing Maori population implied dismal rural Maori employment prospects and posed a potential problem for the nation. This realisation coincided with a booming economy that demanded increasing numbers of workers. In the decade following World War II, an agricultural revolution dovetailed with the growth of sales of farm produce to Britain and a strong demand for New Zealand wool, stimulated by the Korean War, to produce a very strong national economy. Full employment was just one of the positive indicators to earn New Zealand the second highest standard of living in the world; these were the years of New Zealand's 'golden weather'.<sup>64</sup> In the context of a booming post-war economy, and associated labour shortages, Maori were no longer seen as peripheral to the requirements of capitalist production.<sup>65</sup>

---

1939, pp.12-13. Belshaw further expanded on this view one year later in Belshaw, "Maori Economic Circumstances".

<sup>60</sup> W.L.S. Britton, "Guidance for Maori Children", *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 3 (1940).

<sup>61</sup> Young Maori Conference, *Report on Young Maori Conference*, 1939, pp.12-13.

<sup>62</sup> J.M. Bennett, "A Letter Relating to Guidance for Maori Children", *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 5 (1941), W.L.S Britton, "Guidance for Maori Children", *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 5 (1941), R.S. Morrison, "Guidance for Maori Children", *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 4 (1941), K.H. O'Halloran, "Guidance and Placement for Maori Youth", *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 6 (1941), I.G. Sutherland, "Guidance for Maori Children", *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 7 (1941).

<sup>63</sup> "Report of 1941 Conference", *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, IV, 1 (1941). The resulting report was published as: H.C. McQueen, *Vocations for Maori Youth*, Educational Research Series; no.23 New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1945.

<sup>64</sup> Dunstall, "The Social Pattern", p.451. Belich also discusses this period of economic prosperity for New Zealand: Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp.307-316,

<sup>65</sup> Miles, "Summoned By Capital", Pearson, *A Dream Deferred*, p.113.

Since coming to office in 1935, Labour had recognised the need to incorporate Maori more fully into all sections of the workforce, but it was not until the end of the war that it came to address the issue seriously.<sup>66</sup> In September 1946, the National Employment Service, the Government agency charged with job placements, produced a comprehensive report that examined Maori employment. This was the first Government report to thoroughly examine Maori involvement in the economy. The findings of the report emphasised the expanding Maori population, the high percentage of the population under fifteen years of age, and the population concentrations of Maori in North Auckland and the East Coast of the North Island. The conclusion reached recognised that, given these facts, within a few years there would be a serious lack of employment for most Maori living in ‘back-country’ areas. The report recommended that the time had come to prepare and carry into effect plans for the “ultimate full absorption of the Maoris into employment”.<sup>67</sup> In order to carry this out, an inter-departmental conference was called. By the end of 1947, Cabinet appointed a permanent inter-departmental committee to work out the practical measures for this “ultimate absorption of Maoris into employment”.<sup>68</sup> The committee, dubbed the Maori Education and Employment Committee, comprised the heads of the Departments of Maori Affairs, Education, Industries and Commerce; the Ministry of Works and the State Forest Service, and met under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Labour, Bert Bockett.<sup>69</sup>

In February 1949, the committee reported to Cabinet on Maori employment difficulties and on proposed solutions.<sup>70</sup> The committee concluded that in regions such as the Waikato, the abundance of Maori labour could be absorbed into regional development projects. It was the areas of ‘greater isolation’, and in particular North Auckland, and the East Coast north of Gisborne, that posed the greatest problem. For these areas, with their large populations of ‘under-employed’ Maori, three main solutions were mooted. The report concluded the Government should ‘support to the utmost’ any scheme for the hastening of land development, particularly in North Auckland. There was, however, recognition that this solution was ‘more limited’ than realised. The acres available for farming simply would not support the Maori population at the rate at which it was growing in the identified areas.

---

<sup>66</sup> Eruera Tirikatene had mentioned the need to more fully integrate Maori into the nation’s workforce when he entered parliament, and at the 1936 Maori Labour Conference, delegates recognised this point. See Orange, “A Kind of Equality”, p.171.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p.174.

<sup>68</sup> Memorandum: Department of Labour to Ropiha, 31 October 1948, AAMK 869, 37/1, Vol.1box 1115f, ANZ, Wellington and. Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> John E. Martin, *Holding the Balance: A History of New Zealand’s Department of Labour 1891-1995*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1996, p.265. There is a debate within the literature about who was the driving force behind the establishment of the Committee. Martin argues that it was Bockett, and Butterworth (p.91) takes the view that it was Peter Fraser.

<sup>70</sup> Bockett to Minister of Labour and Employment, 9 December 1949, L1, 30/1/28, Box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

Secondly, the report proposed the establishment of industry in areas of high Maori population. The recommendation was for the Government to build and equip one or two small factories in selected Maori communities, as private industry was unlikely to “spontaneously develop in these areas”. This was to be an experiment, whereby Maori could be familiarised with factory work. In the months prior to the release of the report, Fraser, in response to desires expressed by both Maori and Pakeha that Maori should remain in their rural homes, had already begun to investigate this option. Manufacturers, however, were unenthusiastic about such a proposal.<sup>71</sup> Such a solution was to endure as a solution to the depopulation of Maori rural communities, with the Maori Women’s Welfare League, concerned about the urban-ward movement of their children, in 1957 mooted the establishment of rural factories.<sup>72</sup>

The third option mooted in the Maori Education and Employment Committee’s report was the transfer of Maori workers to areas where employment was available.<sup>73</sup> This recommendation was significant in that it signalled a wider official acceptance of the transfer of the Maori population from a rural to an urban environment. While in 1936, Prime Minister Savage had declined the suggestion of a transfer of the Maori population;<sup>74</sup> politicians and bureaucrats in the late 1940s began to seriously consider the option. Undoubtedly influencing the committee’s conclusions was a view emerging within the Department of Labour in the late 1940s of Maori as being a “reserve of industrial labour”.<sup>75</sup> Full employment in 1945 brought with it a labour shortage that was to last two decades. In order to counter the problem, the Department of Labour embarked on a series of solutions that included the provision of workers’ hostels in urban centres, and assisted immigration.<sup>76</sup> Across the Tasman, the post-war Australian Labour Government regarded that ‘national survival’ was dependent upon mass migration from central and Eastern Europe as well as the traditional sources of northern Europe and Britain. New Zealand was much more conservative in its immigration policy and never embarked upon an immigration program of the scale of its Tasman neighbour. It largely continued to look to Britain as the major source of migrants, although from 1950 the Netherlands provided a large number.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> Orange, “A Kind of Equality”, p.176.

<sup>72</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1957, MS-Papers-1396-003, ATL.

<sup>73</sup> Bockett to Minister of Labour, 9 December 1949, L1, 30/1/28, Box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>74</sup> Orange, “A Kind of Equality”, p.214.

<sup>75</sup> “The Changing Pattern of Maori Population”, *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.2, No.2, February 1952, p.16.

<sup>76</sup> “Workers’ Hostels: A Service to Industry”, *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.1, No.1, February 1951, pp.28-29; Martin, *Holding the Balance*, pp.262-263.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, pp.267-279.

Instead, New Zealand policy increasingly regarded the rural Maori population as a source of labour to be ‘tapped’.<sup>78</sup> From the late 1940s and into the 1960s, the Department of Labour’s Chief Research Officer, Noel Woods, argued for the utilisation of under-employed Maori labour in preference to European migration.<sup>79</sup> Woods found support for this thinking within the Department of Labour. The Secretary of Labour, Bert Bockett, was also ‘conscious of this issue’.<sup>80</sup> Outside of the Department, the argument found favour amongst bureaucrats such as G. D. Innes, the Vocational Guidance Officer for Wellington.<sup>81</sup>

The defeat of Labour in the 1949 election, and the disbanding of the Maori Education and Employment Committee in 1951,<sup>82</sup> did not result in any real change in official thinking over the advisability of Maori moving to urban areas in pursuit of employment. In a briefing to the incoming National Minister of Labour, William Sullivan, the Department of Labour outlined the musings that had been occurring in the preceding years, and recommended that “transfer of the population” appeared “to offer the best prospects”.<sup>83</sup> It was argued in the briefing that land development and the introduction of primary industry to areas of “Maori underemployment” had “received attention in the past without marked progress”, although the report recommended that development and establishment of industries in “overpopulated areas” must not be overlooked.<sup>84</sup> In addition to affirming the relocation of Maori as the best solution, the other significant aspect of the 1950 briefing was an emphasis on the relocation of Maori youth. “If the surplus Maori population can be encouraged to go where work is available the problem can be solved. It is too much to expect the older Maoris with families to uproot themselves and shift to more prosperous areas, but something must be done with the younger people”.<sup>85</sup> The incoming National Government heeded the advice, and from the early 1950s actively sought to remove Maori from ‘uneconomic’ areas to the cities and towns. By 1954, the Department of Maori Affairs was seeking to facilitate the urbanisation of Maori both through pursuing the idea of training Maori youth with a experimental apprenticeship scheme in operation in Christchurch, and by neither building nor providing loans for housing in areas considered to be ‘uneconomic’.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>78</sup> This was a view that held well in the 1960s see: “Maori Trade Training Schemes Tap a Labour Reservoir”, *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.17, No.1, February 1967, pp.10-15.

<sup>79</sup> Paper, 14 November 1947, L1, 30/1/28, Box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>80</sup> Martin, *Holding the Balance*, p.266.

<sup>81</sup> “Shortage of Skilled Labour”, Letter to the Editor, *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.11, No.1, February 1961, pp.61-62.

<sup>82</sup> On this see G.V. Butterworth, *Maori Affairs*, GP Books, Wellington, 1990, p.91, Martin, *Holding the Balance*, p.265.

<sup>83</sup> Department of Labour to Sullivan, 21 April 1950, L1, 30/1/28, Box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> On the housing policy, see Chapter 4.

Although by 1960 it was estimated that Maori were urbanising at a rate of 1600 per year, to many within the Departments of Labour and of Maori Affairs, the flow of Maori to the cities needed further stimulation and facilitation from the State. To the Department of Labour, the flow of Maori to the cities was insufficient to fuel the needs of the expanding economy. In a continuation of the view of Maori as being a 'reserve of industrial labour', Noel Woods argued at the 1960 Industrial Development Conference:

We would be committing a supreme folly if we pursued overseas immigration to the point of creating a racial problem of under-employed Maori pent up in "Maori" areas while immigrant labour filled the vacancies for labour in other areas. Maori migration to urban areas should already be flowing at a rate of possibly some 4, 000 a year and must continue to increase in volume year by year. It would appear imperative that overseas migration should not hinder or substitute for Maori migration.<sup>87</sup>

Following this address, the Departments of Labour, Maori Affairs, Industries and Commerce, and Education, met under the chairmanship of Jack Hunn, the Acting Secretary of Maori Affairs, on 3 October 1960 and formed the Joint Departmental Committee on Maori Employment.<sup>88</sup> With membership virtually mirroring Frazer's 1947 Committee, the 1960 Committee met with the object of formulating policy "so that relocation could be directed along sound lines rather than come about in a haphazard manner".<sup>89</sup> Like their 1940s predecessors, the Committee found that the most severe areas of Maori under-employment were the East Coast and Northland.<sup>90</sup> It concluded that the transfer of "surplus Maori labour to places of full employment must be deliberately fostered".<sup>91</sup> The population movement was to be a "rational" and "organised movement, to proceed on lines 'akin to immigration policy'".<sup>92</sup> With the justification that it would "lessen the tensions associated with urbanisation and hasten the day when Maori and Pakeha form a fully integrated society", in September 1960, the Department of Maori Affairs introduced an official relocation scheme.<sup>93</sup> Although officially named 'relocation' there was some unease within the Department of Maori Affairs over the use of the name. In 1961, Jack Hunn expressed his reluctance to using the term, but was lost for an alternative. He dismissed the suggested alternatives of "planned migration", and "urban habilitation", and asked for bureaucrats within the Department to give the matter "some fresh thought...to the point before it is too late".<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> N.S.Woods, "Immigration and the Labour Force: a background paper presented to the Industrial Development Conference, June 1960", *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.10, No.3, August 1960, p.46.

<sup>88</sup> "Draft Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs on the Relocation of Under-Employed Maori", undated, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>89</sup> Minutes of the Joint Committee on Maori Employment, 3 October 1960, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.2, Box 1101e, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>90</sup> "Draft Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs on the Relocation of Under-Employed Maori", undated, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> AJHR, 1961, G-9, p.6.

<sup>94</sup> Memorandum: Jack Hunn, 18 July 1961, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.2, Box 1101e, ANZ, Wellington.

In order to increase the number of Maori urbanising from the 1960 level of 1600 to the 4000 per annum that Noel Woods and the Department of Labour indicated the economy needed, it was recognised that a “subsidiary stream” of Maori willing to urbanise needed to be identified.<sup>95</sup> With this in mind, the policy provided for the relocation of both families and individuals, with the trade training scheme<sup>96</sup> receiving a financial boost. Eager to identify the maximum number of people eligible for relocation under the policy, in 1966 the Department of Maori Affairs undertook a survey of the housing conditions of the Maori population of the North Island.<sup>97</sup> Although the Department was interested in the housing conditions of the population, with the exclusion of the urban areas of Auckland, Hamilton, and Wellington, a primary purpose was to obtain the names and addresses of those under-employed and propose relocation to them. While earlier urbanisation schemes had shied away from family groups, the 1960 policy targeted this group explicitly. From the outset, the Joint Committee recognised that the success of the policy depended largely upon “gaining the confidence of employers”, and for this reason it was decided that the selection criteria for prospective families needed to be strictly enforced; the success of the policy depended upon employers encountering ‘good workers’ from the outset.<sup>98</sup> It was the task of the Maori Welfare Officers in the regions to select ‘suitable families’ who were prepared to shift. In publicising the scheme to Maori families in ‘uneconomic areas’, the Department was aided by the Maori Women’s Welfare League.<sup>99</sup> For families contemplating urbanisation, and especially those families that Welfare Officers were ‘doubtful’ about, the Department of Maori Affairs provided “preparatory training”.<sup>100</sup> Faced with staffing shortages to aid families in preparation for urbanisation, the Department of Maori Affairs turned to the Maori Women’s Welfare League and to their voluntary labour in order to ready families for their new urban homes.<sup>101</sup>

The Department of Maori Affairs aided in the urbanisation of families under the relocation policy by providing housing, employment, and financial and social support to those families making the migration. For those willing to urbanise under the policy, the Department

---

<sup>95</sup> “Draft Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs on the Relocation of Under-Employed Maori”, undated, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>96</sup> Trade trainees were included within the policy category of individuals, Interim Advice No.252, 12 January 1961, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol. 2, Box 1101e, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>97</sup> Department of Maori Affairs, *Housing Survey 1966*, Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1966, p.4.

<sup>98</sup> Memorandum: Rotorua to Head Office, 8 December 1966, AAMK 869, 36/20 Vol. 4 Box 1101g, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> J.K.Hunn, “Operation “Relocation””, 15 September 1960, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol. 1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>101</sup> Executive Officer Social Services to the Acting Secretary of Maori Affairs, 28 August 1963, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol. 3, Box 1101f, ANZ, Wellington.



organised both housing and employment. In recognition that many of the families from 'uneconomic areas' would lack the financial resources needed to urbanise, the Department of Maori Affairs provided loans and grants to families from the Special Maori Housing Fund.<sup>102</sup> This financial aid was intended for the purchase of essential furniture, the payment of household removal expenses, and the purchase of clothing for parents and children.<sup>103</sup> Once they arrived in their new urban homes, Department of Maori Affairs Welfare Officers assisted newly urbanised families in their social adjustment. Joining the State agency in working toward the successful adjustment of the migrant families to their new urban environments was the voluntary labour of local Maori associations, and the Maori Women's Welfare League. Just as the Department of Maori Affairs relied upon the Maori Women's Welfare League to prepare families to urbanise, so too did it rely upon the Maori women to aid families in their adjustment once in the cities and towns.<sup>104</sup>

By 1967, coincident with a major downturn in the New Zealand economy and the appearance of the first real unemployment in the post-war era,<sup>105</sup> the Department of Maori Affairs began to scale back the policy of relocation. By 1967 it was apparent to bureaucrats within the Department that the majority of those urbanising were doing so without the assistance of the State.<sup>106</sup> Citing difficulties in the reporting procedure, from 1967 the Department of Maori Affairs only required regional offices, to submit returns for families, and not individuals relocated. Although it had never accounted for a significant proportion of Maori urbanisation,<sup>107</sup> after 1967, even fewer Maori families received State assistance to move to the cities. Although on paper the Department persevered with the policy of relocation into the 1970s, in reality only a very small number of families were relocated in the period after 1967. In the two-year period between March 1967 and 1969, only 68 families were relocated under the policy,<sup>108</sup> and in the following two-year period between March 1969 and 1971, 57 families received Departmental assistance in their migrations.<sup>109</sup> These figures for twenty-four month periods were well short of the 132 families relocated in a twelve-month

---

<sup>102</sup> "Draft Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs on the Relocation of Under-Employed Maori", undated, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington; and AJHR, 1961, G-9, p.6.

<sup>103</sup> AJHR, 1962, G-9, p.6.

<sup>104</sup> Executive Officer Social Services to the Acting Secretary of Maori Affairs, 28 August 1963, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol. 3, Box 1101f, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>105</sup> Martin, *Holding the Balance*, p.311, For a more general discussion of the economic conditions of the period see: Gary Hawke, "Economic Trends and Economic Policy, 1938-1992", in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.412-450, p.431.

<sup>106</sup> Price to Head Office, 15 June 1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.4, Box 1101g, ANZ, Wellington; AJHR, 1967, G-9, p.12.

<sup>107</sup> As at 31 March 1967, 557 families and 2 687 had been relocated under the scheme. Annual Relocation Return, 31 March 1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.4, Box 1101g, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>108</sup> Annual Relocation Return, 31 March 1969, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.4, Box 1101g, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>109</sup> Annual Relocation Return, 31 March 1971, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.4, Box 1101g, ANZ, Wellington.

period between March 1963 and 1964. With the number of applications for Maori housing also noticeably reducing between 1967 and 1968, a fact that the Department of Maori Affairs attributed to the “current economic recession”,<sup>110</sup> the ‘golden weather’ was beginning to wane for Maori.

### **‘OPERATION RELOCATION’ AND THE SOUTH ISLAND**

By the late 1950s, the Department of Maori Affairs observed with increasing interest the southward movement of North Island Maori, and began to investigate ways in which it could further facilitate the movement. In 1958, after investigating the possibility for some time, the Department mooted the transfer of a “sounder kind of settler” from North Island Maori communities to Southland.<sup>111</sup> By the beginning of 1959, the planned movement was the subject of intense discussion within the Department, with J. E. Lewin, the Christchurch District Officer of the Department of Maori Affairs, advising Wellington that the “tentative investigation [had] gone deep enough”.<sup>112</sup> Originally, it had been planned to relocate to Southland one or two “good types” of families who were awaiting new housing in the North Island.<sup>113</sup> It was, however, suggested to the Assistant Secretary of Maori Affairs, MacKay that before families be moved to the region, seasonal workers first be encouraged through the provision of housing to stay in the region.<sup>114</sup> MacKay concurred, as it was believed that demonstration of successful migrations would encourage more North Island families to migrate to the southern-most region of the nation.<sup>115</sup>

The desire of Department of Maori Affairs to settle North Island Maori in the South Island was grounded in the wider policy desire to move Maori away from both farming and ‘uneconomic’ areas. Following a visit investigating the possibilities for relocation in Southland, Doug Clark, Maori Welfare Officer for the South Island, suggested the possibility of the developments of farms in Southland for North Island Maori.<sup>116</sup> His suggestion was, however, dismissed as being “prohibitively expensive” by those higher up the Departmental hierarchy.<sup>117</sup> Nor did the Department of Maori Affairs entertain the relocation of North Island

---

<sup>110</sup> AJHR, 1968, G-9, p.13.

<sup>111</sup> Memorandum: October 1958, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>112</sup> Lewin to Head Office, 17 February 1959, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>113</sup> Handwritten notes for file, MacKay to Robertson, undated (but c.13 March 1959), AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid; and Robertson to MacKay, undated (but c.13 March 1959), AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>115</sup> Robertson to Assistant Controller of Maori Welfare, 16 March 1959, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>116</sup> Clark to the Secretary Maori Affairs, 2 March 1959, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>117</sup> Lewin handwritten marginal note, Clark to the Secretary Maori Affairs, 2 March 1959, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

Maori to regions of the South Island that it considered to offer few opportunities for education and for future employment of other family members.<sup>118</sup>

With the implementation of the official relocation scheme in 1960, Christchurch became the recipient of even more North Island Maori migrants. Not only was the pre-existing seasonal migration stream to Southland of interest to the Department of Maori Affairs, the annual influx of North Island Maori women to the Nelson region also came under the scrutiny of the Department. Within the Department, officials were eager to further stimulate the flow of workers from Motueka, described as “the gateway to the South Island”, to employment in Christchurch.<sup>119</sup> In 1961, the Christchurch office of the Department of Maori Affairs could report success in the placement of 230 young Maori women in employment and accommodation in Christchurch. Although it was acknowledged that a number of the group would have relocated themselves independently after completion of the season, the Department ensured this was the case by interviewing and assisting all the young women.<sup>120</sup>

With the policy of relocation officially in operation from the 1960s, the State sought to settle even greater numbers of North Island Maori in Christchurch; individuals, and families who would not have otherwise come to the city. In line with the policy, in 1961 the Christchurch office of the State Advances Corporation transferred more houses to the Department of Maori Affairs than for which it had local applicants. The explicit intent was to relocate North Island families to Christchurch to take up occupation of the homes.<sup>121</sup> This practice continued throughout the 1960s, with District Welfare Officers of the Department of Maori Affairs being advised at a 1966 national seminar that more houses were available for Maori in Christchurch “than can be disposed of by normal means”.<sup>122</sup> With a surplus of Maori housing available in the city, the Department of Maori Affairs “specially sponsored” North Island families wishing to relocate to Christchurch.<sup>123</sup>

Despite the inducement of available housing, the Department of Maori Affairs was unable to attract large numbers of Maori families to Christchurch. Between 1961 and 1967, the period of operation of the official policy of relocation, the Christchurch office of the Department of Maori Affairs recorded officially relocating only 27 families to the city (see

<sup>118</sup> Riwai to Acting Secretary Maori Affairs, 31 August 1960; MacKay handwritten note for file, 5 September 1960, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

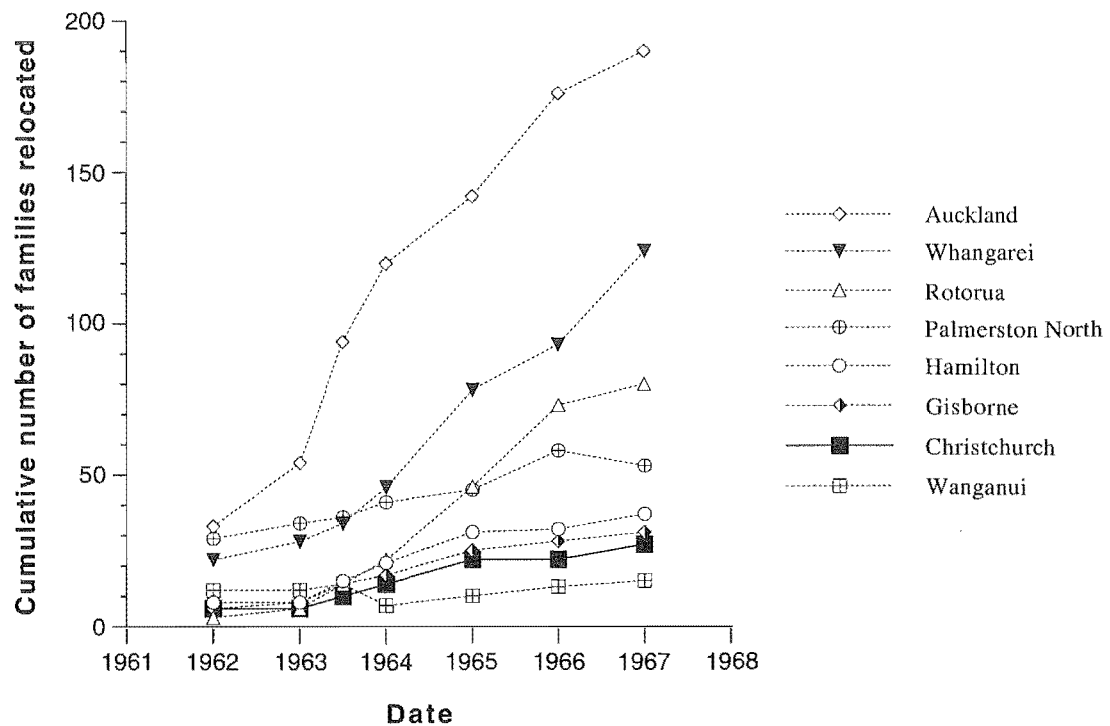
<sup>119</sup> Riwai to District Officer, 21 January 1962, AAMK 869, 36/20/8, Box 1103c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>120</sup> Memorandum:Lewin to Head Office, 22 November 1961, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.2, Box 1101e, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>121</sup> Sherbrooke, Christchurch District Officer of State Advances Corporation to the Director of Housing, 28 June 1961, CH 453, 3/211/12, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>122</sup> Head Office to District Officers, 28 October 1966, CH 460, 16/33, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>123</sup> Case Report, Relocation of N.E, 26 October 1966, CH 460, 16/33, ANZ, Christchurch.



**Figure 3: Cumulative number of families officially relocated to urban centres under the policy of relocation 1961-1967. Source: half yearly and annual relocation returns, 1962-1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vols. 3 and 4, boxes 1101f and 1101g, ANZ, Wellington.**

Figure 3),<sup>124</sup> while estimating that a further 32 families had relocated themselves with no assistance from the Department.<sup>125</sup> Christchurch was the recipient of only 4.8 per cent of the total number of families officially relocated.

As with the earlier non-State orchestrated migrations to the South Island, it was young single men who were swelling Christchurch's Maori population. Under the auspices of the relocation policy, the Maori trade training scheme, pioneered in Christchurch in the early 1950s, received increased funding. This allowed for an even greater number of young North Island men to come to Christchurch as trade trainees.<sup>126</sup> Recruits to the scheme were drawn largely from the East Coast of the North Island, an area first identified in the late 1940s by the Maori Education and Employment Committee as 'uneconomic'. By the mid 1960s, the *Christchurch Press* was noting the ballooning of Christchurch's Maori population. In an

<sup>124</sup> D.G.Clark and K.Riwai, Christchurch half yearly and annual relocation returns, 1962-1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vols. 3 and 4, boxes 1101f and 1101g, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>125</sup> K. Riwai, Annual relocation return, 28 March 1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol. 4, Box 1101g, ANZ, Wellington. This figure is of dubious accuracy. District Officers of the Department by 1967 were arguing that this category was "mere conjecture" and should be eliminated from the reporting process, Hamilton District Office to Head Office, 15 June 1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol. 4, Box 1101g, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>126</sup> Minute of Conference of District Officers held in Wellington, 22-24 November 1960, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

Trade	Number of Trainees			
	Christchurch	Auckland	Hamilton	Wellington
Painting	26	-	-	-
Carpentry	24	24	12	24
Panel beating	20	-	-	-
Bricklaying	14	-	-	-
Motor Mechanics	12	12	12	-
Plumbing	-	14	-	-
Sheet metal Working	-	14	-	-
Electrical Wiring	-	12	12	-
Diesel Mechanics	-	14	-	-
Plastering	-	-	-	14
Fitting & Turning	-	-	14	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>38</b>

**Table 1: Department of Maori Affairs' annual intake of young Maori men for each trade in four centres. Source: Department of Maori Affairs, *Trade Training Schemes for Maori and Island Boys*, Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1973.**

article published in October 1966, the newspaper informed its readers that the city's Maori population had increased by 80 per cent in the last five years, and that the increase was largely attributable to the influx of trade trainees, many of whom had settled in the city.<sup>127</sup> As the national training scheme for young Maori men expanded throughout the 1960s, Christchurch became the main centre for the training of young Maori men, although it possessed a relatively low local Maori population. By 1973, of the annual intake of 274 young men, 35 per cent of recruits underwent their training in the South Island city. Of the urban centres running trade training schemes (Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, and Christchurch), Christchurch hosted the greatest number of young men (see Table 1).<sup>128</sup>

While Christchurch lagged behind North Island urban centres in allocation of relocated families, it far outstripped other New Zealand cities in the number of individuals officially relocated between 1961 and 1967. Of the 2 687 individuals relocated under the policy between April 1961 and March 1967, 1 404, or 52 per cent were relocated to Christchurch<sup>129</sup> (see Figure 4). The Christchurch group appearing in the Department of Maori Affairs annual returns was largely comprised of young, single, male trade trainees, drawn from the 'uneconomic' East Coast, and North Island Maori workers settling in Christchurch following completion of their seasonal work.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> The Christchurch Press, 31 October 1966, p.16. See also Press, 22 February 1964, p.15 that notes that many of Rehua hostel's residents are electing to marry and settle in Christchurch following their training.

<sup>128</sup> Department of Maori Affairs, *Trade Training Schemes for Maori and Island Boys*, Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1973.

<sup>129</sup> Maori relocations as at 31 March 1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol. 4, Box 1101g, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>130</sup> Giles to Booth, 13 March 1963, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol. 3, Box 1101f, ANZ, Wellington.

## *Race Relations Aspirations*

The relationship between integration and urbanisation in the post-war period was a complex one. On the one hand, it is possible to read urbanisation as part of the wider desire to produce integrated Maori citizens. Since the mid 1930s, Labour, not always successfully, had sought to include Maori within the new social and economic fabric of the nation. They came into office in 1935 promising Maori “a kind of equality”.<sup>131</sup> At the 1946 Labour Party Conference, Fraser spoke of the principle of full equality between Maori and Pakeha that he considered had formed the basis of Labour’s Native Affairs Administration.<sup>132</sup> To Fraser, equality for Maori was “emblazoned on the banner of the Labour Party”.<sup>133</sup> In the post-war period, an increasing number of bureaucrats and politicians concluded that this could be most effectively achieved in the cities, with the concomitant increased contact with Pakeha. The Report on the Department of Maori Affairs, popularly known as the Hunn Report, cast the urbanisation of the vast majority of the Maori population as a fundamentally positive goal as it was an expedient route to achieving integration. One of the basic premises of the report was that the “urbanisation of the Maoris is inevitable...Far from being deplored, the ‘urban drift’ can be welcomed as the quickest and surest way of integrating the two species of New Zealander”.<sup>134</sup>

Rather than as driving urbanisation, labour policy, can be read as a means by which Maori could be urbanised, in order to achieve the ultimate aim of integration. From as early as the 1949 report of the Maori Education and Employment Committee, it was made clear that it was not just employment needs, but the wider field of race relations, that was under consideration. Despite suggestions that industry could move to the areas of Maori ‘over-population’ to utilise Maori labour, this option was never really considered seriously. The Department of Maori Affairs instead advocated the transfer of the Maori population to the cities. Demonstrating that its motives for advocating the transfer of Maori to areas of employment went beyond purely economic reasons, the committee argued for the ‘general intermingling’ of Maori and Pakeha over the whole employment field on the grounds of creating a positive race relations environment:

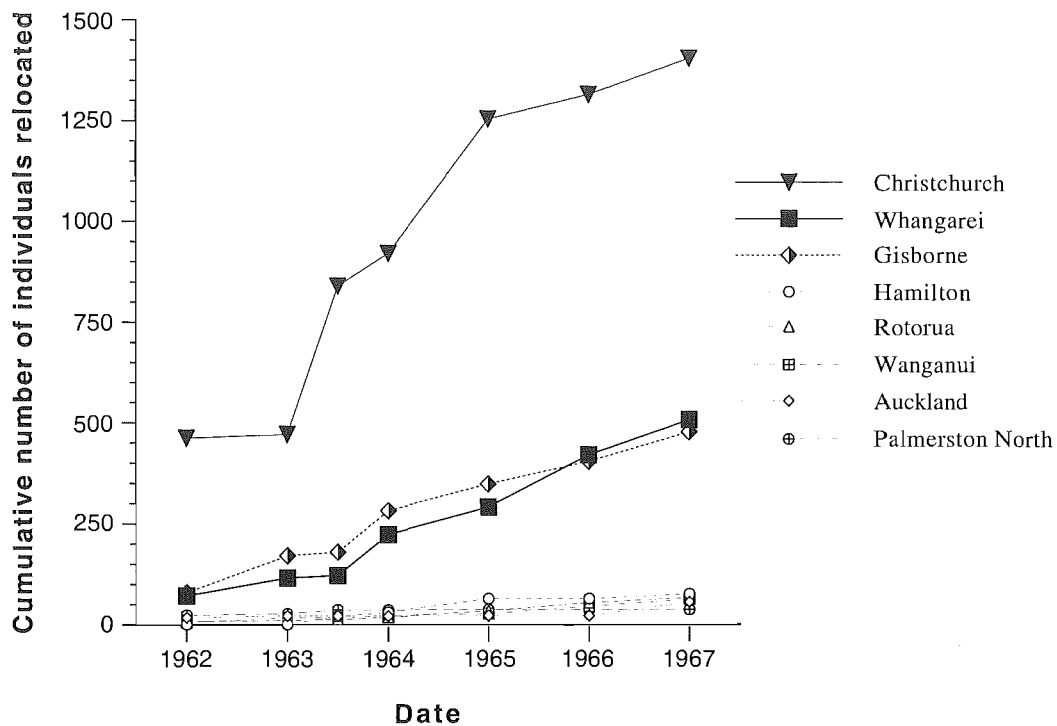
---

<sup>131</sup> On the first Labour Government’s Native (and later Maori) Affairs policies see:Orange, “A Kind of Equality”.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, pp.169-170.

<sup>133</sup> Michael Bassett and Michael King, *Tomorrow Comes the Song: A Life of Peter Fraser*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 2001, p.304.

<sup>134</sup> J.K. Hunn, ‘Report on Department of Maori Affairs with Statistical Supplement’, (hereafter referred to as the Hunn Report), AJHR, 1961, G-10, p.14.



**Figure 4: Cumulative number of individuals officially relocated to urban centres under the policy of relocation 1961-1967. Source: half yearly and annual relocation returns, 1962-1967, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vols. 3 and 4, boxes 1101f and 1101g, ANZ, Wellington.**

In New Zealand we do not want a colour bar (a distinction between races in the same community) or a colour line (a geographical segregation). There are some disturbing indications in both directions and the Committee is convinced of the urgent need to draw the best of Maori youth into the higher grades of employment within the non-Maori industrial centres. This would encourage the gradual permeation of Maoris into the ranks of technical and supervisory staffs and executives over the widest range of industry.<sup>135</sup>

This view held sway within the Department of Maori Affairs. Accordingly, the impetus for the 1960 relocation scheme was social as well as economic. In announcing the scheme, the Joint Departmental Committee on Maori Employment argued that relocation was “in the best interests of the national economy as well as the general well-being of the Maori people”.<sup>136</sup> Within the Hunn Report, Jack Hunn articulated a similar view of the relationship between labour and integration policies:

Employment can be regarded as simply a livelihood or, beyond that, as a means of commingling the races in all ranks of society...It will then provide, for the Maori, not only a living but also a modern way of life. Bearing this in mind, the Department of Maori Affairs could well intensify its interest in Maori employment as a catalytic agent for dissolving social distinctions...To Labour Department, employment is an instrument of economic policy; to Maori Affairs it is additionally an instrument of racial policy.<sup>137</sup>

Race relations policies could provide the justification for the relocation of a ‘reserve army of labour’ at a time of economic necessity. Hunn, like many other senior bureaucrats of

<sup>135</sup> Bockett to Minister of Labour and Employment, 9 December 1949, L1, 30/1/28, Box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>136</sup> “Draft Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs on the Relocation of Under-Employed Maori”, undated, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.1, Box 1101d, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>137</sup> The Hunn Report, p.28.

the time, saw Maori in their rural communities as being 'uneconomic': "It is a paradox that, while New Zealand's industrial development is handicapped by a shortage of manpower, there are pockets of under-employment amongst able bodied Maori...more housing and hostels...would enable Maoris to take advantage of these opportunities".<sup>138</sup>

### ***Cold War Context***

Intermingling with Maori desires, the need for Maori workers, and race relations aspirations as contributing factors to the post-war pursuit of 'integration', was the international political climate of the period. World War II had ended in 1945, but much of the world was once again embroiled in a new war, the Cold War. There was never any question which side New Zealand would take. Communism was constructed, and as in other Western countries, as a threat to post-war affluence, 'normality', and reconstruction. Throughout the West there developed a hysteria in response to the perceived communist threat, imagined as being posed by both internal and foreign forces.<sup>139</sup> In New Zealand, both the Labour and National parties exhibited deep antagonism toward communism.<sup>140</sup> The union movement, perceived by both Government and some sectors of society to be a bastion of communism,<sup>141</sup> became the target of much of the Cold War anti-communist hysteria in New Zealand. The National Party maintained that some New Zealand unions were backed by the Soviet Union and global communism, and "were making a very determined effort...to overthrow orderly government by force".<sup>142</sup>

In New Zealand, Cold War anti-communist hysteria had a unique target, with anxiety that Maori were especially susceptible to communist infiltration. In an address to the National Council of Women in 1964, W. K. Beaton, a Maori welfare worker, argued that "if the Maori people with their strong communal background continued to feel shut out and nothing more than a stratum of second-class citizens they would, in time, be only too willing to embrace the doctrine of communism".<sup>143</sup> Beaton, described in the *Christchurch Press* as a "New Zealander of Maori and European descent", implored the delegates to work towards integration. This was to prevent Maori feeling like "victims of injustice", and to prevent "a

<sup>138</sup> The Hunn Report, p.31.

<sup>139</sup> For a discussion of New Zealand in the Cold War period see: Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp.297-307.; Yska, *All Shook Up*, pp.15-36, and W. David McIntyre, "From Dual Dependency to Nuclear Free", in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.520-538, pp.527-532.

<sup>140</sup> Walter Nash, leader of the Labour Party following Peter Fraser, displayed as much antagonism towards Communism as his National Party counterpart, Sidney Holland. For an example of his antagonism see: McClure, *A Civilised Community*, p.153.

<sup>141</sup> As James Belich shows, on this matter facts became subsumed by myth. Real communist influence in the New Zealand union movement was sometimes significant, but never massive. Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.303.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, p.299.

<sup>143</sup> "Full Acceptance of Maori – Or Future Trouble", *Press*, 19 March 1964, p.2.



hot headed leader arising among them". It was making Maori feel both that they belonged in the cities, and that they belonged to the nation, that Beaton considered to be the best means to avoid a communist infiltration of the people.

The fear of communist infiltration of Maori was not isolated to this one individual. Rather it was a fear that the Government in the early 1950s also took seriously. In 1952, the National Government, led by John Marshall, commissioned the Tourist and Publicity Department to produce a report describing the New Zealand Communist Party (NZCP), and more generally the New Zealand communist press' attempts to 'soften up Maori'. The resulting report alleged that publications such as the *People's Voice* and the *Labour Review* sought to magnify racial tensions in New Zealand in order to create as much animosity as possible between Maori and Pakeha.<sup>144</sup>

Of special concern to the State was the relationship between the prominent Maori leader, Te Puea, and the New Zealand communist movement. In the early 1940s, the Government had moved to take the last of the land that the Ngati Whatua held at Orakei in Auckland. The Auckland Trades Council joined Te Puea and the Ngati Whatua residents in their campaign to protect the last of the land. Te Puea's, biographer Michael King, maintains that it was this issue, more than any other, which strained her relationship with Prime Minister Peter Fraser.<sup>145</sup> The involvement of the Trades Council had given Te Puea friends within the New Zealand Communist Party (NZCP), whom Fraser considered unsavoury. Fraser warned Te Puea that if she became involved with the Auckland Trades Council and protested at the pa, she would end up in prison.<sup>146</sup>

In 1951, the Crown took the last of Ngati Whatua's land at Orakei. The *People's Voice* suggested that the community should make an appeal to the newly established United Nations, protesting at the forcible confiscation of their lands. Such an appeal would get "wide support among progressive people and trade unions".<sup>147</sup> For the authors of the confidential report "'The United Front to Save Orakei'"<sup>148</sup> was a blatant attempt at inventing for United Nations attention, a case of European oppression of 'native people'. The report feared that a

<sup>144</sup> "Confidential Report: The Maori People and the Communist Party", pp.6,9, (Sir) John Ross Marshall 1912-1988: Political Papers, MS-Papers-1403-002/1, ATL.

<sup>145</sup> King, *Te Puea*, p.219.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> "Confidential Report: The Maori People and the Communist Party", p.2, (Sir) John Ross Marshall 1912-1988: Political Papers, MS-Papers-1403-002/1, ATL; *The Peoples Voice*, 6 June 1951, p.6.

<sup>148</sup> Footnote (i) of the report offered the following definition of a "united front": "United Fronts" are "sympathetic organisations for definite and special purpose nominally self-governing or independent bodies (that is under Communist influence but not Communist control) but are in reality under Communist direction, "Confidential Report: The Maori People and the Communist Party", p.2, (Sir) John Ross Marshall 1912-1988: Political Papers, MS-Papers-1403-002/1, ATL, p.1.

view of the events at Orakei would cause “recrimination and possibly friction in predominantly Maori areas – the first step to rally as many Maori as possible around a communist nucleus”.<sup>149</sup> It was concluded that the NZCP sought to appeal to urbanised Maori as a marginalised and exploited proletariat, and to rural Maori on the issue of land alienation, with the long term goal being to unite the two groups.<sup>150</sup> It was proposed that a policy of integration, and of bestowing upon Maori the fruits of welfare State would go some way to negating the influence of the NZCP, which sought to appeal to Maori as a disadvantaged group.

## INTEGRATION

In addition to being urban and ‘modern’, in order to be considered as ideal citizens, Maori were also required to be integrated. In this section, what was meant by integration is examined, as is the Maori response to the policy. Although the most extensive articulation of the policy of integration occurred in the Hunn Report of 1960, the roots of the policy predated this report by 30 years. As argued earlier in this thesis, the achievement of a kind of equality between Maori and Pakeha was a central aim of the first Labour Government on coming to office in 1935. Within this dream lay the kernel of the integration policy. In seeking to achieve its aim, Labour, unlike its predecessors promised Maori equal standing with Pakeha in social security legislation; a central component of Marshallian notions of citizenship. In 1939, the Social Security Department issued a pamphlet written in Maori that promised equal treatment under the 1938 Social Security Act.<sup>151</sup> The reality, however, was distant from this ideal, and in the first years following the passage of the Act, Maori found themselves treated still as second-class citizens. By the end of the war, and with Maori arguing for greater citizenship rights in return for their war effort, the discriminatory aspects of social security provisions were finally removed, and in 1945, Maori finally became equally eligible for social security and the benefits of the welfare state.<sup>152</sup>

It was the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 that brought about this measure of equality. As World War II ended, there was a feeling within the Department of Native Affairs that the Maori War Effort Organisation (MWEO) was moving into areas over which the Department should have jurisdiction. The Maori members of parliament, on the other hand, supported the MWEO, and argued for a new Department of Maori Welfare that would continue the MWEO’s autonomy and efficiency and its grassroots way of operating in

---

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, p.3.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, pp.6-7.

<sup>151</sup> McClure, *A Civilised Community*, p.113.

<sup>152</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.474, McClure, *A Civilised Community*, p.121.

peacetime.<sup>153</sup> The 1945 legislation was an attempt at a compromise. Drafted by the Department of Native Affairs, it retained the existing Departmental structure but somewhat uneasily also incorporated the tribal committees of the MWEO. Although Labour claimed that they had implemented *Mana Maori motuhake*<sup>154</sup> with the passage of the legislation, in reality the Act fell short of this claim.<sup>155</sup> Bureaucrats maintained that the Act did not “seek to impose standards from without; rather it call[ed] upon the Maori people to exercise control and direction of their own communities in the essentials of good citizenship and responsibility”.<sup>156</sup>

A primary aim of the legislation was to “facilitate the full integration of the Maori race into the social and economic structure of the country”.<sup>157</sup> Under the 1945 Act, the Department’s embryonic welfare branch<sup>158</sup> was expanded, and a Controller and welfare officers appointed.<sup>159</sup> By 1948, the Department, now the Department of Maori Affairs, under its first Maori Under Secretary, Tipi Ropiha, was administering a raft of welfare policies designed to ease the transition to urban life.<sup>160</sup> By the early 1950s, the role of the welfare officers was “primarily ... to introduce modern ideas”.<sup>161</sup> Under the Act, however, the committees and their executives were also to “promote the social, spiritual, cultural, educational, and economic advancement of the Maori” as well as “to preserve, revive, and maintain the teaching of Maori arts, crafts, language, genealogy, and history in order to perpetuate Maori culture”.<sup>162</sup>

In many ways, this legislation, with its attempts to ‘advance’ and modernise Maori, and to incorporate them into the economic and social fabric of the nation, in concert with attempts to perpetuate Maori culture was an early articulation of the integration policy. Utilising subsidies granted under the legislation, Maori communities were able to embark on various building projects such as meeting house and marae improvements.<sup>163</sup>

The aspect of the Act that sought to promote and preserve aspects of Maori culture itself had strong historical antecedents. The equality in 1935 that Labour promised Maori

---

<sup>153</sup> Orange, “An Exercise in Maori Authority”, pp.159-166.

<sup>154</sup> *Mana Maori Motuhake* means Maori autonomy

<sup>155</sup> Orange, “A Kind of Equality”, p.222.

<sup>156</sup> *New Zealand Official Yearbook (NZOYB)*, 1953, p.951.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> The Welfare Branch of the Department was established in September 1944. Labrum, “Family needs and family desires”, p.113.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p.255.

<sup>162</sup> Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945.

<sup>163</sup> AJHR, 1948, G-9, p.2; Orange, “A Kind of Equality”, p.225. Maori residing in Auckland also benefited with a gathering place in the form of the Maori Community Centre opening in 1949.

encompassed not only economic equality but also racial individuality.<sup>164</sup> Once in power, Labour discovered that the development of the Maori people was already well underway, and being given a positive direction by Apirana Ngata. Counter to earlier assimilationist policies, under Ngata, Maori land was being developed and Maori culture fostered.<sup>165</sup> Further, under the stewardship of Peter Fraser, Minister of Education, Maori cultural activities were gradually adopted in the Native Schools prior to the war.<sup>166</sup> It was not only pre-war Labour politicians who advocated a position that twenty years later would be branded integration. A delegate at the 1939 Young Maori Leaders Conference also advocated more interaction between Maori and Pakeha, while still allowing for Maori to “preserve the most vital elements of his own culture”:

There was complete agreement...that the Maori people should aim to live not in a community apart, and not to merge in the European culture, but to steer a middle course, competing economically with the Pakeha, but preserving the most vital elements of his own culture...Maori individuality, with a blended culture partly Maori and partly European, as unified as it can be made, appears to be for the present and near future the most desirable policy to be pursued.<sup>167</sup>

### ***The Hunn Report***

In the mid-twentieth century, international events also came to influence New Zealand's race relations policies. Speaking to a meeting of the New Zealand University Students' Association in 1963, Jack Hunn placed New Zealand's changing race relations in the international context of de-colonisation and the evolving rights of 'coloured people', especially as championed by the United Nations.<sup>168</sup> Three years prior to this, Labour Prime Minister, Walter Nash, asked Mr J. K. Hunn, then one of the Public Service Commissioners to act as Secretary of Maori Affairs and to “get an accounting of Maori assets and see what we can do with them”.<sup>169</sup> Jack Hunn, although he believed that the Prime Minister had the fragmentation of Maori land titles in mind, chose to interpret ‘assets’ in a wider sense to include human as well as physical assets. Nash never consulted the resulting report, which was completed in August of 1960, as he intended to study it after the election of that year.<sup>170</sup> The report touted integration as the best means forward for New Zealand's race relations, and for the modernisation of Maori.

---

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, p.211.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, pp.211-212, For a full discussion of Ngata's work and philosophy see: Jeffrey Sissons, “The Post-assimilationist Thought of Sir Apirana Ngata: Towards a Genealogy of New Zealand Biculturalism”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1 (2000), pp.47-59.

<sup>166</sup> Orange, “A Kind of Equality”, p.225.

<sup>167</sup> Quoted in Sutherland, “Guidance for Maori Children”, p.34.

<sup>168</sup> J.K. Hunn, *Can Race Relations Be Left to Chance? A Paper Presented at the Annual Congress of the New Zealand University Students' Association, Curious Cove, Marlborough Sounds*, 1963.

<sup>169</sup> Keith Sinclair, *Walter Nash*, Auckland University Press & Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1976, p.348.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

The incoming National Government published the report in 1961, and made it the basis of their policy for the next twelve years. Although in Government, the National Party adopted the Hunn Report and integration as the basis of their race relations policy, only months before coming to office they had demonstrated a markedly different race relations position. A short time before Labour Prime Minister had given Jack Hunn the brief to investigate the state of Maori and of race relations, the National Party created its own Special Committee on Maori Affairs. The report produced by the committee outlined three possible solutions for dealing with 'the Native people' of New Zealand. Firstly, it was suggested that through "errors or ... neglect, permit or even hasten their extermination".<sup>171</sup> Such an attitude was dismissed as being "wholly and utterly indefensible; and happily, it is entirely foreign to the spirit and outlook of those who have settled in, and sought to develop, this fair land".<sup>172</sup> Secondly, the Party mooted segregation. It was suggested that:

There might be cases where such a policy would be expedient because of the wide and seemingly unbridgeable gulf between the two races that were concerned. Such a policy perpetuates bi-racialism in its worst form. It can rest only upon a justification of necessity, and it could have no place whatsoever in the political policy of this Dominion, especially when we realise what capacity the Maori possesses for adaptation and training and when we consider his fine qualities as a man and as a citizen.<sup>173</sup>

To the National Party, it was the potential of Maori to become ideal citizens that convinced that they must pursue the last of the three courses: "the complete assimilation into our [the Pakeha] race".<sup>174</sup> By 1961, this policy position had been somewhat tempered, and integration and an integrated society became the goal of both the Labour and National Parties.

What did Jack Hunn mean by the "integration" he outlined in the report and subsequent writings and addresses? Simply put, integration was defined as "to combine (not fuse) the Maori and Pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct".<sup>175</sup> The alternatives to integration posed by Hunn were assimilation,<sup>176</sup> segregation,<sup>177</sup> and symbiosis.<sup>178</sup> Hunn clearly saw integration, or the melding of Maori and Pakeha cultures, as the best means to form a distinctive New Zealand nation and identity. Two years after penning report, Hunn, in collaboration with J. M. Booth, further articulated this point by defining integration as being:

---

<sup>171</sup> National Party, "Report of the Special Committee of Maori Affairs", June 1959-April 1960, MS-Papers-1403-555/8, ATL

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> The Hunn Report, p.15.

<sup>176</sup> Defined in the report as "to become absorbed, blended, amalgamated, with complete loss of Maori culture", Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Defined in the report as "to enforce a theoretical concept of 'apartheid'. One school of thought in New Zealand advocates "parallel development", which in essence is segregation under another name". Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Defined in the report as "to have two dissimilar peoples living together but as two separate entities with the smaller deriving sustenance from the larger (seemingly an attempt to integrate and segregate at the same time). Ibid.

a dynamic process by which Maori and Pakeha are being drawn closer together, in the physical sense of the mingling of the two populations as well as in the mental and cultural senses, where differences are gradually diminishing. Remembering that the dictionary definition of the verb “to integrate” is “to make whole” we regard the integration of Maori and Pakeha as the making of a whole new culture.<sup>179</sup>

To Hunn, integration was more than just a policy position. It was, he argued, occurring already due to social evolution. Public opinion, he advised in 1963, would be wise to acquiesce to the process of integration, as it was “inevitable” and an “irresistible process of evolution”.<sup>180</sup> As he saw it, Maori in the early 1960s could be broadly classified into three groups:

- A. A completely detribalised minority whose Maoritanga is only vestigial.
- B. The main body of Maoris, pretty much at home in either society, who like to partake of both (an ambivalence, however, that causes psychological stress to some of them).
- C. Another minority complacently living a backward life in primitive conditions.<sup>181</sup>

Integration was to “eliminate” Group C, by “raising” it to Group B standards. It was then thought to be the personal choice of Group B members whether they stay there or join Group A, in other words be integrated (defined in the report as Group B) or assimilated (defined as Group A). Clearly articulated in the report, however was the belief that the natural evolutionary process entailed passing through integration to assimilation. The immediate priority, however, was to ‘eliminate’ Maori who were living a ‘traditional’ life and to replace that life with a more ‘modern’ existence. Hunn considered that Maori should not resent the “pressure” brought to bear on them to conform, as it was not a *Pakeha* way of life the policy was advocating, but rather “a *modern* way of life, common to all advanced people”.<sup>182</sup>

Theoretically, integration differed from its predecessor, assimilation, by being not incompatible with the retention of aspects of Maori culture. Displaying social Darwinian thinking and paternalism, coupled with a superficial understanding of Maori culture, Jack Hunn argued that:

Much of it [Maori culture], though, has already departed and only the fittest elements (worthiest of preservation) have survived the onset of civilisation. Language, arts and crafts, and the institutions of the marae are the chief relics. Only the Maoris themselves can decide whether these features of their ancient life are, in fact, to be kept alive; and in the final analysis, it is entirely a matter of individual choice. Every Maori who can no longer speak the language, perform the haka or poi, or take his place on the marae, makes it just so much harder for these remnants of Maori culture to be perpetuated.<sup>183</sup>

Following the publication and dissemination of the report, Hunn, aware that the term integration was becoming conflated with assimilation, sought to further differentiate the two policies:

<sup>179</sup> J.M. Booth and J.K. Hunn, *Integration of Maori and Pakeha*, Wellington, Department of Maori Affairs, 1962, No.1 in a Series of Special Studies.

<sup>180</sup> Hunn, *Can Race Relations Be Left to Chance?*

<sup>181</sup> The Hunn Report, p.15.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid, p.16.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, p.15.

Some use the word [integration] to mean washing out all Maoriness from the Maori, but that is really assimilation...If he wants to be assimilated he can be; if he doesn't he needn't: he can remain integrated, sharing every incident of common citizenship and as much of Western culture as he likes but retaining some margin of purely Maori culture as fits his personal inclination.<sup>184</sup>

In a recent work, James Belich has described the Hunn Report as the climax of “assimilation’s last stand”.<sup>185</sup> He argues that the report was “fundamentally assimilationist” in that it envisaged State rather than Maori leadership.<sup>186</sup> Contemporary critics also levelled similar criticisms of the report. Both Maori and Pakeha critics pointed to the Pakeha nature of the document. Within months of the publication of the report, the Maori Synod of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand commented on Hunn’s view in a booklet entitled *A Maori View of the Hunn Report*.<sup>187</sup> In a report that critiqued Hunn’s recommendations at both the conceptual and the specific levels, the Maori Synod delivered a reasoned attack on many aspects of the report. Firstly, and fundamentally, the members of the Synod criticised the report’s assumption that Pakeha possessed the right to decide the form that future integration might take, without consideration of Maori “hopes and intentions”.<sup>188</sup> Somewhat prophetically, the Synod cautioned that “however well intentioned such a policy [integration] may be, it is in the long run bound to cause more problems than it solves”.<sup>189</sup> In a similar vein, both Richard Thompson, a Pakeha senior lecturer of Psychology at the University of Canterbury, and Bruce Biggs, of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Auckland, also criticised the report as being “essentially a European document”.<sup>190</sup> In an address to the Northland Young Maori Leaders Conference, Bruce Biggs claimed that it was “European rather Maori opinion” that was setting the pace of integration.<sup>191</sup>

Common to many of the critiques of the report was the claim that the report had failed to define integration adequately. The members of the Synod considered that it was clear that assimilation was intended although there “was much talk in some quarters of integration”. It considered that in terms of New Zealand’s future race relations policy “there is, perhaps, no greater stumbling block to be removed than the confusion that exists in popular thought on the meaning of those terms [assimilation and integration]”. In respect of removing this obstacle, the Synod found the Hunn Report wanting. They argued that the report itself, largely through imprecision, confused assimilation and integration. Likewise, Thompson argued that the

<sup>184</sup> Hunn, *Can Race Relations Be Left to Chance?*

<sup>185</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.477.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. Maori Synod, *A Maori View of the “Hunn Report”*, Presbyterian Bookroom, Christchurch, 1961.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, p.8.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Richard Thompson, “The Hunn Report”, *Comment*, 8, Winter (1961), pp.8-10, p.10.

<sup>191</sup> “Editorial: Integration and the Hunn Report”, *Te Ao Hou*, No.35, November 1962.

Secretary of Maori Affairs had produced an unclear definition of the term,<sup>192</sup> while Biggs pointed to the over-simplified understanding of the terms under which he considered Hunn to be labouring.<sup>193</sup> Like the Maori Synod, Thompson considered that Hunn conflated assimilation and integration.<sup>194</sup>

Thompson also questioned the State's commitment to the 'essential' aspect of the policy that allowed for the retention of Maori culture. He enquired where the measures "designed to bring increased vitality to the distinct elements of Maori culture" were to be found.<sup>195</sup> Both Biggs and the members of the Maori Synod went further and decried the simplistic understanding of Maori culture that the Hunn Report demonstrated. Biggs asked why, in the report's list of Maori "cultural relics" were "the most hackneyed items mentioned?"<sup>196</sup> He pointed to other aspects of Maori culture such as "*aroha*; extended kinship obligations; attitudes to land; children; sex; rank; and other customs, values and attitudes...", that were important to Maori, but excluded from Hunn's inventory.<sup>197</sup> The members of the Synod added "pride of race and a sense of roots deep in history...[and] a sense of community which is still the dominant pattern of Maori life, even among those who had lost their language" to Hunn's items. Furthermore, the Synod pointed to the New Zealand State's historic and contemporary role in the destruction of many aspects of Maori culture, in rebuttal to the report's assertion that Maori themselves would determine which aspects of their "ancient culture can be kept alive".<sup>198</sup>

While there was a clear onus upon Maori to accustom themselves to Pakeha ways of life, there was no corresponding obligation falling upon Pakeha. Hunn had never envisaged symmetry in the application of the policy, and considered that integration meant "education in culture" for Maori, while for the Pakeha integration meant "education in understanding".<sup>199</sup> In essence, what Hunn meant by "education in culture" was really the adoption of Pakeha ways of living and thinking.

Unlike the earlier policy of assimilation, there was on the part of the State at least an effort, albeit simplistic and unsophisticated, to foster a greater understanding and appreciation of Maori culture among Pakeha. The Department of Maori Affairs, in seeking to aid Pakeha in their understanding of Maori, in 1966 published a booklet that set out for a Pakeha

<sup>192</sup> Thompson, "The Hunn Report", .8.

<sup>193</sup> Bruce Biggs, "Maori Affairs and the Hunn Report", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 20, 2 (1961), pp.361-364, pp.361-362.

<sup>194</sup> Thompson, "The Hunn Report", p.8.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Biggs, "Maori Affairs and the Hunn Report", p.362.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid, emphasis in the original.

<sup>198</sup> Synod, *A Maori View of the "Hunn Report"*, p.10.

<sup>199</sup> Hunn, *Can Race Relations Be Left to Chance?*



readership what it saw as the central aspects of Maori life and social organisation.<sup>200</sup> While there was no clear obligation upon Pakeha to accustom themselves to Maori culture, the Department of Maori Affairs expressed a clear desire that they do so. In particular, bureaucrats and politicians alike regarded the participation of Pakeha in Maori cultural groups as a potent symbol of the achievement of the policy objective. In 1962, Hunn expressed pleasure at the participation of Pakeha at the opening of the Arohanuiki-te-Tangata Meeting House in Lower Hutt. Hunn considered:

If, in the past, it has been the Maori who has had to accommodate himself to pakeha values, the position has now been reached in some places where, if the boot is not on the other foot, at least more feet are shod and more pakehas are recognising the part they have to play in closing the gap between the two cultures.<sup>201</sup>

By the time planning was underway for the 1970 Royal Tour by Queen Elizabeth II, and Princes Phillip and Charles, the Department of Maori Affairs explicitly sought to include Pakeha performers in the National Maori Welcome for the royal party, so as to “demonstrate the measure of integration achieved”.<sup>202</sup>

It was not only the State driving the move for Pakeha to gain a greater understanding of Maori culture. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, several Pakeha voluntary organisations sought to include a Maori cultural component, albeit narrowly defined, to their organisation’s activities. The Boys’ Brigade was a multi-denominational religious organisation established in Glasgow in 1863 to instil the tenets of ideal citizenship into working class boys.<sup>203</sup> In New Zealand in the 1950s, it sought to extend its message to Maori boys and young men. Noting a rapidly expanding and youthful Maori population, and on the recommendation of its London headquarters, the Boys’ Brigade actively targeted Maori youth. It believed that its organisation, “with its primary emphasis on Christian training and its church-centred principles, can be most useful in promoting Christian citizenship amongst Maori boys”.<sup>204</sup> In order to be more appealing to Maori recruits, the New Zealand branch of the organisation began to incorporate “some Maori cultural interests” into its activities, particularly in the field of “arts and crafts”.<sup>205</sup> Likewise, the Boy Scouts organisation by 1960 had “added Maori culture to the wide range of activities already covered by the movement”.<sup>206</sup> In a letter to the *Christchurch Press* in April 1960, Miss A. W. Rhodes, congratulated the organisation’s

<sup>200</sup> Department of Maori Affairs, *For a Better Understanding of the Maori*, Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1966.

<sup>201</sup> Booth and Hunn, *Integration of Maori and Pakeha*, p.2.

<sup>202</sup> W. Herewini, Controller of Maori Affairs, Proposal for Royal Visit 1970, 26 November 1969, CH 460, 16/41, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>203</sup> The object of the organisation was: The advancement of Christ’s Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness.

<sup>204</sup> Memorandum: Wm. H. McVicker, 2 July 1951, MS-Papers-2024/3/124, ATL.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> *Press*, 28 April 1960, p.7.

attempts to create ‘better citizens’, arguing that “it [the learning of Maori culture] will have an excellent effect if the youth of this country can gain a wider appreciation of Maori life and culture”.<sup>207</sup> It was not only youth organisations who sought to teach their Pakeha membership about Maori culture. The Christchurch branch of the Workers Education Association (WEA) in 1960 had been conducting classes in Maori language and culture for “many years”. The organisation also had a “Maori Club” which met twice a month and had as its objective the “fostering [of] better relationships with the Maori people and knowledge of their language and culture”.<sup>208</sup>

Within the policy climate of integration, several women’s organisations also expressed an interest in teaching their largely Pakeha membership about Maori culture and arts. In 1960, the Canterbury Branch of the Country Women’s Institute requested that the Adult Education Department of the University of Canterbury introduce classes in Maori culture and language that members of their organisation could take.<sup>209</sup> In September 1962, Mr D. W. Rutherford from the Department attended a meeting of the Canterbury branch’s organising committee, where Mrs E. W. Kerr of South Canterbury again requested the Adult Education Department offer classes in Maori culture, history, and language. She argued that such classes were badly needed as “there was an appalling ignorance in New Zealand about the country’s own people”. It was her hope that the Country Women’s Institute could “give a lead in this matter”.<sup>210</sup> Rutherford agreed, and at the request of the women’s voluntary organisation, further instruction in Maori culture and language was offered to the citizens of Christchurch.<sup>211</sup> A decade later, another women’s voluntary organisation, the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), also offered classes in Maori language and culture. In these classes, members, and the wider Christchurch public could learn from the tutor, Mrs J. Royal, basic Maori language, history and traditions, the short single poi, actions songs, traditional chants, Maori poems, as well as the more nebulous category of “arts and crafts”.<sup>212</sup> Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, members of the National Council of Women (NCW) also were increasingly exposed to and educated their members in aspects of Maori culture. With the Maori Women’s Welfare League affiliated to their organisation since its inception in 1951, the formerly predominantly Pakeha membership of the NCW sought an increased

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> *Press*, 29 April 1960, p.3.

<sup>209</sup> 17 June 1960 and 30 September 1960, Country Women’s Institute and Women’s Division of Federated Farmers Regional Co-ordinating Committee, Canterbury Committee Minute Book, Box 1, Folder 1, Item 1, ARC 1995.23, CM.

<sup>210</sup> *Press*, 22 September 1962, p.2; 21 September 1962. Country Women’s Institute and Women’s Division of Federated Farmers Regional Co-ordinating Committee, Canterbury Committee Minute Book, Box 1, Folder 1, Item 1, ARC 1995.23, CM.

<sup>211</sup> *Press*, 22 September 1962, p.2.

<sup>212</sup> Christchurch YWCA 1972 Programme, YWCA Christchurch Records, Z Arch 112, 4/15, CPL.

knowledge of and increased contact with Maori. The attendees of the 1959 NCW annual conference visited a Maori community centre, where they observed the “handcraft” of Maori women and listened to descriptions of their work.<sup>213</sup> In 1965 delegates to the annual conference in Hamilton travelled en masse to Ngaruwahia. An article appearing in the National Council of Women’s publication, *Women’s Viewpoint*, reported that “the NCW women were given a warm welcome by the local people”, and that the delegates “felt highly honoured at the friendly gesture”.<sup>214</sup>

### ASSIMILATION BY ANOTHER NAME?

Without doubt the Hunn Report specifically, and the policy of integration more generally, in some ways sought to continue the colonising project of assimilation. As we have seen, both contemporary commentators and later scholarly accounts have seen integration “as little more than assimilation is sheep’s clothing”.<sup>215</sup> I contend that the policy, however, did allow more room for the continuation of Maori culture than the nineteenth century policy of assimilation. The Hunn report did not see assimilation as negative for New Zealand, and indeed argued that “signs are not wanting that that [assimilation] may be the destiny of the two races in New Zealand”.<sup>216</sup> Whether or not Maori assimilated, was, according to Hunn, “a matter of choice for each Maori individually”.<sup>217</sup> Rather than see the policy of integration as simply a continuation of assimilation, however, this thesis posits a more nuanced view of the policy.

Within the definition offered by the Hunn Report, however, there was a clear implication that within the policy of integration there was room for the continuation of Maori culture.<sup>218</sup> As this section has demonstrated, within the framework provided by the policy of integration, some Pakeha did take more interest in Maori culture and language. Although it can be argued that the interest that many of these Pakeha took was simply at the level of the simplistic and symbolic, and, that they failed to fundamentally understand Maori culture, nonetheless a start towards a greater understanding was made. More important than Pakeha taking Maori cultural classes, however, were the possibilities that the policy offered Maori. Some Maori were able to negotiate the intent of the policy, and indeed found radical potential

<sup>213</sup> Searle to Cooper, 20 September 1959, MS-Papers-1371-353 (MS-Group-0225), ATL.

<sup>214</sup> “Mahinaarangi”, July 1965, *Women’s Viewpoint*, p.18.

<sup>215</sup> Quote from Johnson, “Aotearoa”. See also: contemporary comment: Biggs, “Maori Affairs and the Hunn Report”, Synod, *A Maori View of the “Hunn Report”*, Thompson, “The Hunn Report”; Notes on the Hunn report on the Department of Maori Affairs 1961, MS-Papers-3634, ATL. Later scholarly examinations: Alison Jones et al, *Myths and Realities: Schooling in New Zealand*, The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1990.; Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.477.

<sup>216</sup> The Hunn Report, p.15.

<sup>217</sup> Hunn, *Can Race Relations Be Left to Chance?*

<sup>218</sup> The Hunn Report, p.15.

embedded within the policy. Maori were able to exploit the aspect of the policy that provided for the retention of culture in the cities, and it was under these auspices that many Maori, and particularly Maori women, were able to secure State support for the fostering of Maori culture in the cities. It was through negotiation of the policy of integration that Maori groups were able to attain State funding for assistance in building urban marae and community centres; spaces that became turangawaewae in the cities. It was also within the policy context of integration that Maori language and culture could be fostered. Throughout this thesis, Maori can be seen to have, in least in part, successfully negotiated the policy of integration.

Although it has been claimed that “articulate Maori opinion rejected the official concept of integration”,<sup>219</sup> I argue that the Maori reaction to the report and to the policy more generally was more nuanced. There was no single unified Maori response to integration, just as there was no clear and unitary Pakeha response. While some Maori concurred with Department of Maori Affairs bureaucrat Ralph Love’s view that “integration means one thing...- the loss of all rights, privileges, and advantages enjoyed by the Maori people today”,<sup>220</sup> others, such as Canon Rangihū, a North Island Anglican Maori priest, saw integration as acceptable, provided it was a two-way process.<sup>221</sup> Even the members of the Maori Synod, who lobbed strong criticisms of the report into the public arena, were not wholly critical of the report. They “welcome[d] the Report itself as a conscientious and sympathetic endeavour to assist our race to find a firm ground for its future development, and to lessen those conflicts which tend to divide Maori and Pakeha”.<sup>222</sup> The Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board saw the “views and ideals” of the report in even more glowing terms. In particular, they applauded the views and ideals “favouring integration”, “a field” in which they considered “the Ngai Tahu people had gone very far”.<sup>223</sup> Likewise, the Maori Women’s Welfare League supported the policy of integration. At their 1966 annual conference, that the League withheld a remit advocating that they, in concert with the Maori Council, undertaking a campaign “to make Maori parents more aware of the advantages of retaining the Maori

<sup>219</sup> Dunstall, “The Social Pattern”, 478.

<sup>220</sup> “Integration of Maoris: Mr Ralph Love Critical”, *Press*, 17 September 1959, p.12. Love’s Statement was in reaction to Rolland O’Regan, CABTA leader, Statement at the first national conference of the Citizens’ All Black Tour Association that “this organisation will emerge dedicated to the total integration of the Maori and European people of New Zealand”, *Ibid*. In his history of New Zealand’s attitudes to sporting contacts with South Africa, Trevor Richards describes Love’s Statement as “ambiguous and confusing”. He argued that it seemed Love was supporting ‘racial discrimination’ in rugby. See Trevor Richards, *Dancing On Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Racism*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1999, p.20..

<sup>221</sup> *Press*, 28 July 1960, p.14.

<sup>222</sup> Synod, *A Maori View of the “Hunn Report”*, p.6.

<sup>223</sup> Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Annual Report, 31 March 1961, C1, MB 140, Macmillan Brown Library.

system". Their reason for reluctance to embark on such a venture was that it appeared to be in "conflict with the current policy of Government to support integration".<sup>224</sup>

When Jack Hunn and the Department of Maori Affairs presented the policy of integration to the New Zealand populace in the 1960s, they couched it in terms of being an effective means to preserve the country's supposed harmonious race relations. There was a realisation among politicians and bureaucrats that in the mid-twentieth century, urbanisation was bringing Maori and Pakeha closer together, and that with this came the potential for a straining of New Zealand previously good race relations:

Tolerance – and therefore fairly good relations- were easy enough to attain while when the Maori people ...lived in the backblocks...You and I living in the towns, as most Pakeha do, never had to raise a voice or lift a finger in the cause of good race relations in the past. They just grew naturally as would be expected of two peoples residing in separate parts of the country.<sup>225</sup>

According to the Hunn Report, however, the increased proximity of Maori and Pakeha as a result of urbanisation, did not necessarily have to lead to a deterioration of racial harmony. Instead, the report argued that integration and the associated urbanisation would in fact strengthen New Zealand's reputation as a racial paradise, as "if closely watched and actively nurtured, urbanisation is more likely than rural segregation to prevent a 'colour' problem from arising in New Zealand as the Maori population expands. With some exceptions, people understand and appreciate each other better and mutually adjust themselves easier if living together as neighbours than if living apart in separate communities".<sup>226</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Embedded deep with the foundations of the constructed New Zealand nation is a racial spatial dichotomy. Despite the place of rural New Zealand in the national imagination, by the early twentieth century, Pakeha New Zealanders were predominantly urban dwellers. Through determined policy throughout the nineteenth century, the cities, historically the 'epicentre' of colonial rule, became almost exclusively the domain of Pakeha New Zealanders. Maori were said to naturally belong to rural New Zealand. The mid-twentieth century urbanisation and integration of Maori served to dissolve these 'interior frontiers' of New Zealand. The urbanisation of Maori also served to invert and complicate the spatial politics of colonisation in New Zealand. Just as nineteenth century colonising Pakeha had transformed unknown colonial spaces into known places or cities, in the mid-twentieth century Maori went through this processes. Whereas cities constituted known places to mid-

---

<sup>224</sup> Report of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1966, MS-Papers-1396-006, ATL.

<sup>225</sup> Hunn, *Can Race Relations Be Left to Chance?*

<sup>226</sup> The Hunn Report, p.14.

twentieth century Pakeha, to many urbanising Maori, they were unknown spaces yet to be transformed into known places.

The reasons for the disruption of the racial spatial boundaries of the nation are complex and cannot be adequately understood as discrete reasons. Instead, Maori desires, economic interests, race relations aspirations, and the context of the Cold War, need to be understood as a complex web, with reasons feeding into each other. This chapter examined the ways in which race relations, labour policies, and anti-communist hysteria interacted, with all objectives being crucial to the post-war New Zealand nation. It builds on the view of the capitalist State as a major influencing factor in the scale of post-war Maori urbanisations. Both this chapter and the following chapters further complicate the earlier view of both Miles and Pearson and argues that in addition to fulfilling the needs of the capitalist State, Maori labour and integration policies were underwritten by powerful gender ideologies. It also suggests that the needs of the capitalist State, although crucial components, are insufficient to fully account for the dissolving of the nation's interior frontiers in the mid-twentieth century.

## chapter four:

---

# Housing Ideal Maori Citizens

Since the nineteenth century, successive New Zealand Governments viewed housing policy as a crucial tool in engineering the ‘ideal’ society, and the creation of ‘ideal’ citizens. In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, however, housing policy as a means of creating ‘ideal’ citizens was confined largely to the Pakeha population. It was not until the mid-twentieth century that the State attempted to use this tool as a means to mould Maori character. This chapter places the State’s mid-twentieth century attempts to use housing in the creation of urbanised, integrated and ‘ideal’ Maori citizens within the longer historical context, and suggests that while the methods sometimes differed, and the efforts were new in being directed towards Maori, it was not a wholly new phenomena. Throughout the period 1942-1969, houses located in the suburbs of the nation’s cities and towns became a means by which the State facilitated the urbanisation of Maori, and also a potent tool in the integration of Maori

While housing policies traditionally have been understood as being a political issue, the homes those policies created have largely been regarded as apolitical. This is largely due to the home’s location in the feminine and ‘private sphere’. This chapter complicates the notion of ‘public’ and ‘private’ spheres, and argues that for mid-twentieth century women, their homes were neither ‘private’ nor apolitical. It demonstrates that the spaces that Maori women as ‘mothers of the race’ created inside their houses were crucial to the production of ‘ideal’ Maori citizens. It shows how the traditionally feminine space of the home became crucial to the policy makers’ vision of modern Maori, and of the modern New Zealand nation. It also shows how Maori women, particularly through their State sponsored voluntary organisation, the Maori Women’s Welfare League, became central to formulations and implementations of policies concerning Maori housing.

## FEMININE SPACES

For some time, feminist historians have noted the strong link in modern Western society, between women, the house, and the nuclear family. The close identification of the house or the home with the family is a relatively recent phenomenon that can be traced back to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and was at first linked to the urban middle

classes.<sup>1</sup> Resulting from both urbanisation and industrialisation, this period witnessed the workplace's removal from the home, and the recasting of the home as the family's private retreat.<sup>2</sup> The separation of home and workplace was just one of the new ideals about the home that emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Of great significance to women, however, was the newly emerging ideal that made females responsible for the maintenance of the house and its human inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

The very term 'housewife' signifies a strong relationship between women, marriage, and the house.<sup>4</sup> Far from being ahistorical, the status, meaning, and roles of the housewife have been redefined throughout history. Glenna Matthews traced the history of the housewife in the American context. Describing the 1850s and the 1860s, Matthews argued that a housewife was not only essential to her family, but also to society. It was, according to Matthews, the twin cultures of professionalism and consumerism that came to fruition around the 1920s that devalued the housewife's role.<sup>5</sup>

Within pre-contact Maori society, family and 'home' were also important elements in constructions of femininity. 'Home' for Maori in the pre-European era meant more than an individual whare; rather it was land that constituted the notion of home. As in any society, Maori women did not constitute a homogenous group, and depending on their iwi, rank and individual status, fulfilled different roles. Much of the evidence describing the role of women within traditional Maori society comes from early European observations, and, it is therefore important to recognise that it was often the chiefly women who came to be noticed, and not the commoner or slave woman.<sup>6</sup> Traditional Maori conceptions of femininity, although in many respects different from the European model, also placed emphasis on women's role within the family unit.<sup>7</sup> In the creation narratives, there was an equating of Maori women's

<sup>1</sup> Tamara K. Hareven, "The Home and the Family in Historical Perspective", *Social Research*, 58, 1 (1991), pp.253-285, p.258.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p.259. There does need to be a degree of caution used so as not to overstate this argument. Recent scholarship suggests that industrialisation never completely separated home and work, see: Nolan, *Breadwinning*, p.41.

<sup>3</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women and the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, Hutchinson, London, 1987, pp.13, 32-34, 319.

<sup>4</sup> Ann Oakley, *Women's Work: the housewife, past and present*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1975, p.1.

<sup>5</sup> Glenna Matthews, *"Just a Housewife": The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1987, pp.172-196.

<sup>6</sup> Caroline Ralston, "Maori Women and the Politics of Tradition: What Roles and Power Did, Do, and Should Maori Women Exercise", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 5, 1 (1993), pp.23-44, p.28, on the status of Maori women more generally, see: Angela Ballara, "Wahine Rangatira: Maori Women of Rank and their Role in the Women's Kotahitanga Movement of the 1890s", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27, 2 (1993), pp.127-139.

<sup>7</sup> For discussions of the role and status of Maori women see: Ballara, "Wahine Ragatira", Bruce Biggs, *Maori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction*, A.H. & A.W. Reed for the Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1960, Arapera Blank, "The Role and Status of Maori Women", in Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes, eds, *Women in New Zealand Society*, Allen and Unwin, Auckland, 1980, pp.34-51, Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, pp.68-69, Patricia Grimshaw, "Maori Agriculturalists and Aboriginal Hunter-Gatherers: Women and Colonial



identity with their biological capacity to give birth to children. It was Papatuanuku, the Great Earth Mother, who gifted to iwi the power of birth and rebirth.<sup>8</sup>

Women's day-to-day responsibilities included gardening, cooking, weaving, and nurturing children.<sup>9</sup> Although some women were able to hold rank and, hold rights over land use, and to participate on the battlefield,<sup>10</sup> women's responsibilities largely centred on the whanau. As in Western society, within Maori culture there was a perception of Maori women as possessing a special and inherent link to the home. For Maori, 'whenua' is not only 'land'; it is also the name for the placenta within the mother that nourishes the baby before birth. A symbiotic relationship between women and the land was said to exist. Within at least one iwi, meeting houses bore the name of female ancestors. There was an identification of the space of the meeting house as being a 'feminine' space: symbolically, the meeting house represented a womb of the woman, providing warmth and protection and embraces to all who enter her.<sup>11</sup> In many ways, women and the homeplace of the land were inseparable, with many of the most significant Maori words deriving from the female body. In addition to 'whenua' meaning both 'placenta' and 'land', 'kopu te whare o te tangata' means both 'womb' and 'first home of the people'; 'whanau' means both 'to give birth' and 'family', and extended family. 'Hapu' means both 'pregnant' and 'sub-tribe'; and 'iwi' means both 'bones' and 'tribe'.<sup>12</sup>

## FEMININE SPACES AND THE STUDY OF WOMEN'S PASTS

Despite the cultural connections between Maori women and the home, mid-twentieth century politicians and bureaucrats gave no thought to Maori constructions of femininity, but instead sought to mould Maori women into the housewife deeply embedded within Western notions of femininity. As this chapter demonstrates, following World War II, the idealistic notion of home as haven was re-established.<sup>13</sup> Homes, according to Louise Shaw, often came

---

Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Aotearoa/New Zealand and Southeastern Australia", in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998, pp.21-40, Vapi Kupenga, Runa Rata, and Tuki Nepe, "Whaia Te Iti Kahurangi: Maori Women Reclaiming Autonomy", in New Zealand Planning Council, ed, *Puna Wairere: Essays*, New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington, 1990, pp.8-12, Ralston, "Maori Women and the Politics of Tradition", Rei, McDonald, and Te Awakotuku, "Nga Ropu Wahine Maori", Ngahuia Te Awakotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture, and Politics*, New Women's Press, Auckland, 1991, pp.45-47.

<sup>8</sup> Kupenga, Rata, and Nepe, "Whaia Te Iti Kahurangi", p.8.

<sup>9</sup> Grimshaw, "Maori Agriculturalists and Aboriginal Hunter-Gatherers", p.26, Rei, McDonald, and Te Awakotuku, "Nga Ropu Wahine Maori", p.3.

<sup>10</sup> Ballara, "Wahine Ragatira", pp.133-135, Grimshaw, "Maori Agriculturalists and Aboriginal Hunter-Gatherers", p.27.

<sup>11</sup> Kupenga, Rata, and Nepe, "Whaia Te Iti Kahurangi", pp.9-10.

<sup>12</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p.189.

<sup>13</sup> Eric Olssen and Andre Levesque, "Towards a History of the European Family in New Zealand", in P Koopman-Boyden, ed, *Families in New Zealand Society*, Meuthen, Wellington, 1978, pp.1-26, pp.17-18.

to be seen as a refuge from an increasingly alienating world.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, she argues that in the post-war period “house and home were closely entwined and sometimes difficult to distinguish”.<sup>15</sup>

New Zealand post-war representations of the home increasingly came to focus on “security, protection, comfort, peace, happy family relationship and activities”, and according to one post-war woman home was best defined as “a background and setting for happy family life”.<sup>16</sup> This conception of home was not limited to New Zealand. Within the international literature, some feminist scholars have identified portrayals of the home as centring on representations of a place of warmth and security, and as a retreat from the pressures of employment and public life.<sup>17</sup> Counter to this view, however, has been a feminist critique of the home that both contests the meaning of home as a place of safety and nurture, and develops themes of domestic violence and abuse.<sup>18</sup>

Constructed in opposition to the ‘public’ sphere, the house and the home have been cast in modern Western society as part of the ‘private’ sphere. The binary opposition that the separate spheres doctrine of separate spheres establishes places men in the public sphere and women in the private sphere. The ‘public’ sphere, revolved around the world of business, commerce, the market, and politics. Within constructions of this sphere, its inhabitants have been bourgeois, heterosexual, and male, leading scholars to brand this space as masculinist.<sup>19</sup> Set against this world, was the ‘private sphere’, constructed as the world of women, and as an inferior and auxiliary retreat, away from public concerns. It was a world that revolved around nurturant activities that focused on children, husbands, and family.<sup>20</sup> It is a world that is said to be devoid of politics.

In recent years, many feminist scholars have seen the house and home as not only psychologically and ideologically gendered spaces, but also as structurally gendered spaces. Feminists have long realised the importance of spatial structure in the construction and

<sup>14</sup> Shaw, “A Woman’s Place?” p.165.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> cit. in Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Sophie Bowlby, Susan Gregory, and Linda McKie, ““Doing Home”: Patriarchy, Caring, and Space”, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 20, 3 (1997), pp.343-350, p.343.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of this literature see: Wendy Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, ‘Race’ and National Identity, 1945-1964*, UCL Press, London, 1998, p.ix.

<sup>19</sup> Chris Brickell, “Heroes and Invaders: gay and lesbian pride parades and the public/private distinction in the New Zealand Media”, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7, 2 (2000), pp.163-178, p.165, Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1988.

<sup>20</sup> Catherine Hall, “Private Persons versus Public Someones: class, gender and politics in England, 1780-1850”, in Catherine Hall, ed, *White Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp.151-171, p.154.

reproduction of masculine societies.<sup>21</sup> The last twenty years or so has produced an argument that architectural spaces are both mimetic of, and contribute to, the continuing construction of power relations. In the mid-1970s and throughout the 1980s, feminists, architects, historians, and social scientists began an exploratory probe into the connections between built environments, separate spheres, and power relations.<sup>22</sup> In the 1992, Leslie Kanes Weisman argued that the dichotomisation of space resulted in the establishment of a 'spatial caste system'. In her conceptualisation, building forms and arrangements reflected power differentials and perpetuated the social inequalities of sex, class, and race.<sup>23</sup> That same year also saw the publication of Daphne Spain's *Gendered Spaces*. Her central argument was that the initial status differences between men and women created certain types of gendered spaces. For Spain, this institutionalised spatial segregation reinforced prevailing male advantages.<sup>24</sup> Further building upon this view was the 1996 publication of a collection of essays entitled *Architecture and Feminism*.<sup>25</sup> Most of the essays in this collection demonstrated how the built environment participated in the construction of gendered identities.

In the New Zealand context, feminist historians have yet to substantially address the issue of the architectural space of the home in the production of gender relations. There, however, have been initial attempts to do so. Ben Schrader has argued that state house designs reflected and reinforced distinctions between male and female spaces. Building on feminist scholarship, he argued that the living room as opposed to the kitchen had been positioned as the heart of the state house. From the Victorian period at least, he argued that the kitchen had been the social heart of working class homes. The state house removed the social function from the kitchen and reinforced that space as being the housewife's domain.<sup>26</sup> Significantly, according to Schrader, there was no part of the house similarly prescribed for men, although he does concede that the tool shed cum workshop may have fulfilled this function. The positioning of the male-defined space outside of the house served to reinforce

<sup>21</sup> Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1993, p.17.

<sup>22</sup> For one of the earliest review essays in the area see: Delores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright, "Architecture and Urban Planning: Review Essay", *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture*, 1, 4 (1976), pp.923-933. For a more recent review of this literature see: Joan Rothschild and Victoria Rosner, "Feminisms and Designs: Review Essay", in Joan Rothschild, ed, *Design and Feminism: Re-Visioning Spaces, Places, and Everyday Things*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1999, pp.7-34.

<sup>23</sup> Kanes-Weisman, *Discrimination by Design*, p.16.

<sup>24</sup> Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1992, p.6.

<sup>25</sup> Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson, eds, *Architecture and Feminism* Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 1996.

<sup>26</sup> Ben Schrader, "A Brave New World?: Ideal Versus Reality in Postwar Naenae", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30, 1 (1996), pp.61-79, pp.66-67. See also: Ruth Madigan, Munro Moira and Smith, Susan, "Gender and the Meaning of the Home", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 14, 4 (1990), pp.625-647, p.631.

the notion that the home was primarily a female space. For men to enter their own prescribed spaces they had to leave the family home.<sup>27</sup> More recently, Louise Shaw has considered the input of women in the design of post-war New Zealand housing.<sup>28</sup>

Not only have houses and homes been defined as falling within the 'private' sphere, but the suburbs where they are located have also been identified as belonging to the 'private' and therefore feminine sphere. Suburban living was not merely the result of rising standards of living due to expanding Western economies, "it was also a material and cultural expression of the ideology of feminine domesticity".<sup>29</sup>

In the mid 1970s, feminist geographers pioneered theories about space and gender. By 1980, the newly emerging field had amassed enough literature and interest to warrant a special supplement to *Signs*. Entitled "Women and the American City" several of the articles dealt with spatial concerns and arrangements.<sup>30</sup> Included in this volume was Susan Saegert's "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs".<sup>31</sup> In this groundbreaking piece, Saegert explored the ways in which the urban/suburban dichotomy mirrored the public/private, man/woman dualisms. She showed how the dualism worked to keep women in low paying jobs and to deny them the cultural amenities of the city. The casting of both cities and their suburbs as being gendered spaces had begun. In 1983, Linda McDowell developed this line of thinking further by arguing that the urban structure in capitalist societies reflected the construction of space into masculine centres of production and feminine suburbs of reproduction.<sup>32</sup> In the 1990s, this notion continued to hold sway.<sup>33</sup> Writing of the Canadian post-war experience, Veronica Strong-Boag, although not a geographer, has argued that the suburbs enshrined the notion of separate spheres, as women were located in homes in the suburbs and out of the labour market.<sup>34</sup> Fuelled by high rates of fertility, the suburban dream was premised on

<sup>27</sup> Schrader, "A Brave New World?" pp.67-68.

<sup>28</sup> Shaw, "A Woman's Place?"

<sup>29</sup> Deborah Chambers, "A Stake in the Country: Women's experiences of the suburban environment", in Roger Silverstone, ed, *Visions of Suburbia*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp.86-107, p.87.

<sup>30</sup> Included in this issue was Gerda R. Wekerle's key article that documented the research and writing that had been emerging since the mid 1970s. Gerda R. Wekerle, "Women in the Urban Environment", *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture*, 5, 3, Supplement (1980), pp.188-214.

<sup>31</sup> Susan Saegert, "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs: Polarised Ideas, Contradictory Realities", *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture*, 5, 3, Supplement (1980), pp.93-108.

<sup>32</sup> Linda McDowell, "City and Home: Urban Housing and the Sexual Division of Space", in Mary Evans and Clare Ungerson, eds, *Sexual Divisions: Patterns and Processes*, Tavistock, London, 1983, pp.142-63. Others were also advancing similar notions at the same time see: Suzanne MacKenzie and Damaris Rose, "Industrial Change, the Domestic Economy and Home Life", *Redundant Spaces in Cities and Regions?*, Academic Press, London, 1983, pp.155-200.

<sup>33</sup> Many writers have advanced this argument. See for example: Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America*, The Free Press, New York, 1989, p.249, Roger Silverstone, "Introduction", in Roger Silverstone, ed, *Visions of Suburbia*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp.1-25, p.7.

<sup>34</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-60", *Canadian Historical Review*, 72, 2 (1991), pp.471-504, pp.473-474.

spatial segregation that placed women in suburban homes and men way from the home for the purposes of employment.<sup>35</sup>

In recent years, scholars have begun to examine New Zealand cities as gendered spaces.<sup>36</sup> Suburbia, however, has received only scant attention. In the early 1970s, Miles Fairburn charted the history of suburbia in New Zealand from 1870-1940.<sup>37</sup> He argued that the settlers saw the city as being impure and undesirable, and that the ideal vision for New Zealand was of an "Arcadia" of tamed nature.<sup>38</sup> Fairburn argued that the impetus behind the suburban movement was the desire to create the home as a sanctuary in nature. The movement to the suburbs in late nineteenth century New Zealand was largely composed of wealthy business and professional groups.<sup>39</sup> From 1900-1940, however, Fairburn argued that the return to prosperity, cheaper land at the city fringes, the growth of building societies, improvements in city transport, and the continued spoliation of the inner city residential area, combined to produce acceleration in suburban growth, and an extension of suburbia down the social scale. The first Labour Government of 1935, with its commitment to State funded housing and the democratisation of the middle-class suburban lifestyle, extended the suburban dream to workers and their families.<sup>40</sup>

Ben Schrader's work begins almost precisely at the point where Fairburn's finishes.<sup>41</sup> Focusing on the mid-1940s construction of the Lower Hutt suburb of Naenae, Schrader considers the ideology that led to the development of the suburb. In an article in the *New Zealand Journal of History*, Schrader examined why, only ten years after its development, Naenae was held by many to be a failure. Schrader concludes that the failure of Naenae, as far as the reality did not fit the ideal, was its inhabitants' reluctance to participate in the 'community' that the planners had sought to create. Instead, it was the 'private haven' of the family home to which the residents turned.<sup>42</sup> David Thorns is the most prolific writer on New Zealand suburbia, urban development, and housing policy. Building on an understanding of

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, pp.469-474.

<sup>36</sup> See for example: Annabel Cooper et al, "Rooms of Their Own: Public Toilets and Gendered Citizens in a New Zealand City, 1860-1940", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7, 4 (2000), pp.417-433, Caroline Daley, "A Gendered Domain: Leisure in Auckland, 1890-1940", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp.87-112, Caroline Daley, "Flushed with Pride?: Women's Quest for Public Toilets in New Zealand", *Women's Studies Journal*, 16, 1 (2000), pp.95-113, Pickles, "Workers and Workplaces".

<sup>37</sup> Miles Fairburn, "The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870-1940", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 9, 1 (1975), pp.3-21.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, pp.6-7,16.

<sup>41</sup> Ben Schrader, "Planning Happy Families: A History of the Naenae Idea", MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1994, Schrader, "A Brave New World?"

<sup>42</sup> Schrader, "A Brave New World?", p.79.

suburbia in the British context,<sup>43</sup> Thorns has analysed the suburb and housing policy in the New Zealand setting.<sup>44</sup> What he, and others active in this field, have produced are accounts that place the New Zealand Government in the central role throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Like Fairburn, Thorns has produced pictures of suburbia and of houses that are blind to both gender and 'race' issues.

### ***Public/Private Dualisms***

Separate spheres ideology, and the ensuing 'public'/'private' dichotomy, presented early feminist scholars with a way of studying women's history that employed social and cultural, as well as political, themes.<sup>45</sup> The acceptance of the separate spheres ideology also 'granted' intellectual permission to investigate women's lives in the so-called private sphere.<sup>46</sup> Utilisation of the model opened the previously under-studied world of women's everyday experience, and women's experiences in the domestic site of the home began to receive attention from scholars. The public/private dichotomy lurked at the heart of much of the feminist scholarship that began to emerge in the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, in 1989, Carole Pateman described the dichotomy as central to almost two centuries of feminist struggle. She stated that it is ultimately what the feminist movement is about.<sup>47</sup> In employing the separate spheres approach, the 'public' sphere was also opened up for analysis by women's and feminist scholars.<sup>48</sup>

However liberating to women's history this model may have appeared, it did not take long for scholars to begin to query its power and universality. It soon became evident that the dichotomy could obscure, as well as reveal, the lived reality of men and of women.<sup>49</sup> From

---

<sup>43</sup> See for an example of Thorns' examination of British suburbia: David Thorns, *Suburbia*, MacGibbon and Kee, London, 1972.

<sup>44</sup> See for example: David Thorns, "Suburban Myths and Ways of Life", *Centro-Sociale*, 21, 115-117 (1974), pp.153-160, David Thorns, "Suburban Values and the Urban System", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 16, 1-2 (1975), pp.100-113, David Thorns, "The implications of differential rates of capital gain from owner occupation for the formation and development of housing classes", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 5 (1981), pp.205-217, David Thorns, "Owner Occupation, the State and Class Relations in New Zealand", in Chris Wilkes and Ian Shirley, eds, *In the Public Interest: Health, Work and Housing in New Zealand Society*, Benton Ross, Auckland, 1984, pp.213-230, David Thorns, "New Zealand Housing Policy: Continuities and Changes", *Housing Studies*, 1, 3 (1986), pp.182-191, David Thorns, "Housing and Social Theory", *Housing Studies*, 8, 1 (1993), pp.73-74.

<sup>45</sup> See for example two of the first seminal feminist examinations of the separate spheres: Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History", *The Journal of American History*, 75, 1 (1988), pp.9-41, Carole Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America", *Signs*, 1, 1 (1975), pp.1-27.

<sup>46</sup> S.M. Reverby and D.O. Helly, "Introduction: Converging on History", in S.M. Reverby and D.O. Helly, eds, *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1992, p.6.

<sup>47</sup> Pateman, *The Disorder of Women*, p.118.

<sup>48</sup> See for example: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992, Mary Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots 1825-1880*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1990.

<sup>49</sup> For examinations questioning the lived reality of the 'public'/'private' dualism see for example: Reverby and

the late 1970s, feminist scholars sounded a warning that the dualistic theory of separate spheres belied the lived complexities and realities of most women. They argued that adding women back into the polity would first require a rethinking of the basic political categories, and in doing this it would be necessary to first dissolve the false barrier between the 'public' and the 'private'.<sup>50</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argued that notions of the 'public' and the 'private' were social constructions that represented "a view as to what the world should be like, rather than a reflection of the social totality".<sup>51</sup> In 1989, this was further emphasised, with Denise Riley noting the "blurred ground between the old public and private",<sup>52</sup> and Carole Pateman questioning the dualistic simplification of complex gender relations that the model provided.<sup>53</sup> More recently, scholars have begun to further fracture the idea of unitary 'private' and 'public' spheres. In 1995, Leonore Davidoff again considered the spheres, and traced the growth of multiple publics, including the economic, social, and political spheres. She highlighted the untidy nature of men's and women's lives, lives not easily slotted into segmented categories.<sup>54</sup> This argument was taken up again in 1999 by Jane Rendall, who argued that a single version of the 'public' sphere is insufficient to allow an understanding of the "complicated variety of ways in which women might identify with communities which stretch far beyond the borders ... of home and family".<sup>55</sup>

Historians interested in questions of race and class, and in their intersection with gender, also seriously began to question the relevance of a theoretical framework that seemed to focus on white, middle-class women.<sup>56</sup> Feminist historians cast the emergence of the distinction between spheres in Europe and North America as part of the early nineteenth century cultural project of the emerging middle class.<sup>57</sup> The articulation of the 'private' as a domestic haven of grace and charm, and of the 'public' as an arena of aggressive masculine competition, is increasingly seen in terms of the development of the bourgeoisie

---

Helly, "Introduction", Joyce Thomas, "Women and Capitalism: Oppression or Emancipation? A Review Article", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30 (1988), pp.534-49, Amanda Vickery, "Historiographical Review: Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History", *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), pp.383-414.

<sup>50</sup>Susan Moller-Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979, pp.274-308.

<sup>51</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, "The Architecture of public and private life: English middle-class society in a provincial town 1780-1850", in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe, eds, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, Edward Arnold, London, 1983, pp.326-346, p.327.

<sup>52</sup> Denise Riley, *'Am I That Name?' Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1988, p.49.

<sup>53</sup> Pateman, *The Disorder of Women*, p.6.

<sup>54</sup> Leonore Davidoff, "Regarding Some 'Old Husband's Tales': Public and Private in Feminist History", in Leonore Davidoff, ed, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class*, Polity Press, Oxford, 1995, pp.227-76.

<sup>55</sup> Jane Rendall, "Women and the Public Sphere", *Gender and History*, 11, 3 (1999), pp.475-488, p.482.

<sup>56</sup>Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History", pp.6-7, Reverby and Helly, "Introduction", p.17.

<sup>57</sup> On the relationship between gender and class relations see especially: Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*.

distinguishing themselves from other social classes. Central to this process of distinction was the house. The architectural space of the house, and in particular the suburban villa, became the symbolic triumph of private domesticity.<sup>58</sup>

In recent years, however, scholars have identified the house's ability to afford 'privacy' to its inhabitants as both a classed and raced notion. Increasingly throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the so-called 'private' sphere of the home of the working classes became a site of surveillance.<sup>59</sup> In an attempt to morally reform and raise the 'lower classes', both the State and various middle-class women's voluntary organisations intervened in the private sphere of the home.<sup>60</sup> The notion of the house affording privacy to its inhabitants was in many ways largely confined to the middle and upper classes. Likewise, several black feminist historians have pointed out that the valorisation of the public and the private was central to the construction of the nineteenth century middle class as white.<sup>61</sup> For many black communities, privacy was, and continues to be, far more fragile than in the white bourgeois home. Aida Hurtado has argued that in the American context, the State intervened with greater regularity and with greater force in black homes and communities than in white ones.<sup>62</sup>

Recent New Zealand historical scholarship has made an assault on the lived reality of 'separate spheres' for men and women, with Caroline Daley, Deborah Montgomerie, Melanie Nolan, and Erik Olssen all claiming that 'separate spheres' were not the lived reality for most New Zealanders.<sup>63</sup> This chapter further complicates the notion of separate spheres in the New Zealand context. While bureaucrats, politicians, and often Maori women themselves, all evoked the rhetoric of the separate sphere in the mid-twentieth century; the reality was far

---

<sup>58</sup> Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, "Introduction: Women's Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies", in Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, eds, *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, The Guildford Press, New York, 1994, pp.1-28, p.3.

<sup>59</sup> Lynette Finch, *The Classing Gaze: Sexuality, Class and Surveillance*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1993, pp.2, 35-36.

<sup>60</sup> In the New Zealand context see – on the State see: Michael Bassett, *The State in New Zealand 1840-1984: Socialism without doctrine?*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1998, Dalley, *Family Matters*, Labrum, "Family needs and family desires", McClure, *A Civilised Community*, Nolan, *Breadwinning*. On women's voluntary organisations see: Sandra Coney, *Every Girl: A Social History of Women and the YWCA in Auckland*, YWCA, Auckland, 1986, Else, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Page, *The National Council of Women*, Woods, "Re/producing the Nation: Women Making Identity in New Zealand, 1906-25".

<sup>61</sup> Blunt and Rose, "Introduction", p.4, Webster, *Imagining Home*, p.ix.

<sup>62</sup> Aida Hurtado, "Relating to Privilege: Seduction and Rejection in the Subordination of White Women and Women of Colour", *Signs*, 4, Summer (1989), pp.833-855.

<sup>63</sup> Caroline Daley, *Girls and Women, Men and Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886-1930*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, p.2, Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, "Introduction", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp.7-15, pp.10-11, Nolan, *Breadwinning*, p.41, Erik Olssen, "Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-80", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp.37-62, p.37.



removed from this simple dualism. The so-called ‘private’ sphere of the home was never a private retreat for Maori women and their families. Instead, to the State, Maori homes were political sites crucial to the creation of ideal Maori citizens and to the facilitation of urbanisation. Bronwyn Labrum demonstrated that the State was eager to intervene in the home and could be more directive and paternalistic in its approach to Maori families and women in the supposedly ‘private’ space of their homes than it was to Pakeha.<sup>64</sup>

## HOMES, SUBURBIA, AND PAKEHA CITIZENSHIP

Historically houses and homes have been a means of engineering the ‘ideal society’ in New Zealand and have been central in the construction of ideal Pakeha citizens. After both World Wars, the State provided favourable terms for the returning soldiers to purchase their own homes;<sup>65</sup> housing became the reward for ultimate citizenship. In this section, the historical antecedents of the use of houses in the constructions of mid-twentieth century ideal Maori citizens are traced through examining the use of houses and homes in constructing ideal Pakeha citizens. Although political rhetoric identified the economic investment in a house, it was not the empty shell of the house that the State believed would produce ideal citizens. Crucial to the political potential of the house was the psychological investment in the family home. Women in the domestic and maternal roles of wives and mothers were central to the home, and it was these stereotypical feminine figures in the space of the family home who were charged with transforming their families into ideal citizens. Because of their perceived ‘natural’ connection with the home and family, the State specifically targeted women in their drive to produce the ‘property owning democracy’. The direct targeting of housing towards nuclear families,<sup>66</sup> served to reinforce the connection of women with housing and homes.

Nineteenth century immigration agents promoted the colony of New Zealand as being a land of natural abundance.<sup>67</sup> From this image of abundance, the androcentric and

<sup>64</sup> Labrum, “Family needs and family desires”, p.247.

<sup>65</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, pp.83-84, Chris Wilkes and Brennon Wood, “The Social Relations of Housing in Early New Zealand”, in Chris Wilkes and Ian Shirley, eds, *In the Public Interest: Health, Work and Housing in New Zealand Society*, Benton Ross, Auckland, 1984, pp.183-212, p.199. Following World War II ex-servicemen, although not ex-servicewomen, were entitled to loans of up to £1 500.00 to purchase a house. They were further entitled to interest free loans for the purchase of furniture to create a family home. For men who could not shoulder the burden of a mortgage, State houses provided a place in the suburbs. Irrespective of the civilian waiting list, an allocation of fifty percent of all completed State houses went to returned servicemen. The Wynhome Story (1942-1982), MS-Papers-2388-1, ATL; National Film Unit, *Rehabilitation and You* Wellington: National Archives.

<sup>66</sup> In the post World War II era, individuals who were not a part of a nuclear family unit experienced great difficulty in gaining access to housing. See “The Wynhome Story”, for the experiences of a group of single women. Theirs was a battle to gain access to housing. The Wynhome Story (1942-1982), MS-Papers-2388-1, ATL. On the enshrinement of family values in the family stock see: Julia Gatley, “Going Up Rather than Out: State Rental Flats in New Zealand 1935-1949”, in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp.140-154.

<sup>67</sup> Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies*, pp.29-41.

eurocentric stereotype developed of New Zealand being a land full of opportunities for the working man; New Zealand was said to be a 'labourers' paradise'. The very real possibility of owning a piece of the colony on which to build a home was a lure for working men to emigrate to New Zealand.<sup>68</sup> New Zealand was to be a 'property owning democracy'.<sup>69</sup> By the 1890s, the New Zealand State was actively involved in the creation of the 'property owning democracy' (see Table 2). Around this time, social reformers began advocating State-built housing as a means to prevent social unrest. From the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a feeling among many politicians and civic reformers that good homes would improve the moral condition of the working classes.<sup>70</sup>

Miles Fairburn has argued that in giving a working man Government assistance to acquire his own home and piece of land, the spirit of self-reliance and thrift was being inculcated and encouraged. People would be more 'moral' and self-denying, and this would lead them to manifest more self-restraint, and thus render them invulnerable to discontent and disloyalty.<sup>71</sup> By 1926, successive Government housing policies meant that New Zealand had achieved 50 per cent home-ownership by wage and salary households, earning for New Zealand what was probably the highest rate of home-ownership in the world.<sup>72</sup> It was also apparent that powerful ideologies along with the provision of shelter began to lurk at the heart of the housing policies in the 1920s. Housing and home-ownership became a powerful mechanism for the State to quell political discontent. Whereas, Massey and the Reform Government's repressive handling of the 1912-13 strikes had failed to provide a solution to working class discontent, their housing policies went some way to achieving this aim.<sup>73</sup> Thus, housing, and more specifically private home-ownership, emerged as a powerful political means for the creation of the 'ideal citizen'.<sup>74</sup> The family home was also the physical manifestation of the increased political emphasis on families in the inter-war period.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p.42.

<sup>69</sup> David Thomson, *A World Without Welfare: New Zealand's Colonial Experiment*, Auckland University Press / Bridget Williams Books, Auckland, 1998, p.78.

<sup>70</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, pp.61-62.

<sup>71</sup> Fairburn, "The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier", p.15.

<sup>72</sup> Miles Fairburn, "The Farmers Take Over (1912-1930)", in Keith Sinclair, ed, *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1997, pp.185-210, p.206.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. Debate over the Housing Act (1919), saw Members of Parliament claiming that the scheme would "break down class more than any other scheme", and that "the more we induce tenants to buy their homes the better for the tenants and the country", NZPD, Vol.185, October – November 1919, pp.371-374.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, pp.206-207. Speaking to the 1919 Housing Bill, Mr Isitt argued "Home ownership arouses better sentiments in the people's pride. Directly you give them a chance of living in a decent house, you render a family life a possibility, family discipline possible, and you get at once an elevating influence working. It will kill discontent and disloyalty, and lead people to be more moral and self denying." Likewise, R.W. Smith emphasised the benefits homeownership offered in terms of the creation of ideal working class citizens and the containment of radical class ideologies: The man who has a stake in the country will usually take a sane view of things and will not be in the same danger of running to extremes as he would if he had no interest in the home in which he lived.

Legislation/Policy		Year	Effect
Advances to Settlers Act		1894	State loans of between £25 and £2500 for farmers to erect dwellings or improvements on freehold land. In 1899, extended to include urban and suburban land.
Workers Dwelling Act		1905	Marked shift from legislation primarily concerned with land to legislation concerned with housing. First time central Government became involved in housing construction. The State to erect houses for workers (landless person earning less than £156 p.a.). Occupants of dwellings could take out 50-year leases with right of renewal and purchase.
Advances to Workers Act		1906	Provided for workers earning under £200 p.a. to be able to borrow up to £350 so long as it did not exceed 75% of total cost of the dwelling.
Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act		1915	The State lent money to soldiers returning from World War I to build or purchase their own homes. Under a 1917 amendment to the act, returned soldiers were given the opportunity to borrow up to 100% of the homes value, although in practice this happened rarely.
Housing Act		1919	Reactivated the Workers Dwelling Act and created the Housing Board. State allocated £750 000 for spending on housing over 3 years. This would allow for the erection of 750 houses pa. By 1923, only 430 houses built and vote remained under spent.
State Advances Act Amendment		1923	State Advances Department able to lend up to 95% of the cost of a new house or the value of the land of an existing house. State moves from house builder to moneylender.
Housing Survey Act		1935	Produced a survey of the housing stock, which indicated 12% of all dwellings below the minimum standard as defined by the Act.
State Advances Corporation established.		1936	Newly erected Labour Government disestablished the newly formed Mortgage Guarantee Corporation of New Zealand by acquiring the privately owned shares and renames the organisation the State Advances Corporation of New Zealand (SAC). State also continued to lend money at low interest rates to families to build their own homes. The newly configured SAC offered loans up to 85% of the cost of the house at the unprecedented low rate of 4.125 %. In this year, the Department of Housing Construction was also established as a branch of the State Advances Corporation. New Zealand's State rental housing scheme under way.
Selling State Houses and Housing Act		1950 1955	Change to National Government in 1949 resulted in increased emphasis on home-ownership rather than State rentals. Once again, the State moves from house builder to the role of moneylender. State housing tenants given the option to buy their homes with 95% mortgages at 3% interest.
Group Building Scheme		1953	Introduced as part of the National Government's policy of encouraging private effort in housing. Sections were developed and made available by the State to builders approved by the SAC. The price of the house and section was of a certain fixed maximum, and the plans, specifications, and standards of construction were subject to the requirements of the State Advances Corporation.
Capitalisation of Family Benefit		1958	Labour introduced this scheme, whereby the increased Family Benefit could be paid in advance in a lump sum if this was to be used either for the purchase of a new house or for necessary additions to a house a family was already in. Under this scheme, home-ownership markedly increased.

**Table 2: Government policies and legislation concerning housing, 1894-1975. Source: Gael Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, Dunmore Press with the assistance of the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Palmerston North, 1994.**

Following the carnage of World War I, New Zealand, like many countries, adopted aggressively pro-natalist policies, and the family became the focus of much State attention.<sup>75</sup>

In Prime Minister Massey's words, the growth of working home-ownership allowed New Zealand to "have very much less of this Bolshevistic nonsense".<sup>76</sup> Families, who purchased homes with Reform Government assistance, and those who clung to the dream of home-ownership in the future, had "something to conserve".<sup>77</sup> As Fairburn argues, Labour's objective of abolishing capitalism stood little chance with a population of these small capitalists or would be capitalists. Even more of a threat to Labour's working class appeal was that their plans for land nationalisation were a direct threat to working class petit-bourgeois interests and sentiments. Moreover, strike action became less appealing to working class mortgage holders, who not only had to meet repayments, but who also wanted to protect their collateral.<sup>78</sup> Underpinning the belief in housing's ability to create 'ideal citizens' were deeply ingrained stereotypical views of gender roles and family life.<sup>79</sup>

In 1935, Michael Joseph Savage's Labour party achieved electoral victory and they brought with them to office a firm commitment to improving the housing stock of the nation. The first Labour Government differed from its predecessors believing that it was the birthright of all New Zealanders to be housed decently. When the market failed to deliver, then it was up to the State to intervene and to build houses for those unable to do so themselves. In the minds of many, the erection of both the Welfare State and state houses that have come to symbolise the achievements of the First Labour Government.<sup>80</sup> Better housing was fundamental to Labour's belief in creating better lives for working-class New Zealanders.

The National party, from its formation in 1936, had sought to polarise the policies of the two parties and to portray Labour's 'socialism' as being antithetical to home-ownership.

---

<sup>75</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, pp.70-72.

<sup>76</sup> Fairburn, "The Farmers Take Over (1912-1930)", p.209.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Fairburn demonstrates the centrality of gender ideologies to the notion of home and home-ownership, Ibid, p.208.

<sup>80</sup> Although there was firm commitment to the erection of State housing on the part of the new Government, it is important not to see housing policy oscillating between public and private provision determined by which political party held office. Although Labour always, with the exceptions of 1946 and 1948, spent more on State housing than on State loans, it is important to remember that Labour also encouraged private ownership. The first Labour Government's initiatives and achievements in State housing have served to obscure their record as a moneylender. Acutely aware of the New Zealand tradition of State lending to encourage ownership of lands and homes, Prime Minister Savage, on gaining office, announced that he was taking up where Seddon had left off in 1906. Determined to win the 1957 election, Labour offered a raft of inducements to the electorate; among these were subsidised mortgages for low-income families, and a scheme for the capitalisation of the family benefit as a down payment on a house. Again, in 1960, Labour contested the General Election on a platform that emphasised State lending rather than State housing. See: Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, pp.121-122, New Zealand Labour Party, *Building a Nation 2. Homes for the People*, Wellington, New Zealand Labour Party, 1960, Sinclair, *Walter Nash*, p.130.

A controversial National Party campaign poster of 1938 depicted the menacing ‘red hand’ of socialism, representing the policies of the Labour Party, threatening home, freedom<sup>81</sup> and family.<sup>82</sup> The idea of housing as being an antidote to radical sentiment found a welcome reception in the post World War II era. As in other post-war Western countries, there was an inextricable link between housing policies and Cold War politics. Newly elected Prime Minister Sidney Holland believed the best way to beat communism was to create a nation of “little capitalists” who owned their own property.<sup>83</sup> Housing was a central issue in the 1949 election campaign, with the National Party electioneering under the slogan of “Own Your Own”, and setting the creation of “a property owning democracy” as their objective.<sup>84</sup>

Shortly after coming to power in 1949, the National Government articulated its ideological investment in housing in a White Paper on Housing Policy. A 1950 policy statement made an explicit drawing of the linkages between home-ownership and citizenship:

The Government has great faith in the social value of home-ownership. An important part of its policy is to encourage people to own their own homes, for it considers that home building and home-ownership develop initiative, self-reliance, thrift, and other good qualities which go to make up the moral strength of the nation...Above all, home-ownership promotes responsible citizenship. To the community it gives stability, and to the homeowner it gives a constant sense of security, pride and well-being. At all times the emphasis of Government policy will be on private building and families will be encouraged to build for themselves the type of dwellings best suited to their needs.<sup>85</sup>

In the post-war period, New Zealand national identity became “framed by suburban family life”, and rather than being a retreat, suburban family living became a renewed expression of citizenship.<sup>86</sup>

National was not alone in its ideological commitment to public home-ownership, and the family home. Both the post-war Labour and National parties saw the family as being the foundation of the nation.<sup>87</sup> The introduction of the capitalisation of the family benefit cemented the relationship between women and home-ownership. Margaret McClure argues that the scheme fitted neatly with Labour leader Walter Nash’s ideals of home and family. In

---

<sup>81</sup> For a discussion on the relative meanings that the Labour and National parties attributed to the word “freedom” see: Chris Brickell, “Labour, National and the Postwar Consumer”, *History Now*, 7, 4 (2001), pp.17-20.

<sup>82</sup> This was a controversial campaign within the National Party and at least one division of the Party refused to use the campaign poster. See: Barry Gustafson, *The First 50 Years: A History of the New Zealand National Party*, Reed Methuen, Auckland, 1986, p.201.

<sup>83</sup> Yska, *All Shook Up*, p.25.

<sup>84</sup> John Marshall, *Memoirs: Volume One 1912-1960*, Collins, Auckland, 1983, p.144.

<sup>85</sup> Sidney Holland, ‘Housing Policy’, *AJHR*, 1950, J-6, p.3.

<sup>86</sup> Donald Denoon, Philippa Mein-Smith, and Marivic Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*, Blackwell History of the World Blackwell, Oxford, 2000, pp.355-356.

<sup>87</sup> On the National Party see: Marshall, *Memoirs*, p.144. On the Labour party see Nash’s Statement in *New Zealand: A Working Democracy* quoted in, Ben Schrader, “Labour at Home: The First Labour Government and the Familial Suburban Ideal”, in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp.125-139, p.131.

Nash's vision, the birth of a child became associated with home-ownership.<sup>88</sup> Nash was a staunch advocate of private home-ownership, and like his National Party counterpart Sidney Holland, derived his belief in home-ownership from his deep antagonism to the growth of communism and the belief that home-ownership was a buffer against the communist inculcation of the New Zealand population. With echoes of Massey in the 1920s, Nash believed that families who were settled homeowners would be less vulnerable to communism and the "alien formulas or dogmas" that thrived on discontent.<sup>89</sup>

## HOUSING AND IDEAL MAORI CITIZENSHIP

Until the post World War II period, attempts to construct ideal New Zealand citizens were confined largely to the Pakeha population. In the early stages, Government experiments with housing policy did not generally extend to Maori. The State Advances Office was no more likely than any other Government department to lend money on Maori land with communal title.<sup>90</sup> Throughout the twentieth century, Maori increasingly demanded better housing, and by the 1950s the State increasingly sought to include Maori within a version of the 'suburban dream'. This section examines the ways in which housing policies were used to both facilitate urbanisation, and to produce integrated, modern, and therefore ideal Maori citizens.

Providing adequate quality housing for Maori in the urban and suburban spaces of the nation was crucial to both the urbanisation and integration of mid-twentieth century Maori.

<sup>88</sup> McClure, *A Civilised Community*, pp.152-153. See also: Sinclair, *Walter Nash*, p.299.

<sup>89</sup> McClure, *A Civilised Community*, p.153. New Zealand was not the only nation where a belief in home-ownership as a means of creating a stable society prevailed. John Murphy has shown how politicians in Australia saw the post-war family home in the suburbs as a buffer against communism. Murphy quotes a New South Wales politician stating that 'no Communists will be found building their own homes but decent Australians are getting a stake in the country'. Home-ownership, according to Murphy, was not only acquiring a stake in the country but also the locale in which 'the family was being established as a constituency'. In Australia home-ownership was part of a set of practices that marked out what the Liberal Governments called 'responsible citizenship'. The family, domiciled in family homes, became central to defending what Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies labelled the "Australian way of life". Menzies, through the addressing of family members gathered around the radio, sought to persuade Australians to make their private and domestic experiences the basis of their political identification. As in New Zealand, across the Tasman in Australia, politicians ironically cast women and domesticity as crucial to the crusade against communism. Prime Minister Menzies espoused a view that successfully integrated women's experiences of the 'public' and the 'private'. Mothering was protecting, and just as women had to protect their homes and their families from the dangers of 'germs, polio, and comics', so they needed to protect against the 'insidious growth of communism' in their homes. Likewise, in the United States housing and suburbia became central to the post-war "fight" against communism. Home-ownership, homes, domestic ideology, and families were said to provide a buffer against what was perceived of as disturbing and threatening in the Cold War period. Suburbia was said to be a "bulwark against communism and class conflict" because "it offered a piece of the American dream to everyone". For detail on the Australian and American experiences see: John Murphy, "Shaping The Cold War Family: Politics, Domesticity and Policy Interventions in the 1950s", *Australian Historical Studies*, 26, 105 (1995), pp.544-567, p.551. Denoon, Mein-Smith, and Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*, pp.355-356. Judith Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, Macmillan Australia, Chippendale [NSW], 1992, pp.33-49. Grimshaw et al, *Creating a Nation*, pp.267-269. May, *Homeward Bound*, pp.10-11,20.

<sup>90</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p.98.

Underlying the new homes in the cities for the Maori migrants was the complex entanglement of Maori desires for new housing, economic interests, race relations aspirations, and Cold War anxieties. Many Maori voluntarily moved to the cities to take up residence in new homes, and expanded employment prospects. For those families not as eager to make the geographic transition, the State turned to more coercive policies. Motivating the State was the need to bring workers to the cities where the expanding industries were located. Moreover, good housing in the cities was thought to produce better workers for those industries. J. H. Barber, the director of housing in the Department of Maori Affairs, believed housing to be the basis of prosperity for the country, for home life, he believed, had an “effect on efficiency in industry”.<sup>91</sup> Housing was not solely about serving the needs of the economy, however, and many politicians and bureaucrats believed in the State’s involvement in Maori housing on the grounds that it would be crucial in creating an integrated society where Maori had a kind of equality. Through the provision of adequate housing, the State saw itself delivering equality in citizenship to Maori, at least in the Marshallian sense. The provision of adequate housing was also thought to be especially important in protecting Maori from communist infiltration. Within the confidential report compiled by the Tourist and Publicity Department, there was an identification of housing, or rather the lack of adequate housing, as a major theme of the communist propaganda. Specifically, the report identified “9000-odd” Maori in Auckland as being the most “open to communist infiltration”. The report identified Maori in Auckland as being “badly housed”, and noted that many of their homes were below the standard of Pakeha homes. To the report writers, this made them especially susceptible.<sup>92</sup>

In many ways the centrality of home-ownership to late nineteenth and early twentieth century configurations of ideal Pakeha citizenship was dependent upon denying Maori the opportunity of attaining the goal. The notion of a ‘property owning democracy’ was dependent upon the acquisition of land, and that land had to be obtained from Maori owners, the very ideal of the ‘property owning democracy’ was built upon a foundation of Maori land dispossession. To the settlers, Maori ownership of New Zealand, recognised in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, was not a substantial barrier to their own land ownership. Throughout the nineteenth century, the crown acquired a huge estate at little cost. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, the Crown purchased huge tracts of the North Island and the entire South Island. ‘Kemp’s Purchase’ in 1848 of 20 million acres of the South Island, including most of the

<sup>91</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1952, MS-Papers -1396-001, Barber was not alone in this view with T. T. Murray speaking for the Hon. Keith Holyoake at the 1960 annual conference of the League articulating a similar view, Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1960, MS-Papers -1396-002, ATL.

<sup>92</sup> “Confidential Report: The Maori People and the Communist Party”, pp.6,9, (Sir) John Ross Marshall 1912-1988: Political Papers, MS-Papers-1403-002/1, ATL.

present day provinces of Canterbury and Otago, cost the Crown a mere £2000, or around a fortieth of a penny per acre.<sup>93</sup>

The alienation of Maori land in the name of the property owning democracy was still occurring in the mid-twentieth century. The waiving of the Crown's Article Two right of pre-emption coupled with the beginnings of the individualisation of Maori ownership of land in the 1860s, led to even more land being available for settlers. Large scale purchases of Maori land ceased in the 1920s, simply because Maori had very little land left to sell.<sup>94</sup> The first Labour Government's increased investment in the public housing stock from the mid 1930s, however, resulted in an increase demand for land in the urban and suburban areas. For the Ngati Whatua of Orakei, the small amount of land that they had retained from an area of 500 square kilometres between the Waitemata and Manukau Harbours came under increasing pressure throughout the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>95</sup> As a State housing settlement grew around Ngati Whatua's remaining turangawaewae, the State began to regard their land with increasing interest.<sup>96</sup> When attempts to purchase the land failed, in 1950 the State evoked the Public Works Act and achieved their aim of acquiring the remnants of the iwi's lands. The newly elected National Government deemed that the acquisition of this land was in the 'public interest'.<sup>97</sup>

For Maori communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, land, rather than housing, was the greater concern. In the 1890s, precisely at the time at which State lending for housing was in its embryonic form, Maori were attempting to control land sales, to achieve some form of self Government, and to gain access to capital for the development of lands and properties. When the State finally turned its hand to developing Maori housing policies in the 1920s and 1930s, they were rural rather than urban in focus (see Table 3). There were no parallel efforts for Maori to the State's efforts to construct ideal Pakeha citizens through housing. In this inter-war period, however, there was a slow movement towards assisting with the development of Maori lands. Championed by the

<sup>93</sup> Harry Evison, *The Treaty of Waitangi and the Ngai Tahu Claim*, Ka Roimata Whenua Series: No.2 Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board, Christchurch, 1988, pp.22-26.

<sup>94</sup> On early twentieth century Maori land policy see: Tom Brooking, "'Busting Up" The Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 26, 1 (1992), pp.78-98. For general overviews see also: Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Ward, *A Show of Justice*.

<sup>95</sup> Ian Hugh Kawharu, "Mana and the Crown: a marae at Orakei", in Ian Hugh Kawharu, ed, *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1989, pp.211-233, New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim (Wai 9)*, New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 1987, pp.85-90.

<sup>96</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Orakei Report*, p.85.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, pp.86-87.



Member of Parliament for Eastern Maori, Apirana Ngata, Maori began to assert their demands for rural economic development.<sup>98</sup>

By 1929, land development schemes also began to include funding for the provision of Maori housing; this marked the real beginning of the State's involvement in Maori housing. Between 1929 and 1936, the State assisted in the building of 551 houses under the development schemes. While some commentators noted the marked improvement in existing conditions, others were critical of the tendency to build dwellings that were below the minimum standard for Pakeha. Even the Public Works Department, which designed several types of the houses, was doubtful of their quality.<sup>99</sup> For Ngata, the emphasis was on farming and land development, and he was prepared to both limit the construction of houses and to accept lower standards. Ferguson has suggested that it is possible that Ngata was wary of imposing Pakeha-type housing upon people used to the traditional forms of kainga.<sup>100</sup> Although he advocated 'European' standards, Ngata considered that there was a "danger of a Pakeha supervisor with his Pakeha standard imposing on a people just out of raupo and ponga a type of dwelling far above their requirements".<sup>101</sup> Ngata, however, like his Maori parliamentary colleagues, Maui Pomare and James Carroll, did not question the assumption that European-style housing was inherently better than traditional Maori housing.<sup>102</sup> Improving the material living conditions of Maori was more important to this group of young reformers than was the preservation of a distinct 'Maori' way of life.

The ravages of the Depression years meant that, by the mid-1930s, the Coalition Government proposed to establish a housing scheme for the general population. Ngata seized on this opportunity to advance a case for Government support for a Maori housing scheme, and in August 1934, led a deputation to Prime Minister Forbes. Apirana Ngata proposed a housing scheme to complement the Maori land settlement schemes.<sup>103</sup> His hope was to establish Maori on the land on a partly self-supporting basis, where they would benefit from the healthy living conditions and provide a labour pool for the development schemes.<sup>104</sup> A sympathetic Prime Minister in George Forbes, the mana and political clout of Apirana Ngata,

---

<sup>98</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p.99.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, p.100.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ngata to Buck, 22 May 1930, in M.P.K. Sorrenson, ed, *Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend: The correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, 1925-1950*, vol. Volume 3, 1932-50, Auckland University Press in association with the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust and the Maori Purposes Fund Board, Auckland, 1988, p.26.

<sup>102</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p.55.

<sup>103</sup> Mark Krivan, "The Department of Maori Affairs Housing Programme, 1935-1967", MA thesis, Massey University, 1990, pp28-30.

<sup>104</sup> Ngata to Buck, 25 March 1934, in Sorrenson, ed, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, pp.146-147.

and the need to court the Maori vote in the lead up to the 1935 general election, resulted in the enactment of the Native Housing Act (1935).

Despite the intent of the 1935 Native Housing Act, and that of its 1938 amendment, land development schemes constituted the main source of new houses for Maori in the decade prior to World War II. By March 1940, 1 224 land development scheme houses had been built, but only 171 under the 1935 Act, and 197 under the 1938 Amendment Act. By the end of its period in power in 1949, the first Labour Government could point to the fact that they had housed about ten per cent of the Maori population. Some viewed this as an achievement, while others felt that it was anything but an impressive feat.<sup>105</sup>

None of the Maori housing legislation and policies before World War II adequately provided for Maori living in urban areas. With land required for security under the terms of legislation, Maori wage earners living in urban areas could seldom afford to purchase land. While their incomes were insufficient to allow for the purchase of land, they were sufficiently large to disqualify them from the classification of 'indigent' provided for in the 1938 amendment. Likewise, if social welfare formed the basis of their income, this was insufficient to allow for the purchase of a section. Politicians were aware of the lack of housing for Maori in the cities. In 1937, Peter Fraser, then Minister of Health, suggested the provision of portable huts as temporary accommodation for 'nomadic Maori' in central Auckland. Despite the awareness of the plight of Maori in urban areas, there was no action, and the Department of Native Affairs had no special provision for town dwellers.<sup>106</sup>

Following World War II, Maori housing policy shifted from seeking to merely provide accommodation for Maori, to also becoming a tool of the State in its wider ideological race relations objectives. Housing became a means not only to move Maori to the cities; houses were also seen as a potent means and site for the production of ideal Maori citizens. Like housing policy directed at Pakeha families throughout the twentieth century, in the mid-twentieth century housing became inextricably linked with citizenship for Maori. Subscribing to the same ideological beliefs as nineteenth century moral reformers,<sup>107</sup> many politicians and bureaucrats saw the post-war family home as a powerful force in shaping Maori character in the mid-twentieth century.

<sup>105</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p.164.

<sup>106</sup> Krivan, "Maori Affairs Housing Programme", p.45.

<sup>107</sup> On the of nineteenth century moral reformers views on housing see: Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1996, Gwedolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1980.

Legislation/Policy	Year	Effect
Commission of Inquiry into the influenza epidemic	1919	The Inquiry revealed appalling housing conditions among Maori crowded into the central areas of the main towns, and particularly Auckland.
Maori Land Development Scheme	1920s	Rather than directly intervene through either a subsidisation of either rents or interest for Maori in urban areas, the State responded to the requests of Apirana Ngata and became involved in the development of rural Maori land. Under this scheme, Maori landholdings were grouped into economic farms, developing them through collective effort, and running them either co-operatively through employed managers, or individually.
Native Land Amendment Act & Native Land Claims Adjustment Act	1929	Marked the beginning of State involvement in the provision of Maori housing.
Native Housing Act	1935	Passed by the Coalition Government prior to leaving office in 1935. Under this legislation, the newly formed constituted Board of Native Affairs (later renamed Board of Maori Affairs), was empowered to advance money to Maori for the erection and improvement of buildings. Loans were not to exceed £750 without cabinet approval, and interest was charged at 4.25%.
Native Housing Amendment Act	1938	Under the amending legislation, Labour established new provisions for 'indigent' Maori who had no land or security for a loan or no ability to repay one benefited from a special fund of £50 000.
Extension of Maori mortgage period - Loan Limits made equal to State Advances Corporation.	1947	The Department of Maori Affairs increased the period of borrowing to thirty years, thus lowering the payments on mortgages. This lending period had been available to Pakeha since the 1894 Advances to Settlers Act. The maximum amount that a Maori borrower could borrow through the Department of Maori Affairs was also made equal to those offered to Pakeha through the State Advances Corporation.
Urban State Rental Housing for Maori	1949	Special pools of State houses set aside for Maori. The number of houses in the pool was established by comparing the number of Maori applicants for State houses to the number of Pakeha applicants in a given area. The building of the houses was the responsibility of the Ministry of Works' Housing Construction Department and the responsibility for administration and maintenance the responsibility of the State Advances Corporation. Selection of tenants was the responsibility of the Department of Maori Affairs.
Selling of State Houses to Maori tenants	1961	Viewed by bureaucrats as a quick way to solve the Maori housing shortage. Maori tenants were given the option of purchasing their State rental home.

**Table 1: Housing legislation and policy targeted specifically toward Maori, 1919-1961. Source: Gael Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, Dunmore Press with the assistance of the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Palmerston North, 1994; Mark Krivan, "The Department of Maori Affairs Housing Programme, 1935-1967", MA thesis, Massey University, 1990.**

## *Women as the Foundation of the Home*

Although the language of political rhetoric consistently identified the Maori subject as male, there was a strong State perception of Maori women, like their Pakeha counterparts, as providing the foundations of the family home. From its inception, the Maori women members of the Maori Women's Welfare League were reminded constantly of the importance of the home, and their role within the home to aid their families in the transition to urban life. The Prime Minister, Sidney Holland addressed the inaugural conference of the League. He made explicit his, and his Government's, belief in the central role of women in maternal roles within the home in inculcating their families in ideal citizenship: "The influence of the home is incalculable. You cannot measure the extent in our national life and in our families of the home, which is the basis of all things. You will realise that the influence of the mother is of a very proven nature in the raising of our standards of living. In education, in sanitation, in help and in responsibility".<sup>108</sup>

The importance that the State placed upon Maori women in the roles of wife and mother continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In 1957, the Anglican Bishop of Christchurch addressed the delegates of the annual Maori Women's Welfare League Conference on the subject of the home, the role of women in the home, and the important role that Maori women would assume in the "formation of the character of future Maori". Later in the day, Tipi Ropiha, the Secretary of Maori Affairs, also addressed the linkages between home and the formation of character. Starting with what according to Ropiha was an 'ancient Chinese proverb', "Show me the home of a people, and I will tell you a story of that race", he argued that the home was crucial to the 'advancement' of the Maori people. To Ropiha, home was "the centre of everything which will make or break the future Maori as he goes into the world to make a name for himself".<sup>109</sup> Three years later, Mabel Howard, Minister of Social Security, and Minister in Charge of the Welfare of Women and Children, and the Child Welfare Department, emphasised the role of women in maintaining the home and the family. It was her belief that "if you give a woman a decent standard of living she will keep that standard up. I have seen [Maori] homes equal to anyone's home".<sup>110</sup> For the Maori women members of the League, they were more than happy for the politicians and the bureaucrats to cast the home and women as crucial to the 'advancement' of Maori. Whina Cooper, President

<sup>108</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Inaugural Conference 1951, MS-Papers -1396-001, ATL.

<sup>109</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1957, MS-Papers -1396-003, ATL.

<sup>110</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1960, MS-Papers -1396-004, ATL.

of the League from 1951-1957, herself maintained that “housing, or rather lack of it, is the source of many evils confronting” Maori.<sup>111</sup>

For many Maori, regardless of the ideological agenda of the State, the houses that the State was actively encouraging them to occupy represented a marked increase in living conditions. For one Te Rarawa family who moved to Auckland from Panguru on the Hokianga Harbour in 1954, their new State house seemed too good to be true. On arriving in the South Auckland street of their brand new State house, the family could not initially locate their new home as letter boxes had still to be erected. Finally, after seeking the help of a Pakeha family already in living in the street, the family finally saw their new home for the first time. The mother of the family, who had previously only known dwellings that members of her family had built themselves, refused to believe that the house she stood outside was meant for her family. She considered that house was so brand new that it “must be for Pakeha”, and refused to allow her family to enter the dwelling for several days. Instead, the family set up camp, complete with a long-drop toilet, in the garden of the property. It was not until a Pakeha bureaucrat came to the property and convinced the Maori woman that this was the family’s new home, that she would allow any member of her family, other than herself, to cross the threshold of the house.<sup>112</sup>

### ***Facilitating Urbanisation***

In order to facilitate the further movement of Maori from the “uneconomic” rural areas identified by the Maori Education and Employment Committee, successive Governments targeted housing policy to settle Maori in the towns and cities of the nation. Although strenuously denied by politicians and bureaucrats, housing policy became an effective weapon in the State’s armoury in forcing the urbanisation of those families that were reluctant to move from their rural communities. Ernest Corbett, Minister of Maori Affairs, when challenged by the Maori Women’s Welfare League, denied that his Government was using housing policy “as a measure to induce Maoris...to leave their ancestral lands”.<sup>113</sup> The evidence, however, suggests the opposite. There was no extension of mortgages to families living in what the Department of Maori Affairs considered ‘uneconomic’ areas. To qualify for a Department of Maori Affairs mortgage, the proposed home needed to be in close proximity to a centre of employment: a town or a city.<sup>114</sup> Likewise, there was no building of

---

<sup>111</sup> Dominion President’s Report, Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1953, MS-Papers -1396-003, ATL.

<sup>112</sup> Interview recorded with “Fred”, 19 March 2001.

<sup>113</sup> Corbett to Maori Women’s Welfare League, 21 August 1957, Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1957, MS-Papers-1396-003, ATL.

<sup>114</sup> Corbett to Maori Women’s Welfare League, 24 November 1954, Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1954, MS-Papers-1396-002, ATL.

State houses in many of the rural areas where Maori lived. The Government justified this by stating that no Maori family would be denied access to good housing, provided that they were willing to live in a location that the Government deemed suitable for lending money for ownership or for building State houses.<sup>115</sup>

Although not all Maori Women's Welfare League members shared their president's belief that Maori should be rural rather than urban people, for many years the League petitioned the Minister of Maori Affairs to provide adequate housing in rural areas. The League's advanced an argument in 1953 in favour of the Department of Maori Affairs administering its own rental scheme, as Maori were in need of State houses in rural areas.<sup>116</sup> Throughout the 1950s, the League continued to argue that Maori should be able to decide to stay on their ancestral lands without "undue emphasis on the economic factor".<sup>117</sup> In 1954, the League petitioned the Minister of Maori Affairs on behalf of the Maori community at Te Hapua. The Department of Maori Affairs simply refused to consider loan applications from the Northland community, because of its distance from a town or city, according to the Aupouri District Council of the League. In their arguments against the Department's position, the League emphasised the significance of Te Hapua as an ancestral home, the success of the local school, and the recent building of a Ratana church that "above all" bound them to their rural home.<sup>118</sup> Again, in 1960, the League approached Walter Nash, in his capacity as Minister of Maori Affairs, to ask that the people of Pipiriki (near Whanganui) be helped to retain land interests of residential purposes. Such action was justified, in the League's opinion, by the "necessity" of enabling Maori to retain their *turangawaewae*.<sup>119</sup> While the Board of Maori Affairs took into account "historic and scenic" associations as well as economic ones, and realised the deep attachment that the local people held for their ancestral lands, "it could not close its eyes...to the fact that the main purpose of a house ...is to provide a place for the family to live, while the breadwinner earns a living and his children, as they become old enough, either attend school or engage in employment".<sup>120</sup>

The League's efforts to obtain Government assistance for rural Maori housing met with very little success, as for the Government, housing was a crucial means of relocating the population from their rural homes to the towns and cities of New Zealand. For it was in the

---

<sup>115</sup> Nash to Maori Women's Welfare League, 1 April 1960, Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1958, MS-Papers-1396-004, ATL.

<sup>116</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1954, MS-Papers -1396-002, ATL.

<sup>117</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1959, MS-Papers -1396-004, ATL.

<sup>118</sup> Petricevich to Corbett, 15 June 1954, MA 1 30/19 Vol.1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>119</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1959, MS-Papers -1396-004, ATL.

<sup>120</sup> Nash to the Maori Women's Welfare League, 31 March 1960, Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1959, MS-Papers-1396-004, ATL.

towns and the cities that the Maori population could participate ‘productively’ in the economy. It was Maori women, however, that, through the Maori Women’s Welfare League, argued for the retention of an extended notion of home that emphasised ancestral links. It was, however, often women who made the decision for their families to leave their rural communities and to make the geographic transition to the towns and the cities. Writing of her family’s move from its rural Northland home at Ngataki to Auckland city, Waerete Norman recalls that it was her mother who was the driving force in their urbanisation. Against the wishes of both her husband and against “enormous pressure” from her whanau, Norman recalls how her mother stood adamant that this was the best for her family, and succeeded in bringing about the shift.<sup>121</sup>

When the new National Government took office in 1949, they inherited a set of Maori housing policies that, while biased towards rural areas, contained an embryonic set of urban-based solutions.<sup>122</sup> Before electoral defeat in 1949, Labour finally articulated an urban housing policy that had been at least six years in the making. First mooted in 1943, State rental housing for Maori stayed on the political agenda for some time. In 1943, the Minister of Rehabilitation wrote to Mason, the Native Minister, recommending either the building of rental houses for Maori, or the allocation of State houses to Maori. Mason did not act on this recommendation.<sup>123</sup> In the years immediately following the war, there was political support in principle for such a scheme, but inter-departmental wrangling and Treasury objections stymied the possibility.<sup>124</sup> In 1948, there was an allocation of sixty houses in the Tamaki State rental-housing block to Maori tenants. In addition to this, houses in the planned State rental block at Orakei were to be set-aside for Maori occupants.<sup>125</sup> The prevailing view within Government and the bureaucracy was that these were ‘one off’ special allocations, and an immediate antidote to the appalling housing conditions of many Auckland Maori. Nevertheless, this scheme provided the blueprint for a national scheme. Finally, in 1949, the Government announced a national plan for special pools of urban rental housing for Maori.<sup>126</sup>

Before the establishment of the State rental scheme for Maori in 1949, access to state rental housing had largely eluded Maori. Efforts to introduce State rental housing for Maori in the early 1940s failed because of the State Advances Corporation’s belief that there would be ‘inevitable difficulties with Maori tenants’. Also influencing the thinking of many in the

<sup>121</sup> Waerete Norman, “Taura”, in Witi Ihimaera, ed, *Growing up Maori*, Tandem Press, Auckland, 1998, pp.110-132, p.124.

<sup>122</sup> Orange, “A Kind of Equality”, pp.182-187.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, p.181.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, pp.181-187.

<sup>125</sup> AJHR, 1948, G-10, p.13

<sup>126</sup> AJHR, 1949, G-9, pp.8-9.

Corporation was the belief that the presence of Maori in the suburbs might subvert its goal to produce 'respectable citizens' through the provision of good housing. It thought that it was better to keep Maori and Pakeha separate, in case Maori living standards and behaviour had a detrimental effect on surrounding respectable Pakeha residents.<sup>127</sup> Slowly, as integrationist beliefs became more pervasive, the State Advances Corporation gradually accepted providing state houses to Maori tenants. In reality, however, Maori continued to experience difficulties in obtaining access to State rental housing. In the smaller towns, where no Maori pool existed, Maori applied to the civilian allocation committees. The assumption that they would make bad tenants, and the desire to avoid concentrations of Maori, led to the rejection of many Maori families' applications.<sup>128</sup> T. T. Ropiha argued strongly for Maori representation on the allocation committees, but both National and Labour Governments held the view that there should be no discrimination between applicants.<sup>129</sup>

The establishment of Maori pools in 1949 was an attempt on the part of the State to allow more Maori families to be housed in the towns and cities of the nation. In 1954, however, the Department of Maori Affairs halved the number of cities with special Maori pools from ten to five. In cities with low concentrations of Maori, the Maori pool scheme proved a short-lived experiment. When the scheme was initially established, Christchurch was the only South Island centre to have a Maori pool.<sup>130</sup> By 1952, only three years after the scheme's inception, however, the future of a special Maori pool was in question.<sup>131</sup> With a projection of 250 houses to be built in the city in the coming year, and with a low Maori population (one Maori for every 127 Pakeha),<sup>132</sup> the special Maori pool was allocated only two houses. Further diminishing the effectiveness of the pool in Christchurch was the provision that half of the allocated houses were to be reserved for returned Maori soldiers; thus reducing the special Maori pool allocation to one house.<sup>133</sup> In June 1953, seventeen urgent Maori applicants received advice of the disestablishment of the Maori pool in Christchurch, and that they were now in the general pool. Bureaucrats considered that Maori actually stood a better chance of allocation of a State rental house if "they were thrown into the common pool and made to compete on merit".<sup>134</sup> Maori applicants in Christchurch could take comfort from the fact that at least one official in the Department of Maori Affairs did not

<sup>127</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, pp166-167.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, pp.168-169.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, p.168.

<sup>130</sup> Memorandum: Ropiha to Head Office, Wellington, 10 April 1951, MA 1, 30/5/18, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>131</sup> Memorandum: Ropiha to Head Office, Wellington, 13 February 1952, MA 1, 30/5/18, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>132</sup> As at 30 September 1952, there were 2 157 urgent Civilian applications, 17 urgent Maori applications, and 150 urgent rehabilitation applications. Handwritten file note, undated (c. December 1952), MA 1, 30/5/18, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*.



“think there would be any racial discrimination on the part of the State Advances Corporation”.<sup>135</sup>

Despite political and bureaucratic assurances to the contrary, members of the Maori Women’s Welfare League were aware of instances of the State Advances Corporation discriminating against Maori families seeking State houses. In an effort to avoid this discriminatory treatment, the League fought for the Department of Maori Affairs to institute its own rental scheme. While noting the arguments of the League, Ernest Corbett, Minister of Maori Affairs, was not open to giving the matter serious consideration.<sup>136</sup> With the relationship between women and housing firmly cemented by the late 1950s, the Maori Women’s Welfare League was, however, able to succeed in its demand for a representative to be placed on each of the allocation committees in centres without a pool.<sup>137</sup> Whereas Ropiha had failed in his attempts to have Maori representatives placed on the boards earlier in the decade, by the late 1950s the Government was sufficiently grateful for the League’s assistance in the area of housing to reward their efforts by acquiescing to their desires for representation.

### ***Making Modern and Integrated Maori Citizens***

Peter Fraser, as Minister of Maori Affairs, believed that housing enabled the “setting-up of the most important and far reaching influence for good or ill in national life, the home”.<sup>138</sup> While it was believed that good housing and the establishment of good family homes was a route to producing ideal Maori citizens, there was concern within the Department that poor housing, particularly in the cities, would have a detrimental effect on character formation among Maori:

Environment has an important influence on conduct, and it is felt that any deterioration in standards which may be apparent, together with any undue incidence of delinquency, can be attributed directly to the fact that few city Maoris can enjoy the comforts of home life. Many of the Maori people who are living in small squalid rooms, often in unsavoury localities, are compelled through their enforced environment to seek amusement in degrading quarters, where they are easily persuaded into trouble.<sup>139</sup>

By 1949, one of the stated aims of the Department of Maori Affairs was to provide Maori families with homes “which lay a foundation for improved health and a greater sense of public responsibility”.<sup>140</sup> Barely beneath the surface of the language of ‘public responsibility’ was the notion of citizenship. Increasingly, policy directions also indicated that it was to be in urban homes that character would be moulded and ideal citizens produced.

<sup>135</sup> Miscellaneous Handwritten note to the Director of Maori Housing, 4 December 1952, MA 1, 30/5/18, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>136</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1954, MS-Papers -1396-002, ATL.

<sup>137</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1958, MS-Papers -1396-003, ATL.

<sup>138</sup> AJHR, G-9, 1949, p.2.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, p.9.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

Throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, environmental determinism continued to influence both bureaucratic and political thinking on the need for increased provision of Maori housing. To Ernest Corbett, the Minister of Maori Affairs, 1949-1957, the provision of improved housing was bound closely to the social and economic 'improvement' of Maori.<sup>141</sup> Likewise, the Department of Maori Affairs in 1957 found that "as a general rule Maoris from even the most unpromising housing backgrounds show, when settled in homes of a good standard, a commendable readiness to establish and maintain high standards of domestic, communal, and financial responsibility".<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, bureaucrats within the Department demonstrated that they understood ideal Maori citizens not only as male, but that they also saw women, as wives and mothers as being central in constructions of post-war citizenship:

Even when a family has come from the most primitive living conditions, better housing is found to have helped the man to become a more efficient and stable employee, his wife to become a more progressive and efficient housewife, and their children to grow up in a more healthy and happy environment ...As a result, all members of the family are imbued with a livelier sense of equality in citizenship, and a stronger confidence in their ability, while fully enjoying the rights it confers, to cope adequately with the responsibilities it entails.<sup>143</sup>

In 1957, M. Sullivan, the new Secretary of Maori Affairs, used the supposed established link between housing and Maori advancement to argue for a dramatic increase in the number of houses built. In a lengthy and detailed submission to Walter Nash, Sullivan proposed increasing by 75 the number of houses built by the Department annually from 1961, until the Department was financing 750 houses per year. The report was based on data from the 1951 and 1956 censuses, and was an important prelude to the 1961 Hunn Report. It was in the language and philosophy of environmental determinism that Sullivan couched his arguments. For Sullivan, the problems facing Maori arose from bad living conditions. He warned Nash that a failure to deliver improved housing conditions to Maori was a sure path to a 'deterioration of race relations'.<sup>144</sup>

Jack Hunn shared his predecessors' and his Department's environmental-deterministic beliefs in the centrality of housing to the 'advancement' of Maori, and future to race relations. In a 1960 address to the Maori Women's Welfare League, Hunn stated that:

To me and my officers, housing is regarded as the key to the advancement of the Maori people. Better housing obviously creates a better environment for the family. Housing in one way or another is undoubtedly the key to advancement of the people and each family that undertakes occupation of a new house is making a most worthwhile contribution to the progress of the people.<sup>145</sup>

Encoded within the official rhetoric of the 'advancement' and the 'improvement' of Maori was the desire for production of integrated and modern Maori – 'ideal' Maori citizens.

---

<sup>141</sup> AJHR, G-9, 1951, p.2.

<sup>142</sup> AJHR, G-9, 1957, p.18.

<sup>143</sup> AJHR, G-9, 1954, p.25.

<sup>144</sup> Krivan, "Maori Affairs Housing Programme", pp.84-85.

<sup>145</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1960, MS-Papers -1396-004, ATL.

Family homes located in the suburbs of the nation's cities and towns modernised Maori through aiding in breaking down aspects of Maori culture antithetical to the prospering post-war New Zealand nation, and they also provided crucial sites where Maori learned the canons of responsible and ideal citizenship.

Housing policy was concerned with the breakdown of traditional communal forms of land tenure. When State assistance for Maori private home-ownership finally arrived in 1935, it was conditional. The Act required applicants to secure their loans with a mortgage over the section that they were going build their house on. To do this, applicants needed an individual title to their land.<sup>146</sup> Through a series of Native Land laws, and the workings of the Native Land Court in the nineteenth century, colonial Governments and bureaucrats had sought to wrestle Maori land from communal ownership. Seen as both a barrier to the sale of land to settlers, and as antithetical to the 'assimilation' of Maori people, Maori land tenure soon became individualised.<sup>147</sup> Under the 1935 legislation, communal ownership was not tolerated any more than it had been in the nineteenth century. If Maori were to be the recipients of State advances for housing, they had to demonstrate that their mode of land ownership had reached a certain stage of 'assimilation'. This breakdown of communal land title continued to be a goal of housing policy following World War II. The 1950 White Paper on housing reaffirmed this goal by describing traditional Maori modes of land tenure as a "problem".<sup>148</sup>

Housing policy further aided in the removal of Maori from their land, by making housing provision occur at the expense of land development. What money there was for housing came out of the land settlement account, making housing an opportunity cost of the development of Maori land.<sup>149</sup> There was no increase to the Land Settlement Vote to allow for the demands of the housing programme, and by 1957, housing expenditure accounted for over one third of the available money. On the eve of the 1957 election, the newly appointed Under-Secretary of Maori Affairs, M. Sullivan, requested additional funding in order to increase the production of houses for Maori. With a new Government in office following the election, Sullivan approached new Labour Prime Minister and Minister of Maori Affairs, Walter Nash, with the proposal. Nash approved the request, but the Treasury would not support the increased expenditure. With the support of the Minister of Finance, Arnold Nordmeyer, Treasury officials argued that the increase in funding needed to come from the Land Settlement Vote. To add insult to injury, there was a reduction in Land Settlement Vote for the 1958 financial year.

---

<sup>146</sup> Orange, "A Kind of Equality", p.85.

<sup>147</sup> Ward, *A Show of Justice*, pp.107-108,125,186-187.

<sup>148</sup> Holland, 'Housing Policy', p.11.

<sup>149</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p.218.

Once moved from their rural homes, it was believed that family homes in the suburbs would ease the transition of Maori to urban living, allowing them to integrate more readily. Within the Department of Maori Affairs there was a strong belief that housing was especially important for Maori, “faced with the necessity of adjusting himself over a relatively short period to a way of life quite different from that of his ancestors, and his home surroundings exert a strong and intimate influence upon the process of adjustment”.<sup>150</sup> Jack Hunn, who had previously labelled housing as being the “key to the advancement of the people”, in the Hunn Report cast the integrating potential of the home as being beneficial for both Pakeha and Maori New Zealanders in that it would aid in the construction of the integrated nation. “Modern housing raises family status, social acceptability, educational and employment opportunities, not to mention health and happiness. It works for the good of the public in general as well as the Maoris in particular because it is a strong force for integration”.<sup>151</sup>

From its inception in 1948, the ideological agenda of the Maori urban housing policy was clear. Even in its infant stages, the scheme was integrationist in its agenda. As early as 1947, Peter Fraser had expressed a desire to ‘pepper-pot’ Maori houses in the new State housing settlements.<sup>152</sup> In 1949, “interspersing of Maori in single units throughout normal State settlements” was adopted as policy. The noted exceptions to the policy were in Waiwhetu in Wellington and at Orakei in Auckland. These were special settlements where Maori land was involved.<sup>153</sup> This practice remained Government policy into the 1960s.<sup>154</sup>

‘Pepper-potting’, the practice of “dispersing Maori houses amongst European Houses to promote closer integration”, received full endorsement in the Hunn Report.<sup>155</sup> The report did note, however, that in many towns and cities there had been a subdivision of Maori land into building sites. These subdivisions, according to the report, had laid the foundations “consciously but regretfully, for all-Maori settlements”.<sup>156</sup> In order to counter this, Hunn advocated that when Maori land was subdivided for building purposes, “sections should, if possible, be sold ...to Europeans” in order to achieve an “integrated community”.<sup>157</sup>

In order for pepper potted houses in the suburbs of New Zealand’s towns and cities to be effective sites of integration, Maori homes were required to be largely indistinguishable from Pakeha homes. Not only were the initial State rental houses for Maori in the 1940s to be

---

<sup>150</sup> AJHR, G-9, 1954, p.24.

<sup>151</sup> ‘The Hunn Report’, p.36.

<sup>152</sup> Bassett and King, *Tomorrow Comes the Song*, pp.333-334.

<sup>153</sup> AJHR, 1949, G-9, p.9.

<sup>154</sup> AJHR, 1962, G-9, p.9.

<sup>155</sup> ‘The Hunn Report’, p.41.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, p.44.

dispersed among State rental houses, they were also to be of standard, or 'H' type, design and to "be in no way distinguishable from normal State rental houses."<sup>158</sup> For those building a home of their own with the assistance of a Department of Maori Affairs mortgage, the Department provided a low cost plan service.<sup>159</sup> These plans, designed by the Department of Maori Affairs' own architectural division, resembled 'ordinary' houses of the time. They were in fact smaller, cheaper replicas of the State Advances Corporation houses designed for the Pakeha nuclear family.<sup>160</sup>

Not only was there a requirement that Maori houses be indistinguishable from 'normal' suburban homes, there was also a requirement that the very structure of the Maori families moving into the homes mimic those of their Pakeha neighbours. The State through its housing designs and policies sought to ensure that Maori families met this requirement. For Maori in the post-war period, as for Pakeha, there was targeting of housing toward the nuclear family. Maori were equally eligible to benefit from the 1957 introduction of the scheme to capitalise the family benefit. Through the pages of *Te Ao Hou*, and through bureaucrats with the opportunities to implement the policy, the Department of Maori Affairs strongly encouraged Maori families to benefit from the scheme.<sup>161</sup> Although the capitalisation scheme certainly made more Maori families eligible for housing assistance, the Department of Maori Affairs, due to lack of funds, was often unable to accommodate them.<sup>162</sup> Like Pakeha, Maori applicants for either State houses or State mortgages were unlikely to succeed if they were not a part of a stereotypical nuclear family. An applicant for a State house in Christchurch in 1962 found his application dismissed because he and his wife had recently entered into a separation agreement.<sup>163</sup>

Conforming to the stereotype of a nuclear family, however, often came at a higher cost to Maori families than to their Pakeha counterparts. The very designs of the houses sought to impose nuclear family living arrangements on Maori families, and did not accommodate the traditional extended family structure of the whanau. The standard Department plan books did not contain houses with more than four bedrooms. Given the larger Maori family size, this

<sup>158</sup> R.B.Hammond, to The District Supervisor, Housing Division Christchurch, 9 September 1949, CH 453, 3/211/12, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>159</sup> Draft Pamphlet, "How the Department of Maori Affairs can help you to Finance your Own Home", undated (but post 1958), MA 1, 30/1/5, Volume 1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>160</sup> For Maori Affairs plans see: Department of Maori Affairs, *Nga Whare Ataahua Mo Te Iwi Maori: Homes for the People*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1964.

<sup>161</sup> "How Family Benefits are used to Finance Maori Housing", *Te Ao Hou*, Vol.8, December 1959, pp.14-16; Joint Circular Memorandum: Head Office Department of Maori Affairs to all registrars and District Agents, Social Security Department Managers and Resident Officers, State Advances Corporation Of N.Z. District Officers, Department of Maori Affairs, 26 March 1959, MA 30/16/1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>162</sup> Krivan, "Maori Affairs Housing Programme", p.89.

<sup>163</sup> Rogers to Purini, 14 April 1962, MA 1, 30/5/18, Vol. 1, ANZ, Wellington.

meant that it was in theory near impossible for anyone other than immediate family to be housed together.

By the early 1960s, however, it was apparent that the policy of pepper-potting was not becoming a built reality in many parts of New Zealand. Jack Hunn attributed this departure in part to the “dearth and cost” of sections. Posing more of a threat to the policy, however, was the dual operation of Department of Maori Affairs policy and State Advances Corporation policies. While the Department of Maori Affairs through its lending policies sought to distribute Maori throughout the cities and towns, the State Advances Corporation in its provision of State housing allocated houses on the basis of need and not ‘race’. It was this clash of policies that the 1971 report on housing in New Zealand held culpable for the ‘ethnic concentrations’ that had occurred in Otara, Mangere, and Porirua. This report implored that every effort to be taken to avoid such concentrations in the future. Rather poetically the commission of inquiry concluded the “Shaken by separate hands, the pepper-pott has given a result more characteristic of the salt-cellar”.<sup>164</sup> The League recognised from an early date that it was the policies of the State Advances Corporation that were leading to a departure from the policy of pepper potting. In 1962, the League recommended to the Housing Allocation Committees of the State Advances Corporation that Maori State rentals be interspersed with Pakeha homes, rather than grouped together as was the current practice.<sup>165</sup>

By the end of the 1960s, there was a commonly held belief that Christchurch had avoided large ‘ethnic concentrations’ of Maori. Through effective town planning, many, including the Minister of Maori Affairs, argued that Christchurch was an “example of integration at its best”.<sup>166</sup> Although Christchurch did not have an area comparable in terms of population to those named in South Auckland and the Hutt Valley, it was not the model of integration or pepper potting that some promoted. By the end of the 1960s, Christchurch had a Maori population that accounted for around 1.6 per cent of its total population. Analysis of the 1971 census data shows, however, a city that was far from pepper-potted. Far from there being an even distribution of the Maori population throughout the city, 65 per cent of Christchurch suburbs had a Maori population lower than the overall 1.6 per cent of the city population. Instead, clusters occurred in particular suburbs. In the exclusive suburbs of Fendalton and Deans Bush, there were no residents identifying themselves as Maori. Meanwhile, in some of the poorer eastern suburbs, Maori made up more than 5.5% of the

<sup>164</sup> ‘Report of the Commission of Inquiry: Housing in New Zealand’, AJHR, 1971, H-51, pp.202-205.

<sup>165</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1962, MS-Papers -1396-005, ATL

<sup>166</sup> “Maoris Moving to South Island”, *Press*, 31 October 1966, p.16; *Press*, 20 April 1970, p.2.

population, nearly three and a half times the city proportion.<sup>167</sup> The 1971 census data shows a strong negative correlation between mean income and the number of Maori in a suburb.<sup>168</sup>

The fact was that many Pakeha simply did not want Maori neighbours. Discrimination in access to housing had occurred since Maori began their urbanisations.<sup>169</sup> Through 'To let' columns in newspapers, landlords explicitly refused accommodation to Maori.<sup>170</sup> An article published in the *Auckland Star* in September 1953 outlined a case of two Maori men applying for a room in an Auckland boarding house. Of the two men, who were brothers, only one was successful, and not surprisingly, it was the brother with the lighter complexion.<sup>171</sup> Likewise, in the 1960s the *Christchurch Press* ran an exposé on the discrimination that Maori encountered in the housing market in Christchurch.<sup>172</sup> In 1962, the Maori Women's Welfare League asked that the Minister of Maori Affairs make it illegal to advertise for "European only" tenants.<sup>173</sup> In 1970, the Housing Division of the Ministry of Works, while acknowledging its obligation to make sections available to the Department of Maori Affairs, questioned the level of houses that the Department was requesting in Christchurch's Hoon Hay Free Block. In particular, the Housing Division questioned the wisdom of such a "high density of Maori owned houses in 'private' areas". In this case, it would seem that 'private' meant little more than Pakeha, as the residents for whom the Department of Maori Affairs was seeking to obtain sections were also to be private homeowners.<sup>174</sup>

---

<sup>167</sup> Department of Statistics, New Zealand *Population and Dwellings Census 1971*. See also: Steven Eldred-Grigg, *A New History of Canterbury*, John McIndoe, Dunedin, 1982, p.170.

<sup>168</sup> Incomes > \$4000 and the percentage of Maori of the total population for a given suburb – when the logarithm of these two values is taken  $r=0.70$ . It seems that this situation was beyond the influence of the Department of Maori Affairs, who it seems took some care to adhere to the policy of pepper potting. As late as 1969 the Department of Maori Affairs was still publicly articulating the policy as departmental practice (*Press*, 17 December 1969, p.13). When in 1958 the department accepted two sections in the new Bryndwr subdivision in Christchurch, they were in separate streets. When the department did accept sections in the same street in the Wainoni and Bryndwr developments, there was still an adherence to the policy of pepper potting, in that they were not adjacent lots. Even when there was an abandonment of both of these safe guards, and the Department of Maori Affairs did accept adjacent lots for sale to Maori, it did not necessarily establish a pattern or the beginnings of a suburb with a high concentration of Maori. In 1957, the department accepted three adjacent properties in Papanui, however the 1971 census data reveals Papanui to be a suburb with a Maori population well below the city's average. A.C.P. Macrae, to The Manager, State Advances Corporation, Christchurch, 18 September 1958, CH 453 15/6/4, Housing Corporation, Maori Affairs Dept. Reports- CH 453 15/6/3, Kelly, to The District Commissioner of Works, Ministry of Works, Christchurch, 23 October 1957, and Kelly, to The District Commissioner of Works, Ministry of Works, 30 April 1958, CH 453, 3/211/12, ANZ, Christchurch ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>169</sup> Bryan Pay, "'A Racist Medium?': The Attitudes Expressed in the Auckland Printed Media towards aspects of Maori Urbanisation in Auckland (1960-1975)", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1992, p.119.

<sup>170</sup> Waikato-Maniapoto Young Maori Leaders Conference, *Report*, Auckland, Council of Adult Education, University of Auckland, 1960, p.28.

<sup>171</sup> Krivan, "Maori Affairs Housing Programme", p.84.

<sup>172</sup> Parsonson, "Ngai Tahu - The Whale That Awoke", p.251.

<sup>173</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1962, MS-Papers -1396-005, ATL.

<sup>174</sup> G.E.Corry, to the District Officer, Department of Maori Affairs, 18 February 1970, CH 453, 3/211/12, ANZ,

Far from being opposed to the policy of pepper potting, many Maori actively advocated for its continuation. Maori clergy endorsed the policy,<sup>175</sup> but by far the greatest advocates of the policy were Maori women. In the post-war period, many Maori women increasingly desired to improve both their own and their families' material conditions. Maori women were well aware of the equating of domestic modernity with social worth. It was in part recognition of this equation that Barbara Brookes argues was a factor in the League's objection to the depiction of the Maori family in the School Publication Branch Booklet, *Washday at the Pa*. League members disowned the images of a Maori family living in a rural house that lacked both water and electricity: a house that was not modern.<sup>176</sup> Through pepper-potting, many Maori women aimed to achieve the domestic modernity and level of integration that both the State and Pakeha society would reward. Pakeha neighbours, many Maori assumed, would aid in the learning of the canons of good and responsible citizenship.

In 1961, in an attempt to provide some data for future policy directions, Jane Ritchie, a graduate in psychology from Victoria University of Wellington, surveyed ninety-eight Maori mothers in the Wellington area on their residential preferences. The women were asked:

Do you think it is a good idea for Maori families to live close together, or do you think that Maori families would be better off if they lived scattered over the city (of Wellington)? What are the reasons for your opinion?<sup>177</sup>

The women, from a variety of backgrounds and age groups, overwhelmingly (76 per cent) opted for scattered living over close living. The reasons that the women gave centred on the desire for privacy and on the desire to 'improve' themselves and their families. 'Improvement' for the women meant integration and the ability and desire to compete with Pakeha neighbours.<sup>178</sup>

Also vocal in their support for pepper potting was the Maori Women's Welfare League. In September of 1957, the Hamilton branch of the National Council of Women presented a report to the dominion executive that they had prepared on the issue of Maori housing. The Pakeha women recommended that the Department of Maori Affairs should build a group of low cost houses for sale to Maori families. At the request of the national executive, the Maori Women's Welfare League delegate, Mrs Tamihana, commented on the report. Tamihana praised aspects of the report, but stated that she felt it was better for Maoris

---

Christchurch.

<sup>175</sup> Synod, *A Maori View of the "Hunn Report"*, p.17.

<sup>176</sup> Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'", p.224.

<sup>177</sup> Ritchie, "Together or Apart", p.194.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, pp.197-198.



to live side by side with the Pakeha, rather than in groups of their own. In doing this, she argued, Maori and Pakeha would get to know one another and learn more.<sup>179</sup>

### *A Place in the Dream?*

By the 1920s, private home-ownership was undoubtedly the route to ideal and responsible citizenship for the Pakeha population. For Maori, the situation was more complicated. When housing assistance did arrive in the 1930s, the architects of the legislations envisaged Maori as being homeowners rather than as State tenants. Labour, as the inheritors of the Housing Act (1935), had seen no need to change the act's emphasis, and despite the 1938 amendment, the emphasis remained on home-ownership. The original emphasis on home-ownership rather than public housing, according to Gael Ferguson, was not an attempt on the part of the Coalition Government to include Maori within the suburban dream. Rather the emphasis lay in Gordon Coates' general distaste for public housing.<sup>180</sup> By the 1950s and 1960s, however, there was a clear desire on the part of Governments to include Maori within the suburban dream of private home-ownership, but occurring in parallel to this was a clear desire to provide Maori with access to State rentals.

Increasingly throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Pakeha New Zealanders began to regard State housing as undesirable, and solely for 'misfits' and 'losers'.<sup>181</sup> The Government's emphasis on private home-ownership had resulted in large 'ghettos' of State houses with high concentrations of low-income families. The findings of the 1954 Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Young Persons served to confirm in many minds the undesirability of State houses. Amid social hysteria, the Mazengarb Report, as the committee's report became known popularly, apportioned much of the culpability for the loosening of morality to State houses settlements.<sup>182</sup> In the post-war era, many Pakeha State house tenants were acutely aware that the path to respectability lay in home-ownership and not in renting from the State.<sup>183</sup>

Yet, State housing provided a respectable option for Maori families. Adopting a pragmatic approach, many politicians and bureaucrats reasoned that the reality was that many Maori families could simply not afford privately owned homes. For Maori, attainment of ideal citizenship was through living a modern and integrated life, and therefore the form of tenure of the house was of less importance than the standard of house itself. Although still a

<sup>179</sup> 18-29 September 1957, Minutes of National Council of Women Executive Meeting, MB 126, 5/3.

<sup>180</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p.164.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, p.181.

<sup>182</sup> On the Mazengarb inquiry and report see: Yska, *All Shook Up*, pp.58-84. See also: Mazengarb Committee, Special Committee on Moral Delinquency, MS-Papers-2384-009, ATL.

<sup>183</sup> See Duff, "Families and State Housing", pp.178-185. This thesis contains oral evidence of the attitudes of State house tenants in Christchurch in the post-war period.

respectable option for post-war Maori, bureaucrats and politicians did not see public housing offering a long-term route to ideal Maori citizenship. To the State, private home-ownership came to represent the ultimate goal for Maori, as it did for Pakeha. There was however a belief that an 'evolutionary' approach needed to be adopted. The primary and immediate goal of a housing scheme was to remove Maori from traditional modes of living, and ultimately produce fully integrated or assimilated citizens who owned their own homes. In 1944, James Fletcher<sup>184</sup> approached the Minister of Rehabilitation with a 'three phase plan' for Maori housing. First, there would be temporary huts for sleeping quarters, then Housing Division houses, and finally home-ownership.

Fletcher's scheme, although never formally implemented, caught the Labour Government's attention, and underpinned much Government policy over the coming decades.<sup>185</sup> The Hunn report clearly showed that in the early 1960s, the State was still thinking of Maori housing in evolutionary terms. Jack Hunn argued the State should accept for a decade or so longer, a greater responsibility for the housing of Maori than Pakeha.<sup>186</sup> Owing to lower average income than Pakeha, Hunn saw Maori as being "less able to fend for themselves".<sup>187</sup> This was not a situation that Hunn believed would continue in perpetuity, and he argued that the next generation would be "virtually integrated" and therefore able to look after their own housing problems through "normal" channels.<sup>188</sup>

Once housed in modern State rentals, many hoped that Maori tenants would aspire to the lofty and respectable heights of home-ownership. By the end of the 1960s, the connections between respectability and private home-ownership had been firmly cemented, with many within the bureaucracy assuming that Maori who had achieved private home-ownership would be reluctant to live in areas with high concentrations of State rentals.<sup>189</sup> Section, labour, and building material shortages often conspired against home-ownership becoming a reality for some families. In an effort to counter these impediments to Maori home-ownership, the Department of Maori Affairs introduced legislation in 1961 to enable the selling of State rental houses to Maori. The bureaucrats saw this as a quick way of solving Maori housing shortages and as adhering to the wider policy objective of

---

<sup>184</sup> James Fletcher was an Auckland builder and a Reform Party supporter. However, in 1935, realising that Labour was going to win the upcoming election, he wrote offering his assistance in housing to the new Government. During World War II, he became Commissioner of Defence Construction. Following World War II, James Fletcher went on to form the successful Fletcher Construction. See: Sinclair, *Walter Nash*, pp.156-158.

<sup>185</sup> Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p.165.

<sup>186</sup> 'The Hunn Report', p.38.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> G.E.Corry, District Supervisor, Housing Division, Ministry of Works to the District Officer, Department of Maori Affairs, 18 February 1970, Housing Corporation Houses for Maori Affairs 1945-76, CH 453, 3/211/12, ANZ, Christchurch.

The SIGN of  
FRIENDLY SERVICE

for the Maori People

Wherever the B.N.Z. is located—  
and there are more than 300 Branches  
and Agencies in the Dominion—  
there the Maori people find con-  
fidential and friendly service and the  
facilities of the largest banking  
business in the country.



**BANK OF NEW ZEALAND**



Serving the Dominion in all branches of banking. Established 1861.

**Illustration 3: The Bank of New Zealand sought to assure Maori that they were welcome to use the bank's services through the pages of *Te Ao Hou*.**

old, were of poor quality, or were in areas where there was low demand for Maori housing.<sup>191</sup> The scheme did, however, reveal the ideological leaning of the Government: Maori as homeowners were preferable to Maori as State tenants.

Home-ownership not only provided Maori families with a modern home, but also with a stake in the nation. Home-ownership for Maori, as for Pakeha, provided a means to inculcate them into the work ethic, thus producing more productive and useful members of the nation and, importantly of the economy. Home-ownership, as the pinnacle of Maori citizenship, was not to come without sacrifice.<sup>192</sup> Maori were warned not to fritter their money away,<sup>193</sup> but instead to save it. In an effort to aid Maori to save the deposit needed for home-ownership, the Department of Maori Affairs established housing deposit accounts. Maori wishing to save for a home of their own paid into an account the difference between what they were paying in rent and the proposed mortgage repayments.<sup>194</sup> The importance of this scheme to the State, in addition to assisting Maori save for a house deposit, lay in its ability to inculcate Maori into habits of thrift; a central canon of good and responsible citizenship. Thrift and good savings habits were further encouraged amongst Maori by both the State owned trading bank, the Bank of New Zealand, and the State owned Post Office Savings Bank. Through the pages of *Te Ao Hou*, the principles of banking and saving were explained and Maori were assured that banks would welcome their custom (see Illustration 3 and Illustration 4).

integration.<sup>190</sup> This scheme was not the success that the Department had envisaged. The sale of 400 houses was set as the target for the period 1961-67, however only 138 such houses were sold. The houses transferred to the Department of Maori Affairs were often too small for Maori families, were too

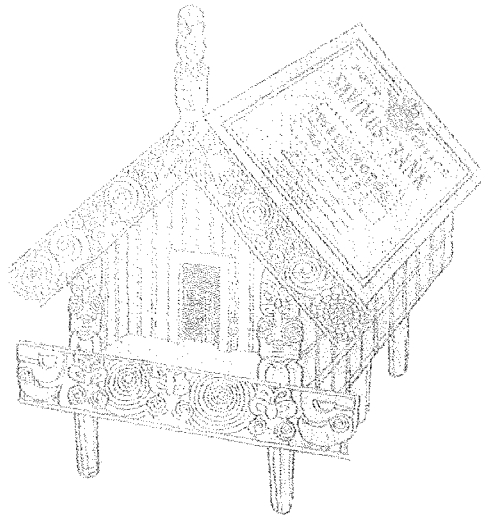
<sup>190</sup> AJHR, 1962, G-9, p.8

<sup>191</sup> Krivan, "Maori Affairs Housing Programme", p.109.

<sup>192</sup> Address by J.R.Hanan, Maori Women's Welfare League Newsletter 1965-66, MS-Papers-1396-009, ATL.

<sup>193</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, Vol.7, No.3, 1959, p.17.

<sup>194</sup> AJHR, G-9, 1955, p.17.



## THE POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK IS A *Pataka for Money*

In olden times they knew how wise it was to save. In their patakas they stored kumaras and other food. If the hunting or snaring or fishing was not good—there were the kumaras they had saved so they wouldn't be hungry.

The Post Office Savings Bank is a modern-day pataka for money. Instead of spending all your money till it is gone, buy the things you need and save the rest. Very quickly even little sums of money grow into a big amount. Little bits you don't even miss!

This is how the Post Office Savings Bank works. You just go to the Post Office counter and tell the man 'I want to start a Post Office Savings Bank Account, please' and give him the money you want to start the account with. This is called 'making a deposit'. He will want to know your name and your address so the Bank people will always know which money is yours. Then he will give you a little book called your 'Bank Book'. It has the amount you gave him written in. That's how much money you have

in the Post Office Savings Bank. You take the little book with you every time you are depositing more money because the new amount has to be added to what is already in the Bank.

If you want your money, or any part of it, back after a while to pay for something, the man will show you how to write out the form and then he will give you your money. The Bank will always have money to pay you because the Bank has a great amount of money, paid in by thousands of people, Maori and Pakeha, young people and old people.

And the Post Office Savings Bank pays you interest on your money. In one year £100.0.0 becomes £102.10.0 when the Bank adds payment. If you have £50 it is an extra half £2.10.0; £50 becomes £51.5.0. Every amount grows bigger each year.

Save for the things you want—with a Post Office Savings Bank Account. Deposit some money, even a little bit, every week.

ISSUED BY THE POST OFFICE

**Illustration 4: The State, through the publicly owned Post Office Savings Bank, sought to educate Maori in the principles of banking and saving. In doing this, they made appeals to traditional modes of Maori life.**

Thrift, saving, and home-ownership, would, politicians hoped, also inculcate Maori into another canon of good and responsible citizenship: sobriety. Saving and paying off a mortgage required Maori, as it did Pakeha, not to spend their money on alcohol. Maori wages not “going down to the brewer” meant that not only more Maori owned their own homes, but according to Ernest Corbett, aided in the acceptance of Maori in their new urban environments. To the Minister of Maori Affairs, Maori “falling from grace under liquor” raised the “racial barrier” in the eyes of Pakeha.<sup>195</sup>

Securing mortgage finance from an organisation other than the Department of Maori Affairs added further a further layer of respectability to Maori home-ownership. Maori who obtained a loan from another organisation, such as the State Advances Corporation, were seen as having freed up housing money for a less fortunate Maori family. The Department actively encouraged ‘the better’ applicants to try their luck elsewhere.<sup>196</sup> By doing this, the Department of Maori Affairs was free to provide for families who were it not for its own building organisation, would never have owned their own home.<sup>197</sup> Maori families, who were secure in their financial situation often preferred to by-pass the bureaucratic tangle required to obtain Department of Maori Affairs finance.<sup>198</sup> State Advances Corporation finance allowed Maori families to further blend into the suburbs of 1950s and 1960s New Zealand.

Although the pages of *Te Ao Hou* were a means by which to educate Maori on thrift and the importance of savings and home-ownership, it was Maori women whom the politicians and bureaucrats viewed as the main vehicle by which to transport a desire for home-ownership and the associated values into Maori society. The sacrifice needed for a thrifty lifestyle, unlike the sacrifice of the battlefield, was sacrifice in which women were able to actively participate. From its inception, both bureaucrats and politicians used the forum of the League’s annual conference to bombard the women with the message that home-ownership represented the pinnacle of ideal Maori citizenship. Speaking at the first annual conference of the League in 1952, J. H. Barber left the assembled women in no doubt that the “Department [of Maori Affairs] has great faith in the social value of home-ownership”:

Home building and home-ownership develop initiative, self reliance, thrift, and other good qualities which go to make up the moral strength of the nation. Home owners, by building up an equity in their properties, are saving in one of the safest and most effective ways. They have thus the incentive to maintain and improve their properties and so increase their own wealth and the wealth of the nation. Above all home-ownership promotes responsible citizenship. It gives stability to the community and to the home-owner. It gives a feeling of security, pride, and well being.<sup>199</sup>

<sup>195</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1952, MS-Papers -1396-001, ATL.

<sup>196</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1957, MS-Papers -1396-003, ATL.

<sup>197</sup> “Homes for the Maori People”, *Te Ao Hou*, p.31, Vol.3, No.2, April 1955.

<sup>198</sup> Interview with “Kevin and Sally”, recorded 1 April 2000.

<sup>199</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1952, MS-Papers -1396-001, ATL.

Speakers at the annual conferences drew upon essentialised notions of women as being moral maternal figures, in order to impress upon the women of the League that it was their duty as women to be thrifty and to encourage saving towards home-ownership. At the 1952 conference, Ernest Corbett held up the example of his own wife going through his pockets every night to check for money, as a template for ideal womanly duties.<sup>200</sup>

Politicians regarded the League as an important ally in inculcating the Maori population in these 'virtues'. The State viewed the activities of the women's voluntary organisation as complementing rather than rivalling their own activities in the production of ideal Maori citizens. At the inaugural conference of the Maori Women's Welfare League, Prime Minister Sidney Holland had indicated that he saw the women's organisation and the State as being involved in an alliance:

The basis of our national life is happy and contented life in the private homes of the people, and I understand you are trying to assist Maori families to develop family life in their own homes in their own way, and we of the Government provide facilities such as housing and in many other ways to support your work...<sup>201</sup>

Such rhetoric was not confined to Pakeha. Eruera Tirikatene, the Member of Parliament for Southern Maori, also stressed to League members their duty to be thrifty. Importantly, he also stressed their role in the inculcation of the wider Maori community to such habits:

I think we have a duty to ourselves, and that duty is to become more thrifty. That is a part the league can play. We have all got to help. I have to be able to budget, to deny myself, my wife, and perhaps my family certain luxuries...I know the League teaches, "Remember there is always tomorrow". Pleasure is one thing, independence is another, if we forget to provide for tomorrow we are not helping ourselves or the others who are trying to help us.<sup>202</sup>

In the main, the League accepted home-ownership ownership "as a worthy goal".<sup>203</sup> On the one hand, the members of League accepted the Government's proposition that it was the role of Maori women to teach their families the value of money, and encourage home-ownership.<sup>204</sup> On the other hand, however, it was the League who was "not convinced that home-ownership was always the answer".<sup>205</sup> The League were concerned that the economic commitment was too great for some families. Falling into line with the Government's evolutionary view of Maori housing, the League argued that some Maori families "were not yet" ready for home-ownership and the responsibilities associated with it.<sup>206</sup>

Fully aware of the connections between integration, modern housing, and social worth, the League argued for a restriction of Maori home-ownership in order to ease the

---

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Inaugural Conference 1951, MS-Papers -1396-001, ATL.

<sup>202</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1960, MS-Papers- 1396-004, ATL.

<sup>203</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1954, MS-Papers-1396-002, ATL.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1955, MS-Papers- 1396-002, ATL.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

movement of Maori families into the cities. From the outset of the urban housing programmes in the late 1940s, potential Maori borrowers had laboured against a negative stereotype. Within the bureaucracy, there was a feeling among many Pakeha officials that Maori were bad borrowers: a people “lacking in the appreciation of that responsibility sufficient to make a success of any scheme of voluntary repayment of mortgage money”.<sup>207</sup> The Maori Women’s Welfare League did not want Maori families moving to the cities to be overburdened financially with a mortgage that would inevitably fall into arrears. This would serve only to further entrench the stereotype. The Maori women’s organisation strove to win acceptability for Maori in their new urban environments. An inability to adequately meet the demands of a mortgage was not the way to win acceptance either from the State or from Pakeha neighbours in the suburbs. For members of the League, State houses were the preferred option for Maori families on a tight budget. They provided Maori with the respectability associated with modern houses and, in most cases; they drastically improved the material living conditions of the family.

Recognising both the improved living conditions and the social acceptability and respectability that came with modern housing, the League actively sought to ensure that all eligible Maori families applied for State housing. Maori scepticism of the willingness of Government departments to help Maori was a major barrier to the success of the Maori pool system. Many Maori saw an application for a State house as a waste of time, as they viewed the Department of Maori Affairs as unconcerned about their housing woes.<sup>208</sup> This reluctance to apply meant that the Maori pool was much smaller than the real need for Maori housing in many areas. In an effort to encourage more Maori families to seek assistance from the Department of Maori Affairs, Maori Welfare Officers helped with State house applications.<sup>209</sup> It was the work of the Maori Women’s Welfare League, however, that was the most effective in this area. In reply to a question regarding the allocation of State rental houses in Auckland at the 1952 Maori Women’s Welfare League conference, T. T. Ropiha pointed to the lack of Maori applicants for State housing as the cause of the small Maori pool.<sup>210</sup> From this, was born the idea for a housing survey in Auckland.<sup>211</sup> Under the leadership of their President, Whina Cooper, the Waitemata branch of the League embarked upon a survey of the housing conditions of the Maori people in the Auckland area.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Memorandum: Swift to the District Officer, 4 November 1953, MA 1, 30/1/7, Volume 2, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>208</sup> King, *Whina*, p.175.

<sup>209</sup> Labrum, “Family needs and family desires”, p.274.

<sup>210</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1952, MS-Papers - 1396-001, ATL.

<sup>211</sup> “The Woman’s World: League Surveys Auckland Housing”, *Te Ao Hou*, No.2, Spring 1953, pp.53-54.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid and Dominion President’s Report, Minutes of the Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1953, MS-Papers - 1396-002, ATL.

Whina Cooper was motivated to conduct the housing survey by the knowledge that the need for Maori housing in the Auckland area was far greater than indicated by the number of applications held by the Department of Maori Affairs and the State Advances Corporation.<sup>213</sup> Initially against the wishes of the Auckland branch of the Department of Maori Affairs, in the month of July 1952, twelve members of the Maori Women's Welfare League continuously canvassed Maori families throughout the whole of the Auckland area as far south as Otahuhu. As a result of the survey, 2 278 individuals in 519 family units were identified as needing housing assistance.<sup>214</sup>

In the course of the survey, the League members encountered many people who needed either encouragement or assistance to lodge an application for a State house.<sup>215</sup> Through the League's efforts, the Department of Maori Affairs received a further 551 State applications from Maori families, of these 368 were classed as urgent. Spurred on by their achievements in increasing the size of the Maori pool in Auckland, at its 1953 conference the League adopted as policy the practice of encouraging Maori families to apply for State houses.<sup>216</sup> Within a short space of time, the Government came to appreciate the value of the women's organisation in ensuring that Maori families had access to State housing.<sup>217</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Within both Western and Maori cultures there are traditional connections between women, the family, and the home. Within Western culture, these supposedly 'natural' connections gave rise to the notion of the separate spheres. Within this conceptualisation of the world, women were said to inhabit the 'private', domestic, and supposedly apolitical realms of the home. Conversely, men were said more naturally to inhabit the 'public' world of politics, economics, and the nation. Over recent decades, many scholars have questioned whether this dichotomy was a lived reality for real people at various points in history. This chapter has continued this challenge and demonstrated that in mid-twentieth century New Zealand, Maori women, domesticity, and the home, resided at the centre of politics, economics, and the nation.

Furthermore, this chapter has demonstrated how the home, houses, women, and domesticity have historically been crucial in New Zealand to constructions of both the ideal society and ideal citizens. From the late nineteenth century, housing policy and homes came

---

<sup>213</sup> King, *Whina*, p.176.

<sup>214</sup> "The Woman's World: League Surveys Auckland Housing", p.53.

<sup>215</sup> Dominion President's Report, Minutes of the Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1953, MS-Papers- 1396-002, ATL.

<sup>216</sup> Minutes of the Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1953, MS-Papers - 1396-002, ATL.

<sup>217</sup> Corbett to the Maori Women's Welfare League, 24 November 1954, MS-Papers - 1396-002, ATL.



to be seen as a means to control the population. Within Pakeha political thinking, it was not until the mid-twentieth century, however that housing policy and homes also came to have an explicitly ideological meaning for Maori. Housing was both a means to integrate the Maori population and to bring them to the cities. Housing, a social right of citizenship within Marshallian notions of citizenship, was only available to Maori from the State, in areas it deemed to be economic. For Maori to be able to take up this right of citizenship, in many cases required them to leave their rural communities and to move to a location where the State deemed they would be more valuable to the economy and to the nation. Once inside their new homes, it was believed that Maori would integrate more readily.

Central to the home's ability to integrate its inhabitants were Maori women, as wives and as mothers. The State saw itself as being in an alliance with Maori women, and particularly the members of the Maori Women's Welfare League, and sought to use the women as vehicles in transporting the canons of responsible and ideal citizenship into Maori society. The women readily accepted the mantle of 'mothers of the race', and in doing so were able to participate in and contribute to policies and processes concerning Maori housing. Far from private retreats from the world of politics, economics, and the nation, houses and homes provided Maori women with a source of power in their new urban locations.

## chapter five:

---

# Housewives, Homes, and Making Modern Maori

The State's belief in the power of the urban home to transform Maori into ideal citizens was largely dependent upon Maori women fulfilling the traditionally feminine and maternal roles of housewives and mothers. This chapter examines the ways in which Maori women embraced these roles, and argues that in accepting this mantle, Maori women found a powerful way to resist the potentially colonising aspects of mid-twentieth century race relations policies. While the previous chapter examined how feminist scholars have analysed the location of the house in terms of the separate spheres ideology, this chapter enters the homes and considers the ways that feminist scholars have viewed the home's impact on the status and lives of women. It finds that much of the scholarship has seen the home as historically stifling for women. However, taking its lead from the work of Iris Marion Young and bell hooks, this chapter argues that the house and home were not necessarily stifling for mid-twentieth century Maori women.

Additionally, this chapter goes inside the homes of mid-twentieth century Maori women, and examines the ways in which Maori women were made into archetypal modern housewives. It is argued that throughout the period under examination, Maori women, through the League, increasingly took on the role of domestic instruction of their fellow Maori women. In instructing migrating Maori women in domestic skills that were crucial to their acceptance in the Pakeha suburbs, the Maori women's organisation took on a role formerly the domain of Pakeha women's voluntary organisations. In doing this, Maori women complicated notions of the coloniser and the colonised. It is also shown how the task of constructing modern Maori was a gendered task. It was a task that largely fell on Maori women in the traditionally assigned role of housewife and mother.

This chapter examines the ways in which the Maori Women's Welfare League used the house and the home as a power base in changing configurations of Maori leadership in the cities. It is demonstrated how the home, and their roles as housewives and mothers, granted Maori women the authority to advocate on a wide range of issues that extended beyond conventional understandings of the home. In demonstrating this, this chapter shows how the supposedly apolitical and 'private' sphere of the home was crucial to constructions of New Zealand as an integrated nation. It was from their organisation, the Maori Women's Welfare

League, founded upon the home/mother/child relationship, that Maori women were able to work for the retention and perpetuation of Maori culture within the cities. Theirs was an organisation that occupied what Barbara Brookes has labelled a “necessarily contradictory position”.<sup>1</sup> As Brookes argued, the women of the League sought both to modernise Maori, and to preserve tradition. Building on the work of Brookes, this chapter is an examination of a complex, and at times contradictory relationship.

## FEMINIST VIEWS OF THE HOUSE/HOME

Houses and homes have both been the subject of various feminist critiques throughout the twentieth century. Although vastly different in approach, many of these critiques advanced the notion that the comforts and supports of the home have historically come at the expense of women. In the late 1940s, French existentialist, Simone de Beauvoir, documented women’s oppression in her groundbreaking work *The Second Sex*.<sup>2</sup> According to Beauvoir, women’s activities of serving and supporting men in the home had deprived them of an active subjectivity. In her focus on domestic labour, Beauvoir incorporated ideas of the home and of women’s position within it, into her general account of women’s situation being confined to immanence as opposed to men’s existence in transcendence. Man’s subjectivity drew on the material support of women’s work, and this work deprived her of a subjectivity of her own.

As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, women and their place within the home received renewed attention and analysis in 1963 through the publication of Betty Friedan’s bestseller, *The Feminine Mystique*.<sup>3</sup> Six years later, Kate Millett articulated a similar argument in a scholarly sense when she equated the domestic space of the home with patriarchal power.<sup>4</sup> Millett’s *Sexual Politics* was a reading of one of the ‘central manifestos of Victorian sexual politics’.<sup>5</sup> ‘Of Queens’ Gardens’ was a lecture delivered by John Ruskin in the Manchester Town Hall in 1864. In this lecture, Ruskin articulated the notion of separate spheres and explicitly named the home as the natural place of women. For Millett the private sphere of the home was an ideological prison.

In the late twentieth century, the French post-structural feminist theorist Luce Irigaray advanced a similar notion. She argued that men’s dwellings (their houses/homes) are built on women being positioned as the enveloping nurturing presence of nature. Irigaray viewed

---

<sup>1</sup> Brookes, “Nostalgia for ‘Innocent Homely Pleasures’”, p.224.

<sup>2</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H.M. Parshley David Campbell, London, 1993. This book was first published in its French language version, *Le deuxième sexe*, in 1949. It was first published in English in 1953 by Knopf publishers.

<sup>3</sup> Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*.

<sup>4</sup> Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics*, originally published 1969, Virago, London, 1977.

<sup>5</sup> Rose, *Feminism and Geography*, p.17.

men as nostalgically returning to their lost home (the womb)<sup>6</sup> by making buildings and putting things (including women) in them. In Irigaray's schema, building established a world through which a person emerged as a subject who dwelt in the world. Not to build was a deprivation. In the patriarchal gender system, it was men who were the builders, and women the nurturers of builders, and ornaments placed within men's buildings.<sup>7</sup>

In the mid 1980s, Biddy Martin and Chandra Mohanty recognised the privilege of the house and home in terms of 'race' and class.<sup>8</sup> Through an analysis of Minnie Bruce Pratt's recollections of growing up as a white woman in the American South, Martin and Mohanty demonstrate how Pratt's sense of security and comfort was predicated on the exclusion of blacks and lower-class whites from her existence. Although excluded, these groups did have an 'invisible presence' as workers producing the comforts of home. Although not offering a feminist analysis, the racial dimensions of the production of homes is an issue that post-colonial cultural theorist Edward Said explored in *Culture and Imperialism*.<sup>9</sup> Through a reading of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, Said argued that the material comforts of the English bourgeois home derived from the material and discursive exploitation of distant colonies.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1970s and 1980s, that scholars of women in New Zealand history turned their attention to the historical meaning of the house and the home. As part of the 'second wave' of feminists, these scholars condemned the house as having stifled women. Homes, as part of the domestic territory of the suffrage campaign, were ruptured to have had "a strangling effect on the expansion of women's role in New Zealand society".<sup>11</sup> Raewyn Dalziel argued that the prevailing Victorian notions of femininity combined with the special needs of the colonial context to produce an intense emphasis in nineteenth century New Zealand on women's role within the home and the family. New Zealand women did not challenge this conception; rather they accepted it and regarded it as their proper role. According to Dalziel, however, it was acceptance and achievements within the role and space that led to the early gaining of political rights for New Zealand women.<sup>12</sup> The role of wife and mother in the New Zealand context, while incorporating many British-derived notions of femininity, demanded a

<sup>6</sup> Note the Maori equation of the meeting house with a woman's womb.

<sup>7</sup> Luce Irigaray, *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*, trans. Carolyn Burke and Gillian C. Gill Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1993, pp.11, 101, 103-107.

<sup>8</sup> Biddy Martin and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Feminist Politics: What's Home Got to Do with It?" in Teresa de Lauretis, ed, *Feminist Studies, Critical Studies*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1986, pp.191-212, p.196.

<sup>9</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, pp.80-97.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth Century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 11, 2 (1977), pp.112-123, p.123.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.113.

wider range of functions and duties than in England. In the frontier setting, the ‘helpmeet’ found her household skills held at a high premium.<sup>13</sup>

Dalziel, and other ‘second wave’ New Zealand women’s historians did not view the work of the nineteenth century feminists through a favourable lens. The vote was seen as an extension of women’s domestic roles as wives and mothers, and not as an achievement that challenged the patriarchal order. It was a vision, according to Dalziel, that did not lead women out of their homes and into the ‘public’ sphere. She argues further that the emphasis on the home was one that lasted well into the twentieth century, and continued to dominate the thinking of both men and women. This was at a time when, according to Dalziel, the “home no longer needed to absorb the energies of women; when exciting and challenging new avenues could have been open to them”.<sup>14</sup> In 1980, Phillida Bunkle, a fellow second wave feminist, echoed a similar sentiment. She claimed that the arguments located in the domestic spaces of the home and family, promoted by the temperance activists of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), laid the foundations for much of the rigid outlook and restrictive legislation of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that 1970s feminists found objectionable.<sup>15</sup> The criticisms that Dalziel and Bunkle levelled against the ‘first wave’ feminists have also enjoyed currency elsewhere.<sup>16</sup>

Not all, however, have seen the house/home as being an inherently oppressive site, and in fact have argued for its liberating potential. In the late 1990s, Iris Marion Young argued against tossing the home from the “larder of feminist values”.<sup>17</sup> Without denying the oppressions and privileges the idea historically carries, Young argues that “the idea of home also carries critical liberating potential because it expresses uniquely human values”.<sup>18</sup> In New Zealand this argument has recently been applied in the work of Ann Winstanley, who argues that New Zealand women’s identity formation is tied up with the form of the built environment and with cultural concepts of home.<sup>19</sup> For Young, the home can provide a material anchor for a sense of agency, and for shifting and fluid identities. Instead of the rejection of home, Young calls for the democratisation of the site. She argues that in the

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, pp.115-116.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p.123.

<sup>15</sup> Phillida Bunkle, “The Origin of the Women’s Movement in New Zealand: The Women’s Christian Temperance Union 1885-1895”, in Phillipa Bunkle and Beryl Hughes, eds, *Women in New Zealand Society*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1980, pp.52-76.

<sup>16</sup> See for example: Patricia Grimshaw, “Women’s Suffrage in New Zealand revisited: Writing From the Margins”, in Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, eds, *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1994, pp.25-41, pp.30-32.

<sup>17</sup> Iris Marion Young, *Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy, and Policy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1997, p.134.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ann Winstanley, “Housing, Home, and Women’s Identity”, Ph.D thesis, University of Canterbury, 2000.

feminist texts which she examines, the privilege is less a gender privilege and more of a class and race privilege.<sup>20</sup> Following from the work of bell hooks, Young also argues that the 'home' can have a political meaning as a site of dignity and resistance.<sup>21</sup>

bell hooks, a radical African American feminist, argues the home's ability to be a site of resistance is precisely because of its location in the 'private sphere'.<sup>22</sup> Despite the realities and oppressions of racism, the homeplace in hooks' view has been the one site where people of colour could "freely confront the issue of humanism, where one could resist".<sup>23</sup> In the private spaces that homes can potentially provide, black people can strive to be subjects rather than objects. To support her hypothesis of the home as a crucial site of black resistance, hooks cites the example of South Africa's apartheid regime and its attacks on black efforts to construct homeplaces. She sees it as no accident that there was a 'systematic destruction' of the small private spaces where black men and women could renew their spirits and recover themselves.<sup>24</sup> Women as the (pro)creators, nurturers, and guardians of the home have traditionally held primary responsibility for this crucial site of black resistance. Although writing explicitly of the African American experience, hooks does not see her analysis as confined to this group. As makers, nurturers, and guardians of these homes, black women globally, according to hooks, have shared the experience of making home a community of resistance.<sup>25</sup>

Like Iris Marion Young, New Zealand scholars are far from ready to rid their larders of the 'home'. From the nineteenth century land purchases, to suffrage, to the creation of the 'ideal society', implicitly the home has loomed large within the New Zealand historiography. The house and the home has absorbed much female labour, and in many ways deprived women of support for their own identity making. Women's agency, however, complicates this view, and throughout history New Zealand women have used their roles associated with the house to negotiate a greater role for themselves within society and the nation.

Contrary to the 'second wave' condemnations of being historically stifling, it has been from domestic spaces that many women have negotiated their power within society. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century feminists, in a variety of countries, expanded their roles and their power within their societies through an emphasis on their differences as *women*. They connected women's rights to the experiences of the domestic sphere of the

---

<sup>20</sup> Young, *Intersecting Voices*, pp.157-159.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p.159.

<sup>22</sup> bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*, South End Press, Boston, 1990, p.47.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p.42.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, pp.46-47.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, p.42.

home. The very binary opposition of men/women gave these women power, and a space from which to negotiate their increased roles in society. It was in the defined feminine domestic space of the home that women found such a space. Women, largely through various voluntary organisations, aimed to increase their role and power in society through an emphasis on motherhood and domesticity; attributes largely associated with the home. The strategies that these women employed extended women's rights from the 'private sphere' of the house into the community, city, and ultimately the nation.<sup>26</sup> At the heart of these strategies lies the maternal citizenship identified by political philosopher Carole Pateman.

## MAKING MODERN MAORI HOUSEWIVES

Pakeha women's organisations invested much energy in attempting to teach Maori women the skills of domesticity required in the post-war suburbs. Middle class Pakeha women, further freed from their domestic labours by the miracles of modern technology, sought to teach Maori girls domestic skills. Increasingly in the post-war era, however, the efforts of the Pakeha women's organisations were supplanted by the Maori Women's Welfare League's own moves to educate Maori women in domesticity. In the period under examination, Maori women themselves increasingly took on the role of instructing migrating Maori women in the domestic skills crucial to winning Pakeha acceptance in the suburbs. In doing this, Maori women complicated and blurred notions of the colonised and the coloniser.

### *Pakeha women and the teaching of domesticity*

In many ways, the Pakeha women members of the various organisations viewed the transmission of domestic skills as being their 'natural' role when working with Maori women. In this, the post-war Pakeha volunteer women found historical continuity with their nineteenth century missionary counterparts. Throughout the nineteenth century British Empire, missionary women and missionary wives worked to instil a set of domestic values and skills in indigenous women. The goal was to remake 'native' women into 'good wives and mothers' modelled on the norms of 'British' femininity. Scholars of 'white women and imperialism' have labelled these women 'cultural missionaries' undertaking a 'mission of domesticity'.<sup>27</sup> In New Zealand, as throughout the empire, missionary women came with a

<sup>26</sup> There is a large body of work accumulating that advances this argument. See the collected volume: Koven and Michel, eds, *Mothers of a New World*. In particular see: Boris, "The Power of Motherhood", Koven and Michel, "Introduction", Lake, "A Revolution in the Family". Prior to this collection Marilyn Lake had explored this argument in the Australian context – see: Lake, "Mission Impossible". Grimshaw et al, *Creating a Nation*. continued the argument for domestic or maternalist feminism in the Australian context. See also: Lake, "Personality, Individuality, Nationality", Quartly, "Mothers and Fathers and Brothers and Sisters", Smart, "For the Good that We Can Do".

<sup>27</sup> See for example: Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth Century Honolulu*, Hawaii University Press, Honolulu, 1989, Jane Haggis, "Ironies of Emancipation: Changing Configurations of 'Women's Work' in the 'Mission of Sisterhood' to Indian Women", *Feminist Review*, 65

conscious desire to change the Maori way of life, and in particular to inculcate Maori women into ideal femininity and domesticity.<sup>28</sup> The missionary wives' special role was to 'save' Maori women and girls, by imparting not only Christian values, but also 'civilised' domestic skills.<sup>29</sup> As Sheryl Goldsbury has argued, missionary women were to provide an alternative model of life for the Maori. This alternative model lay in the missionary women's own homes 'behind the picket fence'.<sup>30</sup> Although it has been rare to apply these concepts beyond the nineteenth century, or at the latest 1914, it is through the lens of a 'cultural mission' that I will examine the post World War II work of the Pakeha women's organisations.<sup>31</sup>

During the last fifteen years or so, white women and their role in the imperial project have occupied a high place on the agenda of feminist and women's studies in the United Kingdom, and throughout the former British Empire. By the early 1990s, scholars were beginning the move beyond the 1980s Knapman and Callaway position of recovery and celebration of women in the colonial project.<sup>32</sup> Instead, the roles of 'white women' have been problematised. Their part in the colonial project was shown to often have been racist and complicit.<sup>33</sup> White women no longer stand idly by as "the hapless onlookers on empire", but

---

(2000), pp.108-26, Mary Hancock, "Gendering the Modern: Women and Home Science in British India", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp.148-160, Margaret Jolly, "Colonising Women: The Maternal Body and Empire", in Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman, eds, *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, [NSW], 1993, pp.103-127.; Margaret Jolly, "'To Save the Girls for Brighter and Better Lives': Presbyterian Missions and Women in the South of Vanuatu, 1848-1870", *The Journal of Pacific History*, 26, 1 (1991), pp.27-48, Barbara Ramusack, "Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865-1945." in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1992, pp.119-136.

<sup>28</sup> Brookes and Tennant, "Maori and Pakeha Women", p.32.

<sup>29</sup> Sarah Marianne Williams, "Williams, Marianne", in W.H. Oliver, ed, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume One, 1769-1869 Allen and Unwin and the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990, p.595.

<sup>30</sup> Sheryl Goldsbury, "Behind the Picket Fence: The Lives of Missionary Women in Pre-Colonial New Zealand", MA thesis, Auckland University, 1986.

<sup>31</sup> For examples of work that goes beyond 1914 see: Barbara Bush, "'Britain's conscience on Africa': white women, race and imperial politics in inter-war Britain", in Clare Midgley, ed, *Gender and Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1998, pp.200-223, Deborah Gaitskell, "Female Faith and the Politics of the Personal: Five Mission Encounters in Twentieth-Century South Africa", *Feminist Review*, 65 (2000), pp.68-91, Katie Pickles, "Forgotten Colonizers: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the Canadian North", *The Canadian Geographer*, 42, 2 (1998), pp.193-204.

<sup>32</sup> Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria*, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1987, Claudia Knapman, *White Women in Fiji, 1835-1930: The Ruin of Empire*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1986.

<sup>33</sup> For example see: Francesca Bartlett, "Clean, white girls: assimilation and women's work", *Hecate (digital version)*, 25, 1 (1999), pp.1-15, Antoinette Burton, "The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and the Indian Woman, 1865-1915", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13, 4 (1990), pp.295-308, Antoinette Burton, "Rules of Thumb: British history and 'imperial culture' in nineteenth and twentieth-century Britain", *Women's History Review*, 3, 4 (1994), pp.483-501, Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1992, Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, "Western Women and Imperialism: Introduction", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 14, 4 (1990), pp.289-293, Haggis, "Ironies of Emancipation: Changing Configurations of 'Women's Work' in the 'Mission of Sisterhood' to Indian Women", Catherine Hall, "'From Greenland's Icy Mountains...to Africa's Golden Sand: Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth Century England", *Gender and History*, 5, 2



are recognised in Anne McClintock's words as being "ambiguously complicit both as colonisers and colonised, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting".<sup>34</sup> Recently, the roles of 'white women' in imperial and colonial projects have been further complicated and problematised through explorations of the activities of women's organisations.<sup>35</sup>

Just as pre-colonial and colonial missionary women had viewed themselves and their own homes as providing a template for domesticity and femininity, so too did mid-twentieth century Pakeha women view themselves and their homes as being especially potent sites for the assimilation and integration of Maori women. The centrality of the homes of the colonising elite in the colonial and imperial project was not confined to New Zealand, and authors have shown its potency in a range of colonial settings.<sup>36</sup> Throughout the twentieth century, several Pakeha women's organisations had programs to invite Maori women and girls into their homes. It was believed that through their presence in Pakeha homes, Maori women, as well as receiving 'official' narratives of modernity and integration, would receive informal instruction on acceptable and respectable femininity. The middle class membership of the women's organisations ensured that the Pakeha homes that the Maori women visited were models of post-war suburban life.

In 1948, the Women's Institute, under the leadership of the Dominion Organiser for Maori Institutes, Mrs E. J. Sawyer, established a residential school for Maori women in Titirangi. The school was held in the home of the instructor, Mrs C. Mealing. The stated aim of the school was to train rural Maori women in 'homecraft' so that they could teach other women how to cope with city life before they began their migration.<sup>37</sup> The five Maori women who attended the first school were introduced to a curriculum that included the "making of French flowers, fabric painting, plaited cushions, rugs from fleece-wool on rug canvas,

---

(1993), pp.212-230, Jolly, "Colonising Women", McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, Clare Midgley, "Gender and Imperialism: mapping the connections", in Clare Midgley, ed, *Gender and Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1998, pp.1-18, Katie Pickles, "Empire Settlement and Single British Women as New Zealand Domestic Servants During the 1920s", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 35, 1 (2001), pp.22-44, Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998, Margaret Strobel, "Gender and Race in the Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century British Empire", in Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard, eds, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1987, pp.375-394, Vron Ware, "Moments of Danger: Race, Gender and Memories of Empire", *History and Theory*, 31, 4 (1992), pp.116-137.

<sup>34</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p.6.

<sup>35</sup> Julia Bush, "Edwardian Ladies and the "Race" Dimensions of British Imperialism", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21, 3 (1998), pp.277-289, Katie Pickles, "Exhibiting Canada: empire, migration and the 1928 English schoolgirl tour", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7, 1 (2000), pp.81-96.

<sup>36</sup> See for examples of Australia and India: Bartlett, "Clean, white girls", Hancock, "Gendering the Modern: Women and Home Science in British India".

<sup>37</sup> Marie Tautari, "Maori Women's Institutes 1929-1950s", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp.25-28, p.27.

Norfolk pine shopping baskets and woven scarves and floral arrangement.<sup>38</sup> A 1960 history of the organisation stated that, as well as “learning to perform crafts themselves, these clever-fingered Maori women were taught how to teach others”.<sup>39</sup> By holding the training school in a private home, the Women’s Institute was displaying the ideal of Pakeha domesticity and femininity to the Maori women.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Church of England based Mothers’ Union sought to increase its role with Maori women.<sup>40</sup> Although established in New Zealand in 1886, it was not until the 1930s that it began to attract Maori women members.<sup>41</sup> The organisation sought to both shore up and to increase Maori women’s participation in the Anglican Church, and to instil middle class ideals of respectability in its Maori membership. It seems that although there were pockets of success, Maori women in the main were not attracted to the organisation in large numbers. The post-war annual reports that each diocese filed annually, tell a story of a struggling and declining Maori membership.<sup>42</sup> Within the organisation, some saw Maori lack of participation as a failing on the part of Maori women, rather than as their organisation having very little to offer Maori. In a report on the Tuahiwi branch, Mrs Warren, wife of the Christchurch Bishop, described a lack of interest in the club amongst the Ngai Tahu women. She attributed this lack of success to the women “of this sad little settlement” being a “feckless lot”.<sup>43</sup>

The organisation did enjoy some success, however, particularly in the upper North Island. Although largely committed to ensuring the spiritual and devotional health of Maori members, the organisation also attempted to improve the mothering skills of members. In the 1950s, explanations for the high Maori infant mortality focussed on lack of antenatal and postnatal care, inferior diet, less breastfeeding, and poor living circumstances.<sup>44</sup> In an attempt to combat these ills, some branches of the Maori Mothers’ Union organised Public Health Nurses to address the members.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Barbara Harper, *History of the Country Women’s Institutes of New Zealand 1921-1958*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Christchurch, 1960, p.70.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Maori Mothers’ Union Papers, 1955-1966, MS-Papers-0656-2/11, Association of Anglican Women Records (MS-Group-0768), ATL.

<sup>41</sup> Elizabeth Hay, “Association of Anglican Women 1886-”, in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women’s Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp.165-167, p.165.

<sup>42</sup> Maori Mothers’ Union Papers, 1955-1966, MS-Papers-0656-2/11, Association of Anglican Women Records (MS-Group-0768), ATL.

<sup>43</sup> Report on the Maori Mothers’ Union from Sister M.K.North, to the Executive Committee, May 1956, MS-Papers-0656-2/11, Association of Anglican Women Records (MS-Group-0768), ATL.

<sup>44</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p.65.

<sup>45</sup> Report on the Maori Mothers’ Union, Mission House, Manutuke, 1958, MS-Papers-0656-2/11, Association of Anglican Women Records (MS-Group-0768), ATL.

It was the construction of 'respectable' Maori women, however, in which the organisation seems to have been most active. This aspect of the organisation's work appealed to many Maori members. The Mothers' Union goal of limiting alcohol consumption appealed to some Maori women, who saw alcohol as the source of many problems in their communities. In 1955, Sister Kathleen North, organiser of the Union for the Auckland Diocese, reported with much pleasure that the Mothers' Union had aided a Maori member in ridding her house of the evils of alcohol and gambling. According to Sister North, a Whangarei Maori woman upon finding a group of men gathered in her kitchen for a late night card session, took her Mothers' Union membership card to them. It was the endeavour clause that she chose to highlight, a clause whereby she, like all members, had promised to protect her home from swearing, drink, and gambling.<sup>46</sup> Throughout the 1950s, several groups of Maori women used the occasion of Mothers' Union meetings to express their desire to limit the consumption of alcohol by Maori.<sup>47</sup>

The Mothers' Union also attempted to aid Maori women once they had made the migration to the cities and towns. The organisation, with its nationwide network, saw itself as capable of easing the geographical and psychological transition between country and town for Maori women. In some regions, Mothers' Union organisers hearing of a Maori family moving from a rural home to a town or city, would write to the local vicar in the new location. The hope was that someone from the Mothers' Union would visit the family soon after their arrival.<sup>48</sup> Such a scheme would have given the Mothers' Union a powerful influence with Maori families who arrived in their new urban environments feeling isolated and dislocated, however, there seems to be no evidence to suggest that this scheme was successful.

Pakeha women's voluntary organisations also attempted to school Maori girls in domesticity, respectability, and femininity. In 1966, Miss Helen Lindsey, a Representative of Altrusa International, visited New Zealand, with the aim of establishing branches of the women's service club throughout the country. The club was open to business and professional women, and aimed to both enhance the status of women and to support community services.<sup>49</sup> According to Miss Lindsey, members qualified by the amount of

---

<sup>46</sup> Report on Maori Work in the Auckland Diocese, 15 November 1957, MS-Papers-0656-2/11, Association of Anglican Women Records (MS-Group-0768), ATL.

<sup>47</sup> See for example: Sister North's Report on Maori Branches in the Auckland Diocese, 10 May 1955 and Report on Maori Work, August 1955, MS-Papers-0656-2/11, Association of Anglican Women Records (MS-Group-0768), ATL.

<sup>48</sup> Work amongst the Maori Branches in the Auckland Diocese, September 1964, MS-Papers-0656-2/11, Association of Anglican Women Records (MS-Group-0768), ATL.

<sup>49</sup> Sandy Bardsley, "Altrusa International (New Zealand) 1966-", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp.324-325.

respectability they carried.<sup>50</sup> The newly formed Christchurch branch of the club immediately began casting about for ‘worthy projects’. Along with helping the mentally disabled and the elderly, the Christchurch Altruseans decided to help Maori girls in the city. The students of the Anglican Church run Maori Girls College, , became the recipients of the Altruseans ‘community service’.

In July 1966, several of the Pakeha women visited Te Wai Pounamu’s hostel and decided that the immediate needs were “good magazines” and cushions for the hallway.<sup>51</sup> Following a further visit to the hostel, another member commented that she found the interior “very drab”.<sup>52</sup> To rectify the situation, and to provide a “little gaiety to the room”, the Altruseans supplied the materials, and the Pakeha women set about teaching the Maori girls how to make cushions.<sup>53</sup> Through the provision of magazines, with their depictions of acceptable feminine behaviour,<sup>54</sup> and through practical instruction, the Pakeha women members of the Altrusa club attempted to construct young Maori women who conformed to Pakeha modes of acceptable feminine behaviour; Maori women who could comfortably take their places in the Pakeha suburbs.

Like the Women’s Institute twenty years before, the members of the Altrusa Club viewed their own private homes as being important sites in their work with Maori. In the year of the club’s formation, 1966, the members of the club decided that as part of their project of assisting Maori girls in Christchurch, students of Te Wai Pounamu would be invited and accepted into their homes.<sup>55</sup> Rather than using their homes solely as a space in which to transmit ideals of Pakeha domesticity and femininity, the Altruseans saw their homes as assisting in reaching the race relations goal of integration. The President of Christchurch Altrusa, Mrs Woolmare-Goodwin, described the work of her club as being especially important as “many of the girls come from outlying districts, [and] have had little to do with

---

<sup>50</sup> Newspaper clipping, undated, unsourced, Altrusa Club Records, Box 1, 1/4, Z Arch 119, Canterbury Public Library.

<sup>51</sup> 5 July 1966, Minutes of Business Meetings, Altrusa Club Records, Box 1, 1/4, Z Arch 119, Canterbury Public Library.

<sup>52</sup> 2 August 1966, Minutes of Business Meetings, Altrusa Club Records, Box 1, 1/4, Z Arch 119, Canterbury Public Library.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> For a discussion of depictions of femininity in women’s magazines throughout the mid-twentieth century see: Barbara Brookes and Louise Shaw, “Constructing Homes: Gender and Advertising in *Home and Building*, 1936-1970”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 33, 2 (1999), pp.200-220.

<sup>55</sup> 5 July 1966, Minutes of Business Meetings, Altrusa Club Records, Box 1, 1/4, Z Arch 119, Canterbury Public Library.

Europeans”.<sup>56</sup> The Christchurch *Press* concurred with this view and informed readers that the home visits were “improving Maori – Pakeha relations”.<sup>57</sup>

Pakeha women’s organisations, attempting to instruct and ‘civilise’ Maori women, increasingly encountered a changed environment. With a rapidly urbanising population, one such change the women encountered was an increased involvement by the State with Maori. The Department of Maori Affairs, and Government departments more generally, sought to advise Maori women on how to adapt to their new surroundings. The work of the Pakeha women’s organisations, however, complimented rather than rivalled the role of the State. As domestic educators, the Pakeha women’s organisations received the sanction of the State. In 1945, Ernest Corbett congratulated the women of the Rahotu Branch of the Red Cross for their work to “lift the standard of domestic life of the Maoris”.<sup>58</sup> Likewise, speaking in the House in 1949, Ernest Corbett pointed to the achievements of ‘white women’s organisations’ in their work among Maori. Peter Fraser concurred with him, and stated that there “were women’s institutes and other organizations all over the country which were helping”.<sup>59</sup>

Although the State had continued to encourage Pakeha women’s organisations in their ‘cultural mission’ work with Maori in the post-war period, there was a growing realisation amongst politicians and bureaucrats that it was Maori women who could most effectively aid fellow Maori women and their families. In response to an advertisement in the *Public Service Gazette* for a ‘lady’ welfare officer, either Maori or Pakeha, Eruera Tirikatene argued that such positions should be filled by Maori and not Pakeha women.<sup>60</sup> Ernest Corbett replied that he agreed with the Member for Southern Maori. According to the Minister of Maori Affairs, his Department was actively seeking to raise the number of ‘lady’ welfare officers in the Department, and in his opinion “it was advantageous to have more qualified Maori women going around to assist and stimulate a better pride in home, and a better appreciation of home life in the Maori community. These officers would be stationed in various places, and great care would be taken to select women of the highest calibre”.<sup>61</sup>

### ***The Maori Women’s Welfare League***

The more significant change to the post-war environment that the Pakeha women’s organisations encountered was the establishment of the Maori Women’s Welfare League. Formally constituted in 1951, the origins of the organisation lay in The Maori Social and

---

<sup>56</sup> *Press*, 28 November 1966, p.2.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> NZPD, 1945, Vol.269, p.385.

<sup>59</sup> NZPD, 1949, Vol.287, p.2065.

<sup>60</sup> NZPD, 1950, Vol.292, p.3614.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, p.3616.

Economic Advancement Act 1945.<sup>62</sup> Many within the Department of Maori Affairs recognised that “the most crucial problems facing Maori families – those associated with infant mortality, sanitation, hygiene, diet, and the welfare of families moving to urban areas – could not easily be considered or resolved by committees dominated by men”.<sup>63</sup> According to Michael King, what was needed was an organisation composed of Maori women, which would concentrate on solving problems within the home. The newly appointed Controller of Maori Welfare, Rangi Royal, and Prime Minister Peter Fraser, recognised that the male tribal committees were not addressing issues such as housing and the welfare of the family.<sup>64</sup> To counter this neglect, Royal had the female Maori Welfare Officers organise women’s welfare committees to operate in parallel with the male tribal committees.<sup>65</sup> These committees, organised under a woman of mana in the community, aimed to educate Maori mothers in Pakeha mothercraft and homecraft skills.<sup>66</sup>

Initially, Royal envisaged that the newly formed committees would merge with the Women’s Health League (WHL),<sup>67</sup> and in the late 1940s, the newly formed committees did affiliate to the WHL. Formed in 1936, in Rotorua by District Health Nurse, Ruby Cameron, and aided by the Arawa iwi and chiefs, the Health League sought to improve the day-to-day living and health conditions of Maori. The sudden expansion of the WHL because of affiliations from outside of the Rotorua District, however, proved too much for the organisation. In an effort to cope with the growth of their organisation, the WHL requested that the Department of Health appoint a full time secretary and organiser. The Department of Health declined this request, and instead passed responsibility to the Department of Maori Affairs.<sup>68</sup> At a conference for Maori women of all tribes in 1950, a new constitution was adopted, but the leaders of the WHL held reservations about the degree of control the Government was to hold, and Nurse Cameron objected to the name ‘Maori’ being in the proposed title of the organisation.<sup>69</sup> These disagreements intensified over the following six

---

<sup>62</sup> Raina Meha, “Te Ropu o te Ora: Women’s Health League, 1937”, in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women’s Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp.30-33.

<sup>63</sup> King, *Whina*, pp.167-168.

<sup>64</sup> See: Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, pp.132-133, Else, “Recording the History of the Maori Women’s Welfare League - interview with Mira Szaszy”.

<sup>65</sup> “Maori Women’s Welfare League INC”, undated (c.1962-65), MS-Papers 1396-005, ATL.

<sup>66</sup> Beverley James, “The Maori Women’s Welfare League: From Social Movement to Voluntary Association”, MSS thesis, University of Waikato, 1977, pp.18-19.

<sup>67</sup> In 1948, Rangi Royal wrote to the WHL informing them that, through the women welfare officers, he had been promoting the establishment of similar Leagues throughout New Zealand. He requested that the two bodies amalgamate to form one national organisation, Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women’s Welfare League*, p.xvi.

<sup>68</sup> “Maori Women’s Welfare League INC”, undated (c.1962-65), MS-Papers 1396-005, ATL.

<sup>69</sup> Else, “Recording the History of the Maori Women’s Welfare League - interview with Mira Szaszy”, p.19.

months, and the WHL elected to “abandon the new constitution and remain a separate entity”.<sup>70</sup>

It was apparent however that the majority of Maori women wished to form a national organisation with a revised constitution. With this end in mind, the Department of Maori Affairs prepared a constitution for a proposed new organisation, and in 1951 that organisation, the Maori Women’s Welfare League, was born.<sup>71</sup> The inaugural conference of the League in 1951, attracted delegates from 22 District Councils, representing 187 branches and 27 isolated branches,<sup>72</sup> and could boast 2503 members.<sup>73</sup> From its inception in 1951 until 31 March 1960, the State was heavily involved in the running of the women’s organisation, with the Department of Maori Affairs financially supporting the League by paying a full-time secretary and by carrying out the organisation’s clerical work. As early as 1954, however, the delegates to the annual conference began to express a desire to run their own affairs and to become an independent organisation. The State supported this desire and actively encouraged this position. In 1959, the League applied to become an independent organisation, and on 1 April 1960, the Maori Women’s Welfare League became an independent organisation. This did not, however, signal the end of the State’s involvement with the organisation. In 1960 an annual Government subsidy was granted to the organisation. Initially it was £2000, but was to be annually reducible by £500 until it was no longer required in 1964. In 1964, however, the League found that it was far from being viable as an independent organisation, and the State continued to assist with an annual subsidy.<sup>74</sup> The League saw itself as being a part of the wider State objective of raising the material living condition of the Maori people, and described itself as “an important link in the chain of Maori Welfare”, and as constituting “an integral part of the Department’s [of Maori Affairs] Welfare organisation”. Members saw themselves as a “quasi-voluntary organisation”, independent by virtue of their constitution, but they nonetheless readily acknowledged the role of the State in their organisation’s formation.<sup>75</sup>

For both the State and for the women members of the organisation, it was the home that provided the basis of the organisation. “The mother, the home, and the child” came to be

<sup>70</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p.132.

<sup>71</sup> “Maori Women’s Welfare League INC”, undated (c.1962-65), MS-Papers 1396-005, ATL.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid

<sup>73</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p.132.

<sup>74</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1959, MS-Papers 1396-004; Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1963, MS-Papers 1396-008; “Our Organisation: A Brief History of the League”, Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1965, MS-Papers 1396-010, ATL.

<sup>75</sup> “Maori Women’s Welfare League INC”, undated (c.1962-65), MS-Papers 1396-005, ATL.

seen as the most effective route to addressing the problems facing Maori.<sup>76</sup> Once formed, the League articulated similar rhetoric to that of both Rangi Royal and Peter Fraser in the late 1940s. The League, like Royal and Fraser, stressed the importance of the role of Maori women from the domestic space of the home, in solving the most crucial problems facing post-war Maori families. For the women of the League, the home and their traditionally domestic and maternal roles within that space, provided the means by which to secure State financial and administrative support for their organisation. It was through accepting the essentialist constructions of Maori women as wives and mothers, that the women were able to secure a platform to gain a voice in Maori society. Speaking to the National Council of Women in 1951, Mira Petricevich, later Mira Szaszy, stated “if Maori problems were to be solved it must be through the home and the mother.”<sup>77</sup> Likewise, the League, when writing historical background material on their organisation, emphasised an essentialised view of women. They emphasised the vital role that homes, women, and mothers had to play in raising the social and economic status of the Maori people: “It [the League] also arose out of recognition by the existing Government of the ultimate value of the women of any race in moulding the characters of their young – a potential force which could play an integral part in the solution of the social problems of the race as a whole”.<sup>78</sup>

Although League districts, which were in line with the Maori Land Court boundaries also used by the tribal committees,<sup>79</sup> were largely drawn along tribal lines, in the 1950s, the League provided the only pan-Maori voice in a rapidly changing Maori society. From its inception, the League sought to provide a forum where Maori concerns were aired, rather than those of individual iwi and hapu. This desire was reflected in its motto – Tatau Tatau (United We Stand). In fact, for ten years, until the formation of the male New Zealand Maori Council, the League’s conferences provided the only national platform for the articulation of Maori needs. Throughout the 1950s, it was Maori women, through the League, rather than Maori men, who provided vital leadership in the cities.<sup>80</sup> Despite its overtly political agenda

<sup>76</sup> James, “The Maori Women’s Welfare League”, p.19.

<sup>77</sup> 11-13 September 1951, National Council of Women Dominion Executive and Dominion Conference minutes, MB 126, 5/3.

<sup>78</sup> “Maori Women’s Welfare League INC”, undated (c.1962-65), MS-Papers 1396-005; see also: “Our Organisation: A Brief History of the League”, Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1965, MS-Papers 1396-010, ATL.

<sup>79</sup> Mira Szaszy, in Simpson and Rogers, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women’s Welfare League*, Maori Women’s Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.216-231, p.221.

<sup>80</sup> Walker, “Maori People Since 1950”, p.507, Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, pp.201-203.



in housing, education, health, and a raft of other social issues, the League continually cast itself as an apolitical organisation.<sup>81</sup>

Beverly James has argued that, as an organisation run by and for Maori women, the League appealed to Maori women who would never have imagined joining a Pakeha women's organisation, with aims "foreign to their own attitudes, interests and immediate concerns in life".<sup>82</sup> According to James, many Pakeha women's organisations were interested in the social and economic advancement of Maori in Pakeha terms, and that "these organisations were part of the Pakeha institutional framework and could not hope to appeal to Maori".<sup>83</sup> After 1951, women's organisations, such as the Mothers' Union, found the Maori involvement they had previously enjoyed fell away as Maori women left their organisations to concentrate on the work of the Maori Women's Welfare League.<sup>84</sup>

While it is certain that the League appealed to more Maori women than did other women's organisations, it is overstating the case to suggest that other women's organisations offered no appeal to Maori women. The desire for unity expressed in the League's motto referred to more than unity among the women of the various iwi of New Zealand. It also referred to unity with Pakeha women and their voluntary organisations. Although part of the Pakeha framework, the fact was that some other women's voluntary organisations had appeal to Maori women. In many cases, League members learnt the skills required to run and participate in women's organisations through involvement in other women's organisations.<sup>85</sup> The League was a complex organisation that sought to be both a member of the wider community of women's organisations, and to develop a separate identity as a Maori women's organisation.<sup>86</sup>

Affiliation with the National Council of Women was, according to Petricevich, inevitable once the formalities of establishing the Maori women's organisation were complete.<sup>87</sup> Members of the League realised that the Pakeha women's organisation had much to offer in terms of experience. This fact was acknowledged in a 1952 letter Mira Petricevich wrote to the Assistant Secretary of the National Council of Women thanking her for the Council's expression of sympathy over the death of Te Puea: "With the help and guidance of

<sup>81</sup> See for example: Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1966, MS-Papers 1396-006; "Maori Women's Welfare League INC", undated, MS-Papers 1371-353, ATL.

<sup>82</sup> James, "The Maori Women's Welfare League", pp.19-20.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Report on Maori Work, August 1955, Maori Mothers' Union Papers, 1955-1966, MS-Papers-0656-2/11, Association of Anglican Women Records (MS-Group-0768), ATL.

<sup>85</sup> 7 December 1966, Maori Women's Welfare League Dominion Executive Minutes, 93-180-17/2, ATL.

<sup>86</sup> See for example the rhetoric of Whina Cooper: King, *Whina*, p.269, and that of Mira Petricevich, 18-29 September 1957, Minutes of National Council of Women Executive Meeting, MB 126, 5/3.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

your organisation and others like you, we hope some day in some measures to fulfil the dreams and thoughts of our late Patroness in bringing about a happier life, not only for Maoris but for all people of our country".<sup>88</sup> There was, however, a realisation on the part of League members that in order to produce their own separate identity, affiliation with the large Pakeha women's organisation should not be hurried. In her September 1951 statement to the National Council of Women's Dominion Executive, Mira Petricevich wrote that:

the time had not yet come for the Maori women to join up with other organisations direct, the women felt that they must learn to run their own organisation first and in the League with its aim of promoting friendship and understanding it was felt that there would be the experience which would enable them to take their part with the other women of New Zealand.<sup>89</sup>

The desire to co-operate with the State, and with Pakeha women and their organisations, coupled with a desire to assume responsibility for the domestic instruction of Maori women, were encapsulated within the stated aims of the League. As part of their desire that Maori become more fully integrated into the New Zealand nation as a means of procuring greater access to material benefits, the League saw its co-operation and fellowship with both the State and with Pakeha women as being crucial. The first five of the fifteen stated aims of the League neatly illustrate this:

To promote fellowship and understanding between Maori and European women and to co-operate with other women's organisations, departments of State and local bodies in the furtherance of these objectives.

To take an active interest in all matters pertaining to the health and well being of women and children of the Maori race.

To provide opportunities for discussion and instruction in the proper care and feeding of babies, the preparation of meals, the care and maintenance of the home, and the benefits derived from fresh air and sunshine.

To encourage the making of vegetable and flower gardens, and the growing of fruit trees, shrubs and plants, and the creation generally of attractive home conditions.

To encourage young mothers to learn knitting, dressmaking and needlecraft and kindred arts and crafts, and to assist and instruct them in the proper clothing of their children.<sup>90</sup>

League members regarded the home as the 'natural' habitat of women, with many branches opposing efforts to explore Maori women's increased participation in the paid labour market. In 1936, Maori women had a paid labour market participation rate of around twelve per cent as compared with a Pakeha rate of around twenty two per cent. By 1961, Maori women had comparable rates to their Pakeha counterparts, although they were more likely to be employed in unskilled and seasonal work.<sup>91</sup> The most striking change for

<sup>88</sup> Petricevich to Graham, 19 November 1952, MS-Papers-1371-353, NCW Records, (MS-Group-0225), ATL.

<sup>89</sup> 18-29 September 1957, Minutes of National Council of Women Executive Meeting,, MB 126, 5/3.

<sup>90</sup> King, *Whina*, pp.170-171, and Maharaia Winiata, *The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society*, Blackwood and Janet Paul, Auckland, 1967, p.169.

<sup>91</sup> Nolan, *Breadwinning*, p.206.

women, both Maori and Pakeha, in the post-war era was the increased participation in the paid workforce by married women. In 1970, the Maori Women's Welfare League, along with various other women's organisations, was called on to make a submission to the National Advisory Council of the National Development Conference on the issue of mothers' participation in the paid workforce.<sup>92</sup>

Although opinion varied between individual members and branches, the League ultimately adopted a conservative resolution as their input to the Council. The most liberal case put before the Conference was that of the Manunui delegate. She argued that the working mother had become "not only acceptable but necessary for both the industrial and professional progress of our country", but because of this, many social problems had arisen. She stated that it was "not good or natural" for the child or its mother.<sup>93</sup> In an effort to both recognise economic realities and to allow women to be 'proper' mothers, the delegate mooted greater flexibility in working conditions for mothers.<sup>94</sup>

The Wellington delegate challenged the basis of this argument. She resisted labelling women's paid employment a necessity. Instead, she argued, the need for working mothers was more attributable to "our desire to progress". She reminded the women that "the first priority of a mother's duty is to her family and I don't think work should come first". The Taumutu delegate was wary of adopting any motion that could be construed as "encouraging mothers to go out to work" as she saw their women's role as caring for "home and children". Echoing the sentiments of the other dissenting delegates, the Rakaumanga delegate reminded the League members that as children were one of their primary foci, that they should, except in exceptional cases, oppose the Manunui suggestion.<sup>95</sup> The position that the League finally adopted was indicative of their view of themselves as mothers:

That Conference advises the National Advisory Council of the National Development Conference of the necessity to regard working mothers in the workforce of New Zealand in a special category, and that future industrial negotiations recognise their primary role as mothers, with all its attendant responsibilities; and that staggered work hours in certain selected industries be experimented with.<sup>96</sup>

The League did more than affirm domesticity as the 'natural' role of Maori women; they also increasingly took over the role of domestic instruction from Pakeha women's organisations. The work of the League in this respect was not entirely new. Before the League's establishment, in the 1920s Te Puca had taken steps to educate the young women at Ngaruawahia in the skills of Pakeha food preparation and in the etiquette for serving. In an

<sup>92</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1970, 95-177-4/3, ATL. For detail on the Council and the Conference see: Ibid, pp.249-253.

<sup>93</sup> Minutes of Annual Maori Women's Welfare League Conference 1970, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

effort to mould young Maori women who could comfortably take their place in a Pakeha environment, Te Puea called on her friend, Ngeungeu Beemish, to offer instruction on the making of salads, trifles, Spanish cream, cakes, and cucumber sandwiches.<sup>97</sup>

For not dissimilar reasons, the League sought to make modern Maori housewives. Meetings of the individual branches of the Maori Women's Welfare League were seen as a chance for members to engage in discussion surrounding homecraft skills. A 1965 newsletter of the League stated:

...from these discussions...must grow a greater knowledge of how to run one's own home more efficiently, care for one's children more effectively and generally help one to achieve a higher standard of housewifely accomplishments. In turn, we can, as we learn more, pass this knowledge onto others in our district who might be glad of practical help or advice-young girls on the threshold of marriage, teenagers interested in homecraft who may not get sufficient instruction in their own homes.... The creation of attractive home conditions and surroundings cannot fail to give pleasure not only to ourselves and families but to neighbours and friends.<sup>98</sup>

Central to many branches' meetings was instruction in various aspects of domesticity. Throughout the recollections of the founding members of the League, there is a littering of stories recalling baking, domestic homecraft, and sewing instruction and competitions.<sup>99</sup> To Tahiti Rangiihu, the League was crucial in gaining the necessary domestic skills to fit into the urban environments: "I really believe this, that the Welfare League showed the women a lot of things: cooking, sewing, even preserving fruits for their families, the role of caring for their homes and their families, and their gardens. ... I really believe it was the best thing that happened to us, as a people, the Welfare League, because it taught us so many skills".<sup>100</sup> Te Maari Joe recalls that it was in the League that she learnt to cook better, or in her words to be a "proper wife".<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> King, *Te Puea*, pp.121-123.

<sup>98</sup> Maori Women's Welfare League Newsletter, Vol. IV, No.4, April 1965, Maori Women's Welfare League, Newsletters 1965-66, MS-Papers-1396-009, ATL.

<sup>99</sup> See for example: Rutua Heremia, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.46-51, p.51, Mere Hutcheson, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.55-59, p.50, Diggeress Te Kanawa, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.257-260, p.258, Kuini Te Tau, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.269-276, p.275, Maraea Tippins, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.281-287, p.286, Te Rina Waenga, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.295-298, p.298.

<sup>100</sup> Tahiti Rangiihu, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.168-172, p.172.

<sup>101</sup> Te Maari Joe, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding*

Like the Pakeha women's organisations, the Maori Women's Welfare League saw the 'private' sphere of the home as being an ideal site for the transmission of domestic skills. The premise for a 1969 League suggestion for the establishment of a training-training centre was the belief that private homes were effective sites for instruction, but the League saw Maori women's homes as the more effective sites. It was mooted that a centre be established and that League members would "open their homes" to the young out-of-town mothers who attended the centre. The Tainui Regional Council of the League believed that such a scheme would "afford an opportunity for those who had no training in mother craft to receive expert instruction not only at the centre but also from their hostesses".<sup>102</sup>

## HOUSEWIVES MAKING MODERN MAORI

Members of the League, like the State, viewed Maori women as adjusting to 'modern' urban living more readily than Maori men. This belief led both the Maori women's organisation, and the State, to target women with messages and instructions in modern, urban living. While both the State and some members of the League, subscribed to an essentialised explanation as to why Maori women integrated more readily, others saw their location within the domestic space of the home and the suburb as offering a possible partial explanation. In a speech to the 1960 Maori Young Leaders Conference in Auckland, Merimeri Penfold, secretary of the Maori Women's Welfare League at Ratana Pa, suggested that women's 'natural' link with the home and suburb allowed them to integrate more readily. Penfold suggested that Maori women living in predominantly Pakeha suburbs were more able to interact with their Pakeha women neighbours on an informal and social basis. As the 'natural' inhabitants of the 'private' sphere of the home and suburb, Maori women had more opportunities for such interactions than Maori men who inhabited the 'public' sphere of paid employment.<sup>103</sup> In short, houses and suburbs provided women, both Maori and Pakeha, more of a 'contact zone' than the 'public' spaces men were said to inhabit.

Implicitly juxtaposed against the traditional rural pa, in the post-war period the modern house in the suburbs became an important marker for Maori families. As a 'good home' increasingly became recognised as the "source of all social progress" for Maori,<sup>104</sup> so did it become a marker of social progress and therefore social worth. In order for a home in the suburbs to be both a source and marker of social progress, it was required to be

---

*Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, p.68. For other accounts that recall domestic instruction see for example: Alma Herbert, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, p.44; Mere Hutcheson, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, p.58; Emily Paki, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, pp.115-116.

<sup>102</sup> 27-28 May 1969, Maori Women's Welfare League Dominion Executive Minutes, 93-180-17/2, ATL.

<sup>103</sup> Mary Penfold, "The Status of Maori Women", *Te Ao Hou*, No.30, March 1960, pp.61-63.

<sup>104</sup> AJHR, 1948, G-9, p.1.

indistinguishable from the neighbouring Pakeha homes. The task of blending homes and families into the suburbs became that of the modern Maori housewives. Aiding and instructing Maori women in their task of blending in was the State, in particular the Department of Maori Affairs.

### *Good Neighbours*

From the outset of the urban Maori housing programme in the 1940s, bureaucrats had been anxious not to offend Pakeha. There was an early realisation that if housing and urbanisation were to be potent means of integration, then Pakeha needed to be accepting of their Maori neighbours. To the politicians, Maori and Pakeha successfully living as neighbours was evidence of the level of integration that society had achieved.<sup>105</sup> In addition to integrating Maori, in its early stages pepper potting seems to have been in part to placate those Pakeha who were anxious about the increasing levels of Maori taking up residence in the towns and cities. In 1949, T. T. Ropiha instructed the Christchurch Welfare Officer that “[g]overnment policy does not favour the construction of Maori settlements in areas where the population is mainly European”.<sup>106</sup> Rather than allow large communities of Maori in the cities and suburbs, the Government regarded dotting individual Maori families through Pakeha neighbourhoods as being a more effective way for Maori to win Pakeha acceptance. By those Maori living in the cities and towns showing evidence of being both good neighbours and of being ‘house proud’, the hope was that the prospect of Maori neighbours would not be a cause for ‘alarm’ for Pakeha.<sup>107</sup>

The task of placating Pakeha neighbours was a gendered one, with Maori women bearing the bulk of the workload. Both politicians and bureaucrats saw Maori women, as the traditional guardians of the home, as the natural targets of their messages concerning acceptable behaviour in the suburbs. It was in the traditionally feminine role of homemaker that the State appealed to the Maori women. The women of the Maori Women’s Welfare League fully recognised the task of good image projection as their own. The women also saw the behaviour and conduct of individual families as impacting upon wider perceptions of Maori within New Zealand society. The members of the League were firmly of the opinion that Maori needed to take some responsibility for the state of race relations. Speaking at the 1959 annual conference, Mira Logan, Dominion President, reminded the delegates of their responsibilities:

<sup>105</sup> J. R. Hanan, “The Waitangi Oration”, *Te Ao Hou*, No.35, June 1961, p.31.

<sup>106</sup> Memorandum: T. T. Ropiha to the Welfare Officer, Department of Maori Affairs, Christchurch, 21 July 1949, MA 1, 30/5/18, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>107</sup> AJHR, G-9, 1957, p.18.

A word about racial discrimination. From what we have read recently in the papers there seems to be no doubt, that it does exist. However, without going into the whys and wherefores I would like say briefly, let us by our individual conduct and our collective efforts as a responsible body, show ourselves to be the equal of the Pakeha, worthy of the benefits and advantages of his civilisation. The way we will earn his acceptance and praise instead of antipathy and recriminations.<sup>108</sup>

### ***Respectable Modes of Living***

A 'good image' however, meant both respectable behaviour and a well-maintained house. In order to blend into the suburbs certain standards of behaviour were required. Pakeha neighbours provided a means of constant surveillance of Maori in urban environments. If Maori failed to conform to accepted codes of respectability and good citizenship, then Pakeha could bring them to the attention of the authorities. Bureaucrats and politicians frequently impressed upon Maori the equation linking respectable conduct and social acceptance. In referring a letter of complaint he had received on to the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs, Sydney Holland stated:

Please see what can be done by welfare officers and tribal committees in Auckland towards impressing on these people [Maori] the importance of preserving the good relationship between the two races by living as respectable citizens of the community.<sup>109</sup>

In his address to the 1964 annual conference of League, Ralph Hanan, Minister of Maori Affairs, left the assembled delegates in no doubt of his views on the links between a well kept home and social worth. Hanan instructed the Maori women that it was vital that they project a good image. In doing so, he said, the women would be helping to promote good race relations in New Zealand, as "the large mass of Pakehas in New Zealand had very little contact with the Maori people and it was essential that these Pakehas would know the worth of the Maoris".<sup>110</sup>

Through its Welfare Officers, the Department, ever mindful of the overarching objective of integration, maintained a careful eye on the behaviour of Maori suburbanites. Kia Riwai, Maori Welfare Officer for Christchurch and the northern South Island, often commented on the state of neighbourly relations in her annual report. Under the broader heading of 'race relations', Riwai noted an overall acceptance of Maori neighbours. In 1958 and 1959, Riwai did note some disharmony but she attributed this to the European complainants being recently arrived immigrants.<sup>111</sup> From Riwai's report, bureaucrats could take heart that Pakeha who had grown up in the race relations "paradise" were not objecting to their Maori neighbours.

<sup>108</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1959, MS-Papers – 1396-004, ATL

<sup>109</sup> Memorandum to the Undersecretary of Maori Affairs, 17 January 1950, MA 1, 36/1 Vol.3, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>110</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1964, MS-Papers-1396-005, ATL.

<sup>111</sup> Kia Riwai, Annual Report 1958 and 1959, Welfare Officers' Reports – Christchurch, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, ANZ, Wellington.

Complaints from Pakeha over the conduct of their Maori neighbours were far from uncommon in other parts of the country. In 1961, owing to the frequency of the complaints, the Secretary of Maori Affairs requested that all reports about Maori social behaviour, especially those relating to complaints by neighbours, be collated and then analysed by type and location.<sup>112</sup> Specific forms of social misbehaviour were the subject of most of the complaints, with excessive alcohol consumption and over-crowding of the dwelling being the most common and frequent. The more nebulous complaint category of ‘unsatisfactory’ living conditions also made a frequent appearance.<sup>113</sup> Bronwyn Labrum cites the case of the Keith family, who were visited by the Maori Welfare Officer due to concern over their “weakness for alcohol”, and “their apparent disregard for those things that would help them in bettering their lot”.<sup>114</sup> This family came to the notice of the Department of Maori Affairs because they failed to display the requisite degree of ambition required of Maori in the Pakeha suburbs.

In an attempt to inculcate the urbanising Maori into acceptable habits, the Department of Maori Affairs advised new Maori homeowners that:

It is useless to have your home and section in lovely order, the children neatly dressed, then spoil it by having rowdy parties, especially late at night. It is your duty as host, when you have visitors, to see that they behave themselves. Likewise when you are visiting your friends, see that your own behaviour is good.<sup>115</sup>

Pakeha neighbours frequently objected to ‘rowdy parties’ that according to the complainants continued through the night. Pakeha residents objected to the singing, swearing and broken bottles that allegedly accompanied many of the social gatherings.<sup>116</sup>

Although it was Welfare Officers who received the complaints, it was often the Maori Women’s Welfare League who policed the behaviour of the Maori residents. Many officers found that working through the Maori Women’s Welfare League enabled them to get closer to the families.<sup>117</sup> Maori women, in essentialised roles as moral mothers and guardians of the home, were primarily responsible for ensuring that Maori families adhered to canons of good and responsible citizenship in the suburbs. Whina Cooper, even after her tenure as League president had ended, found herself contacted in the middle of the night by Pakeha who objected to the late night noisy parties of their Maori neighbours. Anxious that such behaviour would not adversely effect Pakeha perceptions of Maori in general, Cooper would immediately visit the offenders. She recalls arriving at these parties at two or three in the morning and hearing the greeting “Oh Nannie, come in and have a drink”. She equally recalls

---

<sup>112</sup> Labrum, “Family needs and family desires”, p.280.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, p.279.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Department of Maori Affairs, *Our Home*, Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1966.

<sup>116</sup> King, *Whina*, p.188, Labrum, “Family needs and family desires”, p.282-283.

<sup>117</sup> Labrum, “Family needs and family desires”, p.259.



her response of “Nannie be damned”. She would then point to the “bottles and everything”, and remind the hosts “you’re living in the city now. You’ve got close neighbours. You’ve got to think of them”. To further encourage them to a more respectable mode of living she recalls threatening, albeit bluffingly to have their benefits cut if they did not conform to the requisite standards.<sup>118</sup>

Another frequent complaint from Pakeha neighbours was the number of visitors staying in the suburban bungalows. Another Pakeha complainant whom Labrum cites, objected to the fact that his Maori neighbour’s suburban bungalow “now houses at the weekend truck loads of overnight guests who are continually reinforced by the arrival of new recruits making it impossible to even guess at the number sleeping for the night”.<sup>119</sup> Embedded in this complaint was resistance to the ‘Maori way’ travelling to the suburbs with the Maori migrants. Maori held to a differing conception of family than did their new Pakeha neighbours. Theirs was not a narrowly defined nuclear unit, with clear demarcations between resident family members and ‘visitors’.<sup>120</sup> Rather, a philosophy of ‘open hospitality’ guided the actions of many families in the cities, just as it had in their rural homes. The fact was that many Maori families viewed and used their homes differently than did their Pakeha neighbours. For some Maori, the migration to the cities, and the subsequent dispersal of the Maori population throughout the suburbs, offered a welcome respite from a communal system of living. Several respondents to Jane Ritchie’s survey of Wellington Maori women stated that they preferred living in a dispersed manner as this allowed them to gain privacy. They noted their annoyance at, and their desire to escape, the frequent ‘visitors’ and parties and ‘boozing’.<sup>121</sup>

### ***Home Maintenance***

Well maintained homes and gardens were the other crucial elements required for the successful blending of Maori in to their new environments. With this in mind, the Department of Maori Affairs impressed upon the occupiers of Maori homes the importance of not neglecting their homes (see Illustration 5). The Department of Maori Affairs relied upon Maori women to both transport these messages to, and enforce them, within their families and communities. According to Departmental publications, adherence to high standards of home maintenance and house keeping were crucial to fit into the new suburban environments. Maori homes were not only to be indistinguishable from Pakeha homes in terms of design, but also in their presentation. Through advice booklets to new Maori homeowners, the

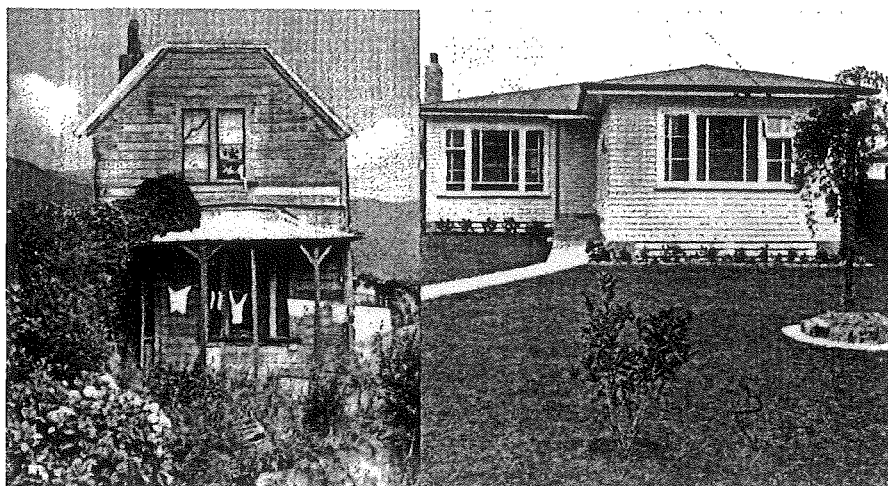
<sup>118</sup> King, *Whina*, p.188.

<sup>119</sup> Labrum, “Family needs and family desires”, pp282-283.

<sup>120</sup> Interview with “Fred”, 19 March 2001.

<sup>121</sup> Ritchie, “Together or Apart”, p.197.

## Don't neglect YOUR home!



**Illustration 5:** The Department of Maori Affairs impressed upon Maori owners the importance of the proper maintenance of their new homes. In order for homes to be effective sites of integration, Maori homes had to be indistinguishable from Pakeha homes. Pakeha neighbours were not going to tolerate 'shacks' in the suburbs. Source: Department of Maori Affairs, *Our Home* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1966).

Department of Maori Affairs sought to inculcate Maori into the suburban respectability. Juxtapositions such as that in Illustration 5 stressed to intending and new Maori suburbanites that it was through a modern and well-maintained home that they could blend into their new environment. The Department of Maori Affairs impressed upon Maori property owners that it was through taking a pride in their homes that they would be 'good neighbours'.<sup>122</sup> The prescription for suburban acceptance, according to the Department of Maori Affairs, dictated that houses were not to be painted too brightly, that paint work was to be well maintained and that damage to doors and windows was to be repaired as quickly as possible.<sup>123</sup>

### **Gardens**

In order to project a respectable image, it was not only the structure of the house itself that needed to be well maintained, but the section also. Those making the transition from town to country found themselves having to learn new codes of respectability and acceptability. While draping laundry over the fence of a rural home was an acceptable practice, Pakeha neighbours in the suburbs were unlikely to approve.<sup>124</sup> In order that Maori conformed to Pakeha mores in the suburbs, the Department of Maori Affairs instructed how

<sup>122</sup> Department of Maori Affairs, *Our Home*.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. The Department of Maori Affairs continued to offer similar advice to new Maori home owners for some time see: Department of Maori Affairs, *Nga Kainga - Our Home: Guide for New Home Owners*, Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1976.

<sup>124</sup> Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'", pp.217-218.

to hang out washing through *Te Ao Hou*.<sup>125</sup> The advice was clearly aimed at the woman reader, coming at the end of the “Women’s World” section of the magazine, and featuring an illustration of a Maori woman hanging out her clothing in the prescribed manner. Pakeha suburbanites were also highly unlikely to approve of washing strung along the front porch of a house as shown in Illustration 5. In an effort to ensure that such behaviour did not travel to the suburbs, readers of the Maori Affairs periodical were instructed that clothes lines, preferably revolving, belonged in the back garden.<sup>126</sup>

In addition to the clothesline, Maori owners were instructed that there would be space at the back of their houses for a vegetable garden. The Department of Maori Affairs instructed Maori homeowners of the need to plan the crop rotation of the garden; this was crucial to keeping the home surrounds “neat and tidy”.<sup>127</sup> Repeat warnings were sounded about letting the back garden become untidy by “allowing bottles, tins, and rubbish to be left lying around”. Occupants were informed that this “looked bad”, and the Department frequently reminded homeowners that others judged them by the state of their section. An untidy garden was said to “tell visitors that the owner has no pride his home”.<sup>128</sup>

The Maori Women’s Welfare League, well aware of the equating of a tidy yard with being ‘house proud’, sought to make suburban respectability more attainable for more Maori families. In 1962, the annual conference of the League passed a remit requesting that all future Department of Maori Affairs homes have a shed included as standard “for storage purposes”.<sup>129</sup> The Waikato District Council, that brought the remit, was concerned that only Maori families who could afford additional expenditure were able to have the convenience of a shed for storage. Without adequate storage facilities, the League recognised that it was difficult to maintain the standards required in the suburbs.

The front garden was also crucial to the maintenance of a respectable image. While it was permissible, and even expected, that the back garden would be for the production of vegetables, the sole function of the front flower garden was to project a good image. The Department of Maori Affairs stressed to new homeowners that, “it doesn’t take much effort to have a green, well kept lawn, with flower gardens and tidy paths, and with fences painted and in good repair.”<sup>130</sup> The subtext of this instruction was that as the Department had defined the task as requiring minimal effort, that it was in fact a mandatory activity for new Maori

<sup>125</sup> “This is the way we hang our clothes”, *Te Ao Hou*, Vol.3, No.1, Spring 1954, p.59.

<sup>126</sup> “The Home Garden”, *Te Ao Hou*, Vol.6, No.3, July 1958, p.52.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Department of Maori Affairs, *Our Home*; “By Your Backyard”, *Te Ao Hou*, Vol.8, No.4, July 1960, p.59.

<sup>129</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1962, MS-Papers- 1396-005, ATL.

<sup>130</sup> Department of Maori Affairs, *Our Home*.

mortgagers. According to a 1958 article in *Te Ao Hou*, “a beautiful garden” should not be viewed an extra, but as “part of the home”. For, according to the article, it was “only a garden that can alter the harshness of a wooden or brick home”.<sup>131</sup>

Gardening was yet another traditionally ‘feminine’ task that Maori women undertook in order to aid their families’ transition into the Pakeha world of the urban and suburban environment. Departmental publications may have defined the Maori homeowner as male, but the task of beautifying the surrounds of the home fell to the women. Articles appearing in *Te Ao Hou* cast gardening and the beautification of the section as ‘women’s work’.<sup>132</sup> Emphasis on the front garden, full of beautifying flowers and shrubs further entrenched this view. In both Maori and European cultures, there is a strong connection between women and gardening. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the historical record starts to reveal a connection between European women and gardening. By the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, it was women who were responsible for the “beautiful English cottage gardens”, so often commented on by travellers. Not surprisingly, flower gardening became increasingly permissible for middle and upper class women throughout the Victorian period.<sup>133</sup> For the Victorians, gardening fitted neatly within the prevailing modes of femininity, as it was delicate, aesthetic and beautiful. According to Maori mythology, it was the goddess Pani, who was the source of the main food crop, the kumara, and women were active in cultivating this and other food crops. Evidence would also suggest that women actively selected, and even bred, the type of flax that they needed for their weaving.<sup>134</sup>

It was Maori women, through the League, who sought to ensure that attainment of the ideal was a reality for most Maori families. League branches taught and advised newly migrating Maori families how to garden and what to grow.<sup>135</sup> Although the Department of Maori Affairs insisted that the attainment of suburban respectability did “not require much effort”, they did not aid families to reach this standard. Loans secured through the Department of Maori Affairs did not provide for paths or clotheslines, rather it was a question of new Maori homeowners “having the money for them”<sup>136</sup> The Maori Women’s Welfare

<sup>131</sup> “The Home Garden”, *Te Ao Hou*, Vol.6, No.3, July 1958, p.52.

<sup>132</sup> See for example: “By Your Backyard”, *Te Ao Hou*, Vol.8, No.4, July 1960, p.59.

<sup>133</sup> Christine Dann, “Sweet William and Sticky Nellie: Sex Differences in New Zealand Gardening and Garden Writing”, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 15, 2 (1992), pp.233-249, pp.234, 237-238, Helen Leach, *1000 Years of Gardening in New Zealand*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1984, Helen Leach, “The European House and Garden in New Zealand: A Case for Parallel Development”, in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp.73-88.

<sup>134</sup> Dann, “Sweet William and Sticky Nellie”, p.235.

<sup>135</sup> Te Tau, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, p.275.

<sup>136</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1964, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

League realised the importance of these amenities to in Maori family's ability to blend into their suburban surroundings, and launched an investigation into the issue.<sup>137</sup>

## POLICING STANDARDS: 'BEST KEPT MAORI HOMES'

In addition to instructing newly urbanised Maori families on how to project a good image, women also policed the standards. Through the mechanism of Best Kept Maori Home competitions, women judged and ranked Maori housewives on their ability to reach Pakeha standards of domestic respectability and modernity. Although initially conceived by men, the competition quickly became an opportunity for women to reward fellow women for excelling in the traditionally feminine task of housekeeping. As early as 1948, male Members of Parliament were debating the best means of encouraging Maori to "take a pride and interest in their homes", with one member suggesting that social security be linked to attainment of Pakeha standards of domestic respectability.<sup>138</sup> The prevailing attitude was that the "Government should play the part of a wise and not injudicious parent"<sup>139</sup> By 1950, it was being suggested that prize money be offered to "encourage competition amongst the Maori people to keep their properties in order".<sup>140</sup>

Earlier that year, a Mr Maddox, via his local member of parliament, had suggested to the Minister of Maori Affairs the establishment of a competition for Maori in the Hastings area, to promote "neatness and tidiness" in the various Maori "villages" in the area.<sup>141</sup> Ernest Corbett concurred with Maddox, and suggested appraisal of both homes and marae in determining the winner of the competition. He suggested the following as criteria for determining the winner:

Homes:

- (a) The repairing and painting of dilapidated houses
- (b) The maintaining of good lawns, flower and vegetable gardens
- (c) The tidiness of street frontages
- (d) The standard of housekeeping

Maraes [sic]:

- (a) The keeping in good repair and appearance of the marae buildings
- (b) The general beautification of the marae
- (c) The tidiness of the marae roads where they exist<sup>142</sup>

Although in this early conception, the competition was to be for rural Maori, Corbett's criteria for judging reflected a prescription for respectable suburban living. Maori still in their

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> NZPD, 1948, Vol.268, p.241.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> McCallum, to the Registrar Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 2 August 1950, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, Box 1060b, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>141</sup> Corbett to Maddox, 22 June 1950, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, Box 1060b, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

rural homes were encouraged to learn the codes necessary for acceptance in the Pakeha environment prior to embarking on their migrations. In addition to suggesting the judging criteria to Maddox, Corbett also suggested that he contact Mrs Otene, the Maori Welfare Officer for Hastings and the Maori Women's Welfare League.<sup>143</sup> In Corbett's, thinking the competition, with its emphasis and focus on the domestic realm of the home, was best organised and administered by women.

It appears Mr Maddox's scheme was never implemented, as two years latter Mrs Whyte, a Pakeha resident of Hastings, was in communication with the Prime Minister suggesting a similar scheme.<sup>144</sup> Mrs Whyte described herself as always having had an "interest" in the "Maori people",<sup>145</sup> a contention with which T. T. Ropiha, Under Secretary of Maori Affairs, concurred.<sup>146</sup> She informed the Prime Minister that she "had been watching progress at the pa as we pass on our way to town. New houses going up, old ones being repainted, gardens being made...and this is a great thrill to me".<sup>147</sup> In order to 'keep their interest going' she offered a cup to be donated annually for the "best kept and most tidy surroundings to the house". She suggested that one of the rural sociologist instructors from the Department of Agriculture in Hastings judge the competition. The competition that she had in mind was one that rewarded women who had produced modern and integrated homes, or who were, in her language, "progressing".<sup>148</sup>

Ernest Corbett gladly accepted Mrs Whyte's offer of assistance. In his reply, Corbett explicitly articulated that he saw the mooted competition as having a wider purpose than the production of well maintained Maori homes and gardens. He expressed his gratitude to her not only "for her kind offer", but also for her "efforts engender self respect among the Maori people...and better understanding between the two races".<sup>149</sup> Corbett once again indicated, as he had two years previously, that he saw this competition as being a task best organised by women. Mrs Whyte, like Mr Maddox, was referred to Ema Otene, and the Heretaunga branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League.<sup>150</sup>

That the proposed competition fell within the prescribed domain of women was not a view that the Minister of Maori Affairs was alone in holding. In consultation with Ema Otene, a scheme emerged that would be run with the support of both the local Maori

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Whyte to Holland, 31 March 1952, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, Box 1060b, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

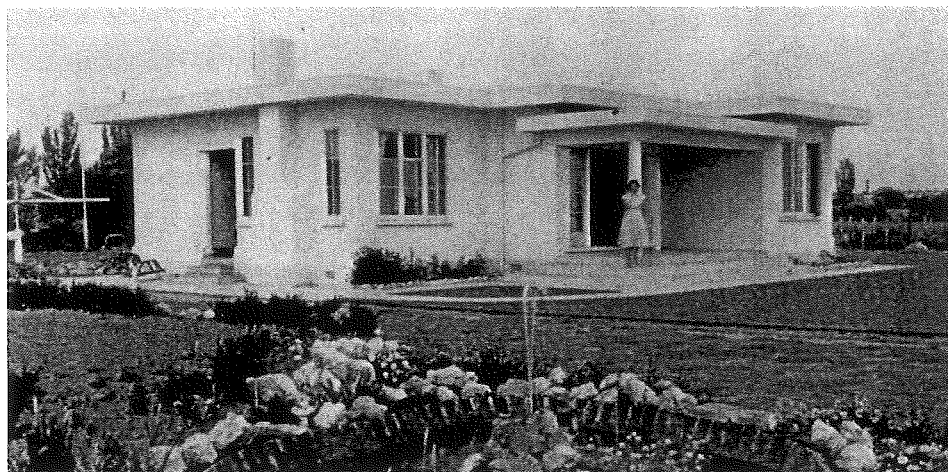
<sup>146</sup> Ropiha to Otene, 6 May 1952, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, Box 1060b, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>147</sup> Whyte to Holland, 31 March 1952, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, Box 1060b, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Corbett to Whyte, 2 May 1952, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, Box 1060b, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>150</sup> Ropiha to Otene, 6 May 1952, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, Box 1060b, ANZ, Wellington.



**Illustration 6: Mrs John Ormsby, winner of the 1955 Silver Challenge Cup for the best kept Maori Home and garden. Source: *Te Ao Hou*, No.11, June 1955, p.28.**

Women's Welfare League and the Tribal Committee, with competitors judged according to the criteria that had been mooted in 1950. Mr Maddox was also to be included in the scheme. The trophy he offered was to be awarded to the "best kept marae grounds and meeting house".<sup>151</sup> Mrs Whyte, as a woman, was to honour the domestic skills of Maori women.

In 1955, Mrs John Ormsby of Kohupatiki was the recipient of Mrs Whyte's trophy (see Illustration 6). The judge commented on the "high standard achieved with the tiny lake and water-lillies, lawns, trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plants all made or tended by Mrs Ormsby".<sup>152</sup> The reward for the first three place holders in the competition was a depiction of ideal Pakeha domesticity and femininity: a framed picture of Mrs Whyte's 'temple' of ideal femininity and domesticity, her own home and garden.<sup>153</sup>

The Department of Maori Affairs, and the Pakeha benefactors, viewed the competitions as being an ideal opportunity for Maori to prove to the wider Pakeha population that they were capable of attaining high standards of domesticity. In 1959, Mongonui County hosted a similar competition. Entrants were assessed on the exterior of their house, the home surroundings, house hygiene, personal hygiene, and the "way the home was kept".<sup>154</sup> The judges, arranged by the United Council of Women, declared that the panel has "poked into all crannies and cupboards", and had concluded that the "Maoris had shown the outside world they were capable".<sup>155</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Memorandum: Otene to Ropiha, 13 June 1952, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, Box 1060b, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>152</sup> *Free Lance*, 30 March 1955, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> "High Standard in Maori Homes Competition", unsourced, 3 March 1959, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

These competitions were, however, more complicated than Pakeha women simply imposing their own prescriptions of domesticity, and therefore femininity onto Maori competitors. Certainly, to succeed, Maori women had to demonstrate that they had possessed the requisite skills of domesticity. The competitions did, however, reward competitors who wove markers of 'Maoriness' into ideal domesticity. A newspaper report of the Mongonui competition quoted Mrs Buckle, one of the judges, as saying, "one pleasing thing was the way Maori arts had been combined with Western comforts".<sup>156</sup> Likewise, the winner of the 1956 Best Kept Maori Home and Garden competition in Hauraki, Mrs J. F. Martin, was rewarded for the "unusual feature" of a "hangi, complete with stones" on the front lawn.<sup>157</sup>

Further complicating the competitions was the involvement of the Maori Women's Welfare League. The involvement of Mrs Whyte, a member of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union,<sup>158</sup> can be read as a continuation of the 'cultural mission' of Pakeha women in New Zealand. For Mrs Whyte a desired outcome of the competition, and the domestic pride it engendered in Maori, was the retention of Maori in rural rather than urban homes.<sup>159</sup> Mrs Whyte viewed the competitions as a means to prevent the suburbs becoming 'contact zones' between Maori and Pakeha. From the outset, politicians and bureaucrats had regarded the competitions as women's work, and increasingly as Maori women's work. When D. G. Clarke, the District Officer for Christchurch, proposed a garden competition as a means of improving the Arowhenua pa area, it was to the Maori Women's Welfare League that he turned to run the competition.<sup>160</sup> Likewise, in 1963, when the Rotorua District Office suggested running Best Kept Home competitions as an "idea for dealing with Maori problems", a note on the file stated that this was "a Maori Women's Welfare League policy matter".<sup>161</sup>

The focus of the League-run competitions shared much in common with the initial Pakeha conceptions. Judges were still drawn from the Department of Agriculture,<sup>162</sup> and modern homes were still most strongly rewarded (see Illustration 7). Evelyn Kohu's home in the suburbs, complete with washing correctly hung on a rotary clothesline in the back garden, was a model of post-war modernity and domesticity, be it Maori or Pakeha. The Department of Maori Affairs still regarded this competition, organised solely by the Maori Women's

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, No.15, July 1956.

<sup>158</sup> *Free Lance*, 30 March 1955, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, ANZ, Wellington.

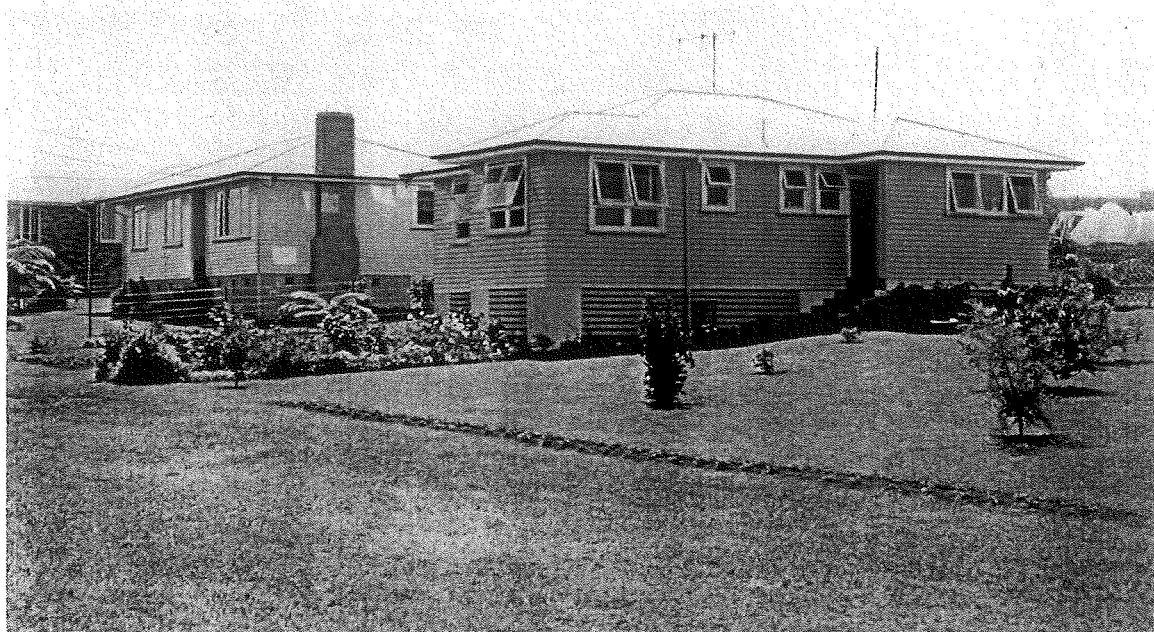
<sup>159</sup> Whyte to Corbett, undated (c. May 1952), AAMK 869, 36/1/4, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>160</sup> Memorandum: Clarke to the Secretary, Department of Maori Affairs, 7 November 1958, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>161</sup> Ideas for Dealing with Maori Problems, file note, 2 August 1963, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>162</sup> "Maori women encourage pride in their gardens", undated, unsourced, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, ANZ, Wellington.





**Illustration 7: The Home of Evelyn Kohu, Millers Road, Tauranga. First place in the Judea Maori Women's Welfare League Garden Competition 1965. Source: Inspection Reports on State Houses by Welfare Officers and Assistance by MWWL Garden Competition, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, National Archives, Wellington.**

Welfare League, as a means to encourage Maori home owners to beautify their homes and as a means to positively impact on Pakeha perceptions of Maori in the area.<sup>163</sup>

There were crucial differences, however, in the League-run competitions. The emphasis moved to the exterior of the house, with competitions in the 1960s labelled garden competitions. The interior domestic skills of the Maori women competitors were not subjected to the same scrutiny that they had once been. The other crucial difference was the urban focus of the competitions. Whereas Mrs Whyte had seen the competitions as a means to stem the urban flow, their competitions offered the League further opportunity to ensure that Maori women in the suburbs of New Zealand's cities and suburbs were presenting a positive image. They were opportunities to demonstrate to Pakeha neighbours that Maori could blend into their suburban environments.

## **DOMESTIC SPACES, MAORI WOMEN, AND CULTURAL PRESERVATION**

Into the mid-twentieth century, the house and the home also held a liberating and resistance potential for Maori women. Undoubtedly subjected to greater State scrutiny than Pakeha homes, Maori homes nevertheless provided Maori with valuable spaces in the urban environments. As bell hooks has argued in the North American case, the 'home' has various

<sup>163</sup> Memorandum: Falconer to Hamilton Department of Maori Affairs, 19 November 1965, AAMK 869, 36/1/4, ANZ, Wellington.

meanings for people of colour. Houses in the new urban environments provided Maori with a retreat and a place to resist the dominant Pakeha culture in their new urban environments. Houses and suburbs came to be the papakainga<sup>164</sup> for many families.<sup>165</sup> Although pepper-potted through predominantly Pakeha suburbs, some families used their urban homes and sections in ways that found continuity with more communal modes of rural living. Waerete Norman recalls how her mother initially used their Mount Roskill Auckland section as a mahinga or a communal garden. Familiar with more communal modes of living, Mrs Norman would supply Pakeha neighbours with produce from the garden, and continued the practice of blessing the kumara crop at the time of sowing.<sup>166</sup>

In addition to providing a retreat and a safe haven from the harshness of racism, hooks also sees the home's radical potential as lying in its utilisation as a learning space. Often it has been the domestic spaces of the home that have provided the sites for the teaching and learning of black cultures, histories, and critical consciousness.<sup>167</sup> In the case of Maori women, their houses provided the space for the transmission of culture in an otherwise Pakeha environment. It was Maori women from the space of their homes, who launched the initiatives for the retention of the Maori language and culture.<sup>168</sup> Within the League, there was a firm belief that "if the language and the culture is lost, all is lost".<sup>169</sup>

It was in the Maori women's organisation that many members first began to both learn Maori and to speak it as a language of conversation and everyday communication. From the inaugural conference, which was conducted in the Maori language, the League demonstrated its commitment to the language. Members who had previously been denied the opportunity to either learn or use the language, found in the League ample opportunity for both. Maree Millar, who prior to her involvement with the League had not learnt the Maori language recalls "it was through the League and their insistence that we speak Maori that I actually became very involved in that side of Maoridom".<sup>170</sup> Similarly, Mira Szaszy, although a fluent speaker of te reo before joining the League, recalls that it was through the League that she began to use the language as a means of everyday communication. "When we travelled Whina spoke in Maori all through and gradually I too began speaking in Maori. Not that I

<sup>164</sup> The site of an unfortified Maori village or hamlet, including dwellings and cultivations.

<sup>165</sup> Interview recorded with "Fred", 19 March 2001.

<sup>166</sup> Norman, "Taura", pp.118-119.

<sup>167</sup> hooks, *Yearning*, pp.41-42, 47.

<sup>168</sup> For example Maori women's efforts in regards to the establishment of early childhood centres and Kohanga Reo from the 1950s, see: Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, pp.196-197.

<sup>169</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1968, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>170</sup> Maree Millar, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.93-98, p.94.

didn't know Maori, but I didn't use it as a language in addressing our people. But during that period of travel I became accustomed to addressing our people in Maori also, along with Whina".<sup>171</sup>

Since the 1860s, the New Zealand State had come to see education, and the imposition of the English language upon Maori, as a tool of assimilation. With education being conducted almost exclusively in English since 1871, many Maori parents had encouraged their children to become proficient in the English language so that they would not be disadvantaged in their dealings with Pakeha.<sup>172</sup> Linguist, Professor Bruce Biggs, argues that the Education Department was especially instrumental in discouraging the use of Maori language. According to Biggs, the Department in effect "declared total war on the Maori language".<sup>173</sup> A number of surveys conducted throughout the twentieth century illustrate the trend of language loss. In 1913, ninety per cent of children attending Native Schools spoke only Maori at home. By 1955, this figure had declined to fifty-five per cent.<sup>174</sup> Throughout the mid-twentieth century, however, Maori women came to address this issue, agitating for the use of the language within the home, and the teaching of Maori language in New Zealand schools. The initial agitation came from the WHL, with Maori and Pakeha women members working together to foster traditional Maori crafts. WHL members, who were largely Maori, were encouraged to speak Maori to their children at home, and in 1939, the organisation sent remits to the Government urging that Maori language be taught in schools.<sup>175</sup>

It was the formation of the Maori Women's Welfare League in 1951, however, that did much to bolster calls for the retention and the further teaching of the Maori language in homes and schools. Branch meetings of the League, often held in the private homes of members, provided a forum and opportunity for women members both to learn and to perpetuate their language. Recognising the importance of the space of the home, and the role of women in the transmission of language, the League continually urged its members to teach their children their native language. In 1951, the League articulated its realisation of their importance as women, the traditional transmitters of the language and culture.<sup>176</sup> In the space of their homes, they had to role to perpetuate and teach the language. In discussing the future

<sup>171</sup> Szaszy, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, pp.222-223.

<sup>172</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, pp.196-197.

<sup>173</sup> Bruce Biggs, "The Maori Language: Past and Present", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the nineteen-sixties: a symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp.65-84, p.73.

<sup>174</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p.196.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, pp.89,196.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, p.196. In pre-contact and contact Maori society it had been the role of Maori women rear children. From birth, Maori children heard oriori (lullabies), waiata (songs), korero noa iho (daily conversations), and karanga (the welcome call of women onto the marae), and this ensured a retention of te reo. Women had a nurturing role, that of kaitiaki, the guardians and keepers of the language and tikanga (customs and traditions).

of Maori language and culture, the delegates stated “that a true knowledge of the Maori language can only be gained by children if it is spoken in the home”.<sup>177</sup> Through the League, Maori parents, for the first time in a century, were encouraged by a State-sponsored organisation to encourage their children to speak Maori within the home.<sup>178</sup> Realising that not all Maori women possessed the language skills to teach their children the Maori language, members of the League conversant in the language sought to educate both Maori mothers and their children. Recognising that the language had been lost to many South Island Maori through over one hundred years of colonisation and assimilation, in 1953 the League sought to establish a Maori tutor for the area.<sup>179</sup> In the late 1950s, the Heretaunga District Council of the League established Maori classes for Maori children on Saturday mornings. With around sixteen children regularly in attendance, the League noted a keen enthusiasm amongst the attendees, and noted with some satisfaction that many of the children had given up Saturday morning “pictures” to attend.<sup>180</sup> Likewise, in areas lacking suitably qualified teachers of the language, members of the League who were fluent in the language would sometimes go into secondary schools and assume the role themselves.<sup>181</sup>

The League not only sought to revitalise the Maori language within the spaces afforded by the family home, they also actively campaigned for instruction in the language to occur in New Zealand schools. Although this instruction would not take place in the home, the League’s power to argue and campaign on the issue was sourced from the home. It was through accepting the domestic and maternal roles that the State expected of them, that the League members gained this voice to speak on issues of vital importance to the rapidly changing Maori communities. Along with domestic spaces and families, the perpetuation of the Maori culture and language was a central aim of the League. Perhaps most graphically illustrating the centrality of Maori culture to League philosophy, was that the first remit passed at the inaugural conference in 1951 advocated the teaching of Maori language in schools.<sup>182</sup> Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, virtually every annual conference of the League carried remits concerning the teaching of Maori language in New Zealand schools,<sup>183</sup> and the women pressured the Government for the introduction of Maori language training into teacher training colleges.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Inaugural Conference 1951, MS-Papers -1396-001, ATL.

<sup>178</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1953, MS-Papers -1396-002, ATL.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1958, MS-Papers -1396-004, ATL.

<sup>181</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1969, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>182</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Inaugural Conference 1951, MS-Papers -1396-001, ATL.

<sup>183</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1969, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>184</sup> This was a call that spanned two decades, see for example: Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League

Furthermore, it was the League who sought to retain the authenticity of language in the predominantly Pakeha urban world. As Barbara Brookes has shown, in the context of the controversy over the *Washday at the Pa* publication, the League's objections to the incorrect usage of the word 'pa' were grounded in their claims to specificity in the Maori language.<sup>185</sup> As well as seeking to ensure Maori words and their meanings were used correctly, the League sought to ensure that Maori words, and in particular names and place names, were pronounced correctly.<sup>186</sup> In 1967, the League joined with the New Zealand Maori Council to send a delegation to the Ministers of Broadcasting and Maori Affairs, and to the Director of Broadcasting, calling for a revision of the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation's policy on the anglicisation and shortening of Maori place names. A joint deputation, in conjunction with the Geographic Board, succeeded in having the number of place names that announcers could anglicise reduced to a list of to eight.<sup>187</sup>

It was not only with the perpetuation of the language in urban environments that the League was concerned, but also with the continuation and further dissemination of Maori culture. Acquisition of language, although seen as an important end in itself, was seen as having wider significance as the "basis of culture".<sup>188</sup> League members believed, that children "once they ...[had] mastered the language ...[were] on the doorstep of the culture".<sup>189</sup> Like using and learning the language, for many League members, it was inside the space afforded by family homes that many Maori women retained their contact with culture, arts, and crafts. Many branches of the League, in addition to teaching their members skills needed to be good housewives, also taught their members traditional Maori weaving, taniko work, and piupiu making.<sup>190</sup> In Auckland, long after her retirement from the League,

<sup>185</sup> Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'", pp.219-220.

<sup>186</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1955, MS-Papers -1396-002, ATL.

<sup>187</sup> Maori Women's Welfare League Dominion Executive Minutes, 23 August 1967, 93-180-17/2; Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1967, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>188</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1969, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>189</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1970, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>190</sup> For reminiscences of this see: Ada Brown, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.10-12, Alma Herbert, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.42-45, Heremia, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, pp.46-51, Hutcheson, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, pp.55-59, Millar, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, pp.93-98, Lucy Puohotaua, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.151-154, Kath Rangi, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.157-160, Hiria Rennie, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.184-188, Harata Solomon, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.204-213, Mairatea Tahiwi, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from*

Whina Cooper, on a purely voluntary basis, continued to be active in tutoring League members in traditional Maori arts and crafts.<sup>191</sup> Some branches of the League found that one monthly meeting did not allow enough time to cover all League business, instruct in domestic skills, and still leave enough time for instruction in Maori arts and crafts. In order that Maori culture not be omitted from their agenda, extra monthly meetings were added to cover this aspect of their work.<sup>192</sup> The annual national conference of the League also became a forum through which the League sought to instruct their members in traditional art forms. At the 1964 annual conference, Catherine Brown, a prominent Ngai Tahu woman, demonstrated the making of paraerae (sandals), and food baskets used in the South Island for holding whitebait.<sup>193</sup> Individual branches of the League were also concerned with the preservation of Maori culture and identity. In 1960, the Ngatokowaru branch of the League began to raise funds for a tape recorder to “preserve the waiata and chants of the Maori people”.<sup>194</sup>

Again, as with the promotion of the Maori language, the League also sought to promote Maori arts and culture to school children and the wider community. From the 1950s, the League sought to have the Government establish centres for the teaching of arts and crafts, and to provide itinerant teachers to travel the country teaching the skills.<sup>195</sup> The women of the League did not see their traditional Maori arts and crafts as being a remnant of their culture, instead they argued for them to be “adapted to contemporary living”. They also saw a resurgence in the arts and crafts as having potential economic benefits for Maori. They pointed to the examples of India, Canada, and Ireland where “handicraft” schemes initiated by the Government were providing goods to be retailed, as well as reviving and developing traditional skills.<sup>196</sup> In bringing this suggestion, the League sought to cast Maori arts and crafts as being crucial to the ways in which New Zealand was increasingly imagining and marketing itself as a nation. They regarded their members as rendering a vital service not only to local communities in perpetuating culture, but also to the nation in providing the means to assert identity:

The “aim to perpetuate the Maori culture” has been maintained by all League branches and we are indebted to our craftswomen for the patience they have displayed in passing on their knowledge to members, both Maori and pakeha. A growing interest in Maori arts and crafts has been evinced in

---

*Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.204-213, Mairatea Tahiwī, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.232-237.

<sup>191</sup> Dominion Executive Minutes, 25 May 1967, 93-180-17/2, ATL

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1964, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>194</sup> Dominion Executive Minutes, November 1960, 93-180-17/1, ATL

<sup>195</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1958, MS-Papers 1396-003; Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1962, MS-Papers 1396-003, ATL.

<sup>196</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1962, MS-Papers 1396-005, ATL.

schools and students are keen to receive instruction. The general public too is becoming more aware of the fact that Maori culture is very much alive through the various displays of craft work held in many centres recently. These have included handcrafts along with pottery, sculpture and paintings – and many of the latter entries have been the work of Maori artists. Maori handcrafts have been on display in the great cities of the world as part of the Government's plan to attract tourists and trade, thus our League in preserving and teaching Maori arts and crafts is rendering a very real service to our country.<sup>197</sup>

Although eager to reach both adults and children in cultural tuition, the League regarded schools as being especially important in the retention and perpetuation of culture. Aware that there were only a limited number of tutors available to teach Maori arts and crafts, the League petitioned the Government to train more teachers in these skills, and provided their own voluntary labour to assist with this.<sup>198</sup> To the State, the voluntary labour of the League was crucial to their efforts to provide a more 'integrated' curriculum within New Zealand schools. League members contributed to a Department of Education handbook for use within schools that provided teachers with a resource to include the teaching of Maori culture within the curriculum. In this handbook, Maori arts, crafts, songs, and haka were described. Additionally, League members further facilitated a more integrated curriculum within New Zealand schools through their contributions to teacher refresher courses, and voluntary assistance given by women in Maori craftwork instruction in schools.<sup>199</sup>

The League couched their arguments for the increased emphasis on Maori language and culture within New Zealand society and schools within evolving notions of post-war Maori citizenship and New Zealand nationhood. From its inception, the League recognised the State's desire to integrate Maori more fully within the fabric of the New Zealand nation. On the one hand, the women's organisation backed and facilitated the State's desire to bring Maori more fully into the Pakeha nation. Importantly, however, they simultaneously provided the loudest and earliest voice in calling for the perpetuation of Maori culture in the cities. While the State articulated a desire to retain aspects of Maori culture, it provided no mechanisms to ensure that this occurred. The Maori Women's Welfare League did, however, and through its efforts to teach the culture and language at a local level, and their pressure on the State at a national level, they ensured Maori culture and language survived the transition to the cities.

Promotion of the Maori language and culture to both Maori and Pakeha was regarded by the League as being crucial to the establishment of an integrated nation. Working within a definition of integration that emphasised the role of Maori culture within the post-war nation, the League sought to ensure that integration entailed more than assimilation. It was through

<sup>197</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1966, MS-Papers 1396-006, ATL.

<sup>198</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1960, MS-Papers 1396-004, ATL.

<sup>199</sup> Minister of Education to the Maori Women's Welfare League, 23 March 1960, reprinted in Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1960, MS-Papers 1396-004, ATL.

their complicity with the State that the League was able to resist the potentially all-encompassing Pakeha environment of the cities. For the League this was a continuation of more than a century of Maori embracement of Western language, literacy, and technology,<sup>200</sup> entwined with mid-twentieth century desires to present themselves to the State and the Pakeha population as an organisation aiming to bring about the race relations objective of an integrated nation. There was, however, a desire within the League that they not appear as too radical in their calls for the inclusion of Maori culture within the school curriculum. In 1966, the annual conference rejected a remit calling for Maori Studies to be included as a core subject at all Teacher's Training Colleges on the basis that "it was felt that the League should refrain from appearing to be over insistent about education authorities including Maori Studies".<sup>201</sup> Likewise, calls for the teaching of the Maori language to Maori children were tempered by an acknowledgement "that a full knowledge of English is essential to modern life".<sup>202</sup>

In adopting this strategy, Maori women's calls for perpetuating Maori culture among urbanising Maori were not viewed by the Pakeha State and population as a threat to the nation's modernity, and a Pakeha 'backlash' was avoided. The State and its agencies were receptive to this approach, and itself cast the League's work to preserve and perpetuate the language and culture as being part of the process of creating ideal Maori citizens and an integrated nation. Addressing the first annual conference of the League in 1952, W. Parsonage, a senior inspector of Maori schools in Auckland, said that: "transmitting to the new generation the social heritage of the people, or as one of the previous speakers put it this morning, the culture of the race. This is of particular importance in our Maori schools because ...the Maori schools have to transmit two cultures – the Maori and Pakeha aspects, which, when fused together will make the good Maori and the good citizen".<sup>203</sup>

By the 1960s, the League had expanded its call for the teaching of Maori culture and language beyond Maori children, and utilising the prevailing climate of integration sought to incorporate Maori language and culture into notions of New Zealandness. In discussing the 1969 annual conference remit concerning the teaching of Maori language and culture in secondary schools, the Dunedin delegate, who described herself as ashamed at her own inability to speak the language, argued that "the New Zealander should have elements of both

---

<sup>200</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp.203-204. Since the nineteenth century Maori parents themselves had shown a preference for their children to be taught English, as there was a realisation that this gave them "independent access to global knowledge".

<sup>201</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Inaugural Conference 1966, MS-Papers 1396-006, ATL.

<sup>202</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Inaugural Conference 1951, MS-Papers 1396-001, ATL.

<sup>203</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1952, MS-Papers 1396-001, ATL



Maori and Pakeha. Maori should be available to both cultures”.<sup>204</sup> Likewise, the 1970 annual conference called for all New Zealand children to be “given the opportunity to learn the Maori language”.<sup>205</sup>

The preservation of language and cultural forms such as traditional arts and crafts, in many ways fell within the State categories of Maoriness deemed ‘worthy’ of saving, as defined in the Hunn Report. The League, while recognising the vital importance of these aspects of culture in preserving a Maori identity within the context of a rapidly urbanising population, also sought to preserve and perpetuate a more expanded notion of Maoriness within the nation. In 1960, the League protested against the proposed hydro-dam on the Whanganui River. Driving their opposition were cultural and economic concerns: the loss of ancestral homes, graves, sacred grounds, places of historic interest, and many acres of farmland.<sup>206</sup> A decade later, the League was also vocal in its opposition to raising the level of Lake Manapouri.<sup>207</sup> Likewise, in an effort to preserve a distinct Maori culture and identity, they also sought to protect traditional mahinga kai (food gathering) areas such as the oyster beds at Te Tii point,<sup>208</sup> and protested at the discharge of sewerage pollution into Ohineia Harbour and the sea food beds it surrounded.<sup>209</sup>

Another key aspects of the League’s work was its efforts to have Waitangi Day declared a national holiday. In 1932, the Governor-General, Lord Bledisloe, gifted the Treaty house and grounds at Waitangi to the nation. In making this gift, Bledisloe hoped that the site would become a national memorial, symbolising the notion that the Treaty had initiated a unique relationship between the indigenous and the colonising peoples. In February 1934, Bledisloe’s gift was marked by celebrations that were to set the pattern for subsequent celebrations.<sup>210</sup> It was the centennial celebrations of 1940 at Waitangi at which the Government made a great show of national pride and unity. Newspapers labelled Waitangi, the site where Hobson had one hundred years earlier declared New Zealanders to be “one people”, as being the “cradle of the nation”, and the Treaty as being the “foundation of nationhood”.<sup>211</sup> By 1950, several hundred people attended the annual celebration held at Waitangi on 6<sup>th</sup> February. Although the celebrations expanded throughout the 1950s, and the Governor-General’s speech with the forging of one nation from the partnership of two races

<sup>204</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1969, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>205</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1970, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>206</sup> Maori Women’s Welfare League Executive Minutes, 30 March 1960, 93-180-17/1, ATL.

<sup>207</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1970, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>208</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p.132.

<sup>209</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1966, MS-Papers 1396-006, ATL.

<sup>210</sup> <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Gallery/treaty/bledgift.htm>, accessed April 2002.

<sup>211</sup> <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Gallery/treaty/centennial.htm>, accessed April 2002.

by a sacred compact a common theme,<sup>212</sup> the day was not a national holiday. The League, however, throughout the 1950s and 1960s campaigned to have the day declared a national, or at the very least a Northland, public holiday.<sup>213</sup>

Although some Maori saw the annual commemorations at Waitangi as a place at which to protest at the lack of racial equality in New Zealand,<sup>214</sup> members of the League wanted national observance of a day they saw as commemorating “the birth of a New Zealand nation in which our [Maori] people have equal rights”.<sup>215</sup> To the League, the Treaty, and Waitangi Day, as symbols of a New Zealand nation where Maori had equal rights, were fundamental to shifting mid-twentieth century notions of New Zealand nationhood. As well as calling for the proper observance of the 6<sup>th</sup> February, the League also campaigned to have the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi incorporated in the school curriculum. In particular, they sought to have Article Three of the treaty emphasised.<sup>216</sup> It was under this clause of the Treaty that all the rights and privileges of British citizenship were conferred upon Maori. The compact between Maori and Pakeha was cast as being fundamental to the modern New Zealand nation, with one delegate arguing at the 1969 annual conference for the proper observance of the day on the grounds that “if it were not for Waitangi, there would be no other holidays”.<sup>217</sup>

In 1960, Labour delivered on its 1957 election promise, and passed the Waitangi Day Act. Under this legislation, the 6<sup>th</sup> February would be known as Waitangi Day, and would be observed throughout the country “as a national day of thanksgiving in commemoration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi”.<sup>218</sup> The act did not provide for a public holiday, although any locality could substitute Waitangi Day for any public holiday it already observed. Without the statutory holiday, the act was viewed as little more than a gesture, and the League continued the campaign for greater significance to be given to the day that they saw as symbolising Maori rights in the New Zealand nation. In 1963, the National Government introduced an amendment to the 1960 legislation, and Waitangi Day supplanted the Auckland provincial anniversary day for Northland.<sup>219</sup> Although there was still no paid public holiday to commemorate the day, some advances had been made, and the 6<sup>th</sup> February had become a

---

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Bodkin to Maori Women’s Welfare League, 16 May 1952, MS-Papers 1396-019; Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1958, MS-Papers 1396-003; Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1969, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>214</sup> <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Gallery/treaty/centennial.htm>, accessed April 2002.

<sup>215</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1969, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>216</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1966, MS-Papers 1396-006, ATL.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Gallery/treaty/Act.htm>, accessed April 2002.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

day of significance to the nation. The State saw the League as fundamental in bringing about this change. In an address to the annual conference of the League in 1963, just prior to the passage of the Waitangi Day Amendment Act 1963, Ralph Hanan, listed the observance of Waitangi Day as one of the three key areas where the League had taken a stand and change had been brought about. Hanan spoke of the Bill he was about to introduce to the house as “meeting the League’s wishes as far as was practicable”.<sup>220</sup>

How successful then was the League in their efforts to preserve Maori culture in the urban environments? According to traditional historical accounts, the answer is ‘not very’. Although some traditional histories of mid-twentieth century Maori adaptations to the cities acknowledge the increased leadership role that Maori women, through the Maori Women’s Welfare League, assumed in their new urban environments, more often than not it is solely the tireless efforts of the League to improve the material living conditions of urban families that receive attention.<sup>221</sup> Successes in cultural preservation are more likely to be credited to the 1970s, to a new generation of ‘radical’ urban Maori. For example, it is Nga Tamatoa, the activist Maori group formed at the 1970 Young Maori Leaders Conference at Auckland University that receives the credit for the presence of Maori Studies lecturers in all New Zealand Teacher Training Colleges by the mid-1970s.<sup>222</sup> The League’s campaigning on this issue for nearly twenty years prior to this does not usually warrant a mention, and neither does the fact that when Maori lecturers were appointed at the Teacher Training Colleges, it was sometime members of the Maori Women’s Welfare League who filled those positions. During the 1970s, as well as serving as League President, Mira Szaszy also lectured at Auckland Teachers’ Training College in Maori Studies.<sup>223</sup>

The efforts of the League to keep the Maori culture alive through the 1950s and 1960s have largely been written out of the historical record. When Nga Tamatoa and other recognisably ‘radical’ Maori groups took up the struggle in the 1970s, they dismissed and criticised the Maori Women’s Welfare League as being “a part of the system”.<sup>224</sup> While the League had adopted a liberal approach to bringing about change, the new generation labelled their practises as being “outmoded”.<sup>225</sup> In many ways it is this view of the League that has survived in the history books. Many accounts of New Zealand history indicate a large temporal gap between the efforts of Apirana Ngata to preserve and revive Maori culture

<sup>220</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1963, MS-Papers 1396-005, ATL.

<sup>221</sup> See for example: Walker, “Maori People Since 1950”, pp.507-508.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid, p.509.

<sup>223</sup> Mira Szaszy, in Virginia Myers, ed, *Head and Shoulders: Successful New Zealand women talk to Virginia Myers*, Penguin, Auckland, 1986, pp.232-249, p.241.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and the so-called Maori cultural renaissance of the 1970s and 1980s. Much of the period under examination in this thesis, 1942-1969, is presented as a black hole in terms of Maori culture, and when Maori culture is mentioned in this period, it is solely in order to highlight how much it was in decline. This chapter, and the following chapters, however, paint an alternative picture.

Although the number of Maori speaking te reo fluently declined between 1950 and the mid-1970s, the period was more complicated than being simply a time in which a dormant culture awaited a flowering during a coming renaissance. It was largely through the efforts of the Maori Women's Welfare League that the Maori culture survived the move to the cities. While the numbers of fluent speakers of the language declined, it was the efforts of the League that maintained a base of people who were either fluent or familiar with the language. Likewise, with Maori cultural practises, the efforts of the League, although relatively small in scale, ensured that crucial cultural skills were passed to the next generation. It was because of the efforts of the League, that a generation was able to pass these skills on to their children; the activists of the 1970s and 1980s.

## CONCLUSION

Through the example of mid-twentieth century Maori women, this chapter has further complicated the feminist view of the home as simply being oppressive and stifling for women. Just as nineteenth century 'first wave' feminists in New Zealand had negotiated their increased power in society through their traditionally feminine, domestic, and maternal roles within the home, so too did mid-twentieth Maori women. It was as maternal or domestic citizens that Maori women gained the voice to advocate on issues effecting Maori in the cities. It was as the traditional guardians of the domestic sphere that Maori women secured the administrative and financial support of the State, and emerged as leaders within Maori society. From its formation in 1951, through to the formation of the New Zealand Maori Council in 1962, it was Maori women, through the Maori Women's Welfare League, who voiced the sole pan-Maori opinion, and exerted sustained pressure upon the State to deliver the rights of citizenship, within the Marshallian sense, to Maori. Although the influence of the League began to wane after the State formation of the male Maori Council,<sup>226</sup> the League had provided pivotal leadership throughout the crucial decade of the 1950s.

The advent of the Maori Women's Welfare League also allowed Maori women to assume responsibility for 'cultural missionary' tasks that had formerly been the domain of Pakeha women, and which historically had been a crucial element of the colonisation of

---

<sup>226</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, No.76, June 1975, p.10.

native people. In a move that complicated and blurred the divide between colonised and coloniser, it was Maori women themselves who took up the task of schooling fellow Maori women in the skills of ideal femininity and domesticity. It was in learning to be modern Maori housewives that Maori women could become ideal Maori citizens. Likewise, the task of making their families 'modern' fell to Maori women in the role of housewife. Through its seeming complicity with the State in producing modern, integrated, and therefore ideal Maori citizens, the League found a powerful mode of resistance.

Through their "brilliantly subversive co-operation",<sup>227</sup> the League not only aided in improving the material living conditions of many Maori families, they also negotiated a space from which to work for the retention and preservation of the culture throughout the demographic upheaval. It was in the 'private' space of suburban homes, that many Maori women kept the Maori culture alive in the cities. At branch meetings of the League, often held in private homes, Maori women learnt and spoke te reo, learnt and practised traditional arts and crafts, and formulated their arguments for the greater recognition of Maori within the nation through the celebration and observance of Waitangi Day. Homes, as well as affording women physical space, also provided them with a power base from which to gain a voice to advocate nationally on the teaching of the language and culture to the coming generation of Maori which was living away from its traditional tribal bases.

---

<sup>227</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.206.

## chapter six:

---

# **“Wasted Labour”: Gender, Employment, Hostels, and Ideal Maori Citizens**

Although the post-war State believed strongly in the power of the suburban home to create ‘ideal’ Maori citizens, another potent site also received State attention and assistance: the hostel. In focusing on hostels, this and the following chapter shifts the focus from, suburban homes and the families inside them, and instead illuminate the urbanisation experiences of young, single Maori. Hostels, as were houses, were deemed domestic zones, and were therefore part of the so-called ‘private’ sphere. Building on the previous chapters, this chapter further disrupts the public/private dualism, and serves to further destabilise the notion of the ‘private’ sphere as being apolitical and removed from the nation and economy.

Throughout the period 1942-1969, the State, in concert with various iwi and voluntary organisations, moved from a primary focus of providing hostels to protect young Maori female workers, to facilitating the urbanisation of young Maori men. This chapter explores the interlocking labour policies and experiences, race relations aspirations, and gendered understandings of integration that caused this shift. It argues that in addition to being crucial to bringing young Maori workers to the cities, hostels were also understood by the State to be important sites for the production of ideal Maori citizens. Because young Maori women often urbanised in greater numbers than their male counterparts, and the State understood them to integrate more readily throughout the 1950s and 1960s, hostels came to be seen as less necessary for young women.

The labour policies that stimulated the urbanisation of young Maori and their need for urban hostels are examined throughout this chapter. It is shown how stereotypical ‘race’ and gender beliefs motivated these policies. The mid-twentieth century State continued to subscribe to a nineteenth century view of young Maori men as being naturally suited to manual rather than mental labour, and of young Maori women as having a natural aptitude for domesticity. Although not exclusively, this chapter focuses on Christchurch, and the ways in which the policies regarding hostels and the employment of Maori youth were implemented in that city. Rehua Hostel, in particular in its incarnations as both a hostel for young Maori women and one for men, is examined as a means of following the shifts and turns in

Government policy, and as a means of examining the intersecting interests embedded in the policies.

Finally, the chapter also explores the relationship between the State and various organisations and groups in the provision of urban Maori hostel accommodation. Throughout the mid-twentieth century, the State collaborated with iwi and with various Church organisations to deliver hostel accommodation for young Maori. In setting a policy framework, and providing oversight of the hostels through the Department of Maori Affairs, the State was able to maintain control of the hostels but could share the substantial costs of their establishment and running.

## PROTECTING YOUNG MAORI WOMEN, 1942-1945

Central to many Maori objections to the transfer of young Maori to cities as wartime labour was a perception of the cities as vile places of temptation. Sir Apirana Ngata made it clear that he saw the “essential industry business” as a “cloak for all sort of abuses”.<sup>1</sup> Speaking in the house in 1943 he stated “it is the drift to the towns which I do not like...The only way we can look after our people is to try to stop them from coming into the city, with its rotten temptations”.<sup>2</sup> It would seem that Ngata and the tribal committees also understood the problem to be a gendered one. Maori communities saw Maori girls as most at risk from the evils of the cities.<sup>3</sup>

Maori communities were not alone in being concerned for their young women in the cities. Since at least the nineteenth century, there has been a perception of urban environments as morally problematic. Young women were especially at risk to the dangers, both moral and physical, that lurked the streets of the cities.<sup>4</sup> Many viewed young women as being gullible and foolish, and as such, susceptible to the desires of the ‘seducer’. Thought to be especially at risk were young women who left the safety of their family networks and moved to the cities alone. In late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand, as throughout the Empire, colonial feminists and voluntary women’s organisations worked to protect vulnerable young women from the evils of the cities.<sup>5</sup> Hostels provided the ideal counter to the temptations of the streets. In addition to serving the practical function of the

---

<sup>1</sup> NZPD, 1943, Vol.263, pp.149-150.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of this in the Canadian context see: Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1993, pp.129-154.

<sup>5</sup> See for example: Barbara Brookes, “A Weakness for Strong Subjects: The Women’s Movement and Sexuality”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27, 2 (1993), pp.140-156.

provision of a place to live, hostels aimed to offer a place of protection, a safe nurturing 'home' in the otherwise dangerous environment of the city.<sup>6</sup>

During World War II, the State, ever conscious of its need for Maori women's labour in the cities and towns, sought to counter negative perceptions of the city, and to assure parents of their daughters' safety. In 1943, the National Service Department appointed Maori women as liaison officers "to act as guardians and friends" to young Maori women in Christchurch, Wellington, Auckland, Whangarei, Rotorua, and Gisborne. The Christchurch *Press* reported that the duties of liaison officers were "to inspire young women with pride of race, to help build their [young Maori women] characters so that they could stand against the difficulties of life...and to prevent their exploitation by those who employed them, and those who provided them with accommodation".<sup>7</sup> Eruera Tirikatene, in explaining the reasons for the implementation of the scheme, said that Maori women working in the cities needed some liaison with "their own people".<sup>8</sup> For its part, the State, through the National Service Department, was concerned that when Maori young women were working in the towns and the cities, "the best use was made of their labour, and that the conditions permitted them to give their best work..."<sup>9</sup>

As in the nineteenth century, during World War II hostels provided a means to quell fears about unsupervised young women in cities. Just as Maori communities voiced anxieties about the relocation of their young women to the cities, so too did Pakeha organisations. Reminiscent of their nineteenth century predecessors, women's voluntary organisations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Auckland Pioneers' Club spoke out against the moving of girls from one region to another.<sup>10</sup> Under mounting pressure, the Minister of Industrial Manpower announced in September 1944 that "in future no girls will be directed away from home unless 1<sup>st</sup> class accommodation in a YWCA hostel is available".<sup>11</sup>

Theoretically, Maori women were entitled to accommodation in the hostels that the State and the YWCA ran jointly. There is, however, evidence to suggest that Maori women were not always welcome at the hostels in the Wellington area. Despite the dire labour shortage at the Lower Hutt munitions factories, an Employment Circular of 1944 instructed the Whangarei manpower officer not to send any more Maori women to work there. The

---

<sup>6</sup> Pickles, ed, *Hall of Fame*, p.xiv.

<sup>7</sup> *Press*, 20 August 1943, p.6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Montgomerie, *The Women's War*, p.95.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.96.



cause for objection had nothing to do with the ability or diligence of the Maori recruits, but centred on objections to Maori and Pakeha sharing joint hostel accommodation.<sup>12</sup>

Despite racist attitudes, many young Maori women from all over the North Island worked in the Wellington munitions factories, with some housed in the YWCA hostels.<sup>13</sup> Maudie Reweti, a young Whangarei woman who was ‘manpowered’ to work in a Lower Hutt munitions factory, called the hostel ‘home’ for the war years. The move to Wellington was her first time away from home, and it was also the first time that she had had to mix with Pakeha ‘girls’. For the young woman who had grown up in a Maori community, the move to the hostel had a large impact. The baths and hand basins in the bathroom were a novelty, as she had never lived in a house with a ‘proper’ bathroom before. Over fifty years after being a resident at the hostel, Maudie Reweti recalled that “to me everything was laid on and I wondered why the girls were complaining”.<sup>14</sup>

It was during the war years that Maori communities became increasingly involved in the provision of hostels for young Maori women. Tainui elders viewed with alarm the temptations that Hamilton presented to its young women, in particular, American servicemen. So, in concert with the Methodist Church and with Princess Te Puea Herangi, a Maori girls’ hostel, Te Rahui Wahine, was opened in Hamilton in 1945.<sup>15</sup> Both the Tainui people and the Methodist Church were concerned that the young women would have a place of refuge in the city.

## POST-WAR HOSTELS

Following the war, the provision of hostels for Maori became increasingly important to the State and according to the Minister of Maori Affairs was “ever in the mind” of the Government.<sup>16</sup> Hostels established in the initial post-war period aimed to continue the function of protecting Maori, and particularly young Maori women, from the evils of the cities. In June 1947, Mrs E. J. Chesswas, the Dominion Secretary of the National Council of Women, wrote to Peter Fraser in his capacity as Minister of Native Affairs. Her letter included a remit that the Wellington Branch of the organisation had brought forward at the 1947 Annual Conference of the National Council of Women. It requested that the Government provide hostels for Maori girls in the large centres. These hostels were to be run along the lines of the hostels opened by the Government during the war for girls called up to

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, pp.98-99.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Maudie Ruaka Reweti, OHInt-406/17, Oral History Centre, ATL.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Wharemaru with Duffié, *Heeni: A Tainui Elder Remembers*, pp. 120-122.

<sup>16</sup> Memorandum to the Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, 25 September 1946; Undersecretary of the Native Department to Mrs Chesswas, 27 June 1947, AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1115f, Vol.1, ANZ, Wellington.

work in essential industries.<sup>17</sup> Peter Fraser, via the Native Department Under-Secretary, reassured the Pakeha women's organisation that the State was also concerned about the issue and had already established hostels for Maori girls in both Wellington and Auckland.<sup>18</sup>

Between 1944 and 1951, both the Labour and National Governments implemented a variety of policy initiatives that aimed to increase the number of hostels for Maori in the cities. In 1944, Section 9 of the Maori Purposes Act authorised the Maori Trustee from the Auckland and Onehunga Native Hostels Account Fund to acquire and maintain hostels within the Tokerau and Waikato-Maniapoto land districts. Under this legislation, three hostels were established: one for boys and two for girls. This legislation applied to the Auckland province only, and in recognition of the wider need, in 1946, Section Seven of the Maori Purposes Act established a Maori Hostels Fund of £20 000. This empowered the Maori Trustee to acquire and operate hostels in places other than Auckland. This provision allowed for the establishment in 1947 of a hostel for Maori girls in Wellington.<sup>19</sup>

Lack of suitable accommodation in the cities was the major obstacle to the urbanisation of young Maori, a point that Bert Bockett and the Maori Education and Employment Committee recognised in their 1949 report.<sup>20</sup> In order to overcome this obstacle, the Committee endorsed Cabinet's 1948 granting of "approval in general principle" of the establishment of Government hostels for Maori workers in "suitable areas".<sup>21</sup> While the Committee ultimately disbanded,<sup>22</sup> and Labour lost power, hostels, as a means of relocating Maori youth to the cities, remained in favour with the incoming National Government of 1949. They came to be seen as crucial in creating "an organised drift to the towns".<sup>23</sup> The new National Government increased financial support for the provision of urban hostels for Maori, and regarded the hostels as sufficiently experimental and important as to reject an offer of assistance from the United Council of Churches with the administration and control of the hostels.<sup>24</sup> There was, however, a growing realisation within the new Government, that

<sup>17</sup> Chesswas to Fraser, 18 June 1947, AAMK 869, 37/1, Vol.1, ANZ, Wellington; and National Council of Women Minutes of Conference, 1947, MB 126, 5/3.

<sup>18</sup> Undersecretary of the Native Department to Chesswas, 27 June 1947, AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1115f, Vol.1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>19</sup> "Maori Youth Hostels", undated, SS7, Acc W2756, 9/9/15, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>20</sup> Bockett to Minister of Labour, 9 December 1949, L1, 30/1/28, box 162, ANZ, Wellington. For a detailed discussion of this Committee see Chapter Three.

<sup>21</sup> Memorandum to the Under Secretary Department of Maori Affairs from the Department of Labour and Employment, 31 October 1949, AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1115f, Vol.1; Bockett to Minister of Labour, 9 December 1949, L1, 30/1/28, box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion on the failure of the committee see: Butterworth, *Maori Affairs*, p.91, Martin, *Holding the Balance*, p.265.

<sup>23</sup> "Maori Employment: With particular reference to North Auckland and East Coast", 21 April 1950, L1, 30/1/28, box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>24</sup> Sullivan to Corbett, 8 September 1950, AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1115f, Vol.1, ANZ, Wellington.

the State could not solely “take upon itself the burden” of the provision of all the hostels that were needed.<sup>25</sup> In May 1951, with an eye to reducing State expenditure, Cabinet approved a pound for pound subsidy scheme. Under this arrangement, religious and welfare organisations wanting to establish hostels for Maori youths or young women were eligible to for up to 50 per cent of their establishment costs.<sup>26</sup> With a raft of conditions attached to the funding, the Government succeeded in securing church financial support for Maori hostels, while managing to maintain control of many aspects of their operation.

Hostels for young Maori women were crucial in the provision of Maori labour to the expanding urban based economy. In the period following World War II, the New Zealand State actively encouraged young Maori women out of the ‘private sphere’ of the home and into the ‘public sphere’ of paid employment. Not only did Maori women’s labour help to quench the nation’s increasing demand for labour, in the minds of bureaucrats it also helped uplift the Maori ‘race’. It was hoped and believed that Maori girls who had left their rural homes, earned an independent wage, and had ‘lived and worked on equal terms with Europeans...would not be content to marry and live in squalid conditions with few of the materials comforts of the home’.<sup>27</sup> Labour policy, and the provision of hostels, were to produce modern Maori women; women who would want to become modern Maori housewives.

By the early 1950s, however, a parallel reason for Maori hostels in the cities began to gain ascendancy. The need to house young Maori male apprentices and workers in the cities began to eclipse the desire to protect young women. Although State funding for hostels markedly increased in the early 1950s, it came, however, with an important change. In 1953, the pound-for-pound subsidy scheme, made possible the acquisition of six further urban hostels.<sup>28</sup> In these six new hostels, 93 girls and 62 boys could be accommodated. Of the 155 new hostel spaces created in 1953, 60 per cent were for Maori girls. When these new hostels were added to the existing urban Maori hostels, 272 Maori girls, and 164 Maori boys could be accommodated. While Maori girls occupied the majority of hostel spaces (62 per cent), this actually represented a relative decrease in the proportion of hostel spaces allotted to Maori girls (see Table 4). Only five years earlier, in 1948, Maori girls occupied 79 per cent of the spaces available to young Maori in hostels. In the twenty-year period between 1948 and

<sup>25</sup> Corbett to all Members of Cabinet, undated (c1950), AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1115f, Vol.1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>26</sup> Ropiha to the Commissioner of Works, 18 April 1950, AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1115g, Vol.2, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>27</sup> McQueen, *Vocations for Maori Youth*, p.134.

<sup>28</sup> AJHR, 1953, G-9. pp.11-12; Draft Report, September 1953, AAMK 869, 37/1, Vol.3, , box 1116g, ANZ, Wellington.

	Total places	Girls (%)	Boys (%)
1948	173	79	21
1953	437	62	38
1961	676	57	43
1968	1129	35	65

Table 4: Total number of Maori urban hostel places, and their proportion by boys and girls, 1948-1968. Source: AJHR, 1948, G-9, p.10, AJHR, 1953, G-9, pp.11-12; Draft Report, September 1953, AAMK 869, 37/1, Vol.3, box 1116a, ANZ, Wellington.

1968, the total number of places in Maori hostels increased from 173 to 1129, an increase of six and a half times. The proportion of spaces for girls, however, declined markedly. While the number of spaces open for boys increased by twenty times, the number of spaces available for girls increased only by a little under three (2.85) times.

Despite the State increasingly devoting more its energies and finances to the provision of hostels for Maori boys, young Maori women continued to migrate to New Zealand cities in large numbers, and in some locations in larger numbers than their male counterparts. During 1960-1966, young women aged between 15 and 24 years constituted the largest Maori migrant group to Auckland city. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, hundreds of young Maori women migrated to Christchurch and were placed in employment there at the end of each picking season in Motueka. For the period between 1958 and 1962, the Christchurch office of the Department of Maori Affairs assisted 89 young migrant women into apprenticeships in the city.<sup>29</sup> Clearly, young, single women constituted a major component of the post-war Maori population movement – why then did hostel accommodation for this group fail to grow at a comparable rate to that of their male counterparts?

The answer can be found in the State's gendered understanding of the processes of urbanisation and subsequent integration. Within the Department of Maori Affairs there was a belief that young Maori women were more able to cope in urban environments than were their male counterparts, and were therefore in less need of hostel accommodation. 'Girls', the bureaucrats believed, matured faster than boys, and were thus 'more able to fend for themselves'.<sup>30</sup> This maturity and independence, it was argued, led girls to by-pass hostels in favour of more independent lives in flats. In the early 1960s, the Acting Secretary of Department of Maori Affairs, Jack Hunn, argued that Maori girls regarded hostels as 'transit places'. Useful in the initial stages of the move to the city, but once the adjustments to urban

<sup>29</sup> Kia Riwai, Annual Reports, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>30</sup> Maori Youth Hostels, undated, SS7, Acc W2756, 9/9/15, ANZ, Wellington.

life were complete, and once friends had been found, the girls soon abandoned the hostels in favour of flats and other accommodation.<sup>31</sup> The bureaucrats also saw the young working women as being more financially able to support themselves than their male apprentice counterparts.<sup>32</sup>

Importantly in the State's move away from focusing funding hostels for Maori girls was a belief that hostels were not crucial in the production of young Maori women into ideal citizens. There was a strong belief that young Maori women would become integrated into Pakeha society without dedicated hostel accommodation, unlike young Maori men. Separate, and dedicated Maori hostels were no longer deemed necessary for Maori girls, who were seen as 'good mixers' who were 'able to adjust themselves fairly easily to European Hostels'.<sup>33</sup> With the fiscal constraints operating, the provision of Maori girls' hostels was no longer deemed necessary.

When the New Zealand economy entered a period of economic boom in the late 1940s, it began to demand unprecedented levels of labour, and in particular, skilled tradesmen.<sup>34</sup> With the young Maori women outstripping their male counterparts in migrating to the cities, the State turned its attention to encouraging and facilitating the urbanisation of young Maori men to take up apprenticeships and enter trade training. In announcing the 1951 pound-for-pound subsidy scheme, Ernest Corbett firmly expressed the link between the need for hostels and the need for young Maori workers in the city.<sup>35</sup> Many believed that the protection and comfort that hostels provided to Maori in their transition from country to town, resulted in them being more productive members of the labour market.<sup>36</sup> In a memorandum to his fellow members of Cabinet, Ernest Corbett articulated this multi functional view of hostels. The Minister argued that:

The State is in some way under a duty to help in getting accommodation, if for no other reason than as a way to help in getting manpower for industry and commerce, and if Maoris are to be brought from outlying places into the city, there is a corresponding duty on the State to afford them some measure of safety in their domicile in the towns.<sup>37</sup>

Within the Department of Labour there was also a realisation that hostels performed a wider function than the mere accommodation of labour.<sup>38</sup> Intersecting with the desire for young

<sup>31</sup> J.K.Hunn, Draft report for the Minister of Maori Affairs, undated (c1961), AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1116b Vol.4, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>32</sup> AJHR, G-9, 1960, pp.19-20.

<sup>33</sup> Maori Youth Hostels, undated, SS7, Acc W2756, 9/9/15, ANZ, Wellington; and AJHR, G-9, 1960, p.20.

<sup>34</sup> "The Minister of Labour Says We Need More Apprentices", *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.5, No.3, August 1955, p.31.

<sup>35</sup> Corbett to all Members of Cabinet, undated (c1950), AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1115f, Vol.1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Bockett, to Sullivan, 24 June 1955, AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1115a, Vol.3, ANZ, Wellington.

male Maori workers, however, was a desire to integrate the young men. Young Maori men were to be removed from their rural and 'traditional' ways of living, and be established in the modern environment of cities and hostels. First alluded to in the 1949 report of the Maori Education and Employment Committee, hostels came to be seen as a means of fostering more integrated communities. There was, however, a realisation that the transfer of the population could not proceed without the provision of adequate hostel accommodation.<sup>39</sup> In 1950, Ernest Corbett was drawn into a defence of the policy of providing separate Maori hostels, that some saw as running counter to the race relations policy of integration. In a letter to Major Powers of the Salvation Army, he explicitly articulated the integrationist function of the hostels:

While it is wrong in principle to have separate hostels and establishments for these young people it is hoped that by educating our young Maori boys and girls in the social requirements of the European way of life it will not be long before the feeling you refer to [Maori as second rate citizens] will have disappeared. The two peoples will then live together more closely than is found in some cities today.<sup>40</sup>

It was believed that Maori boys unlike Maori girls, were not good mixers, and tended to cling together. Hostels were viewed as giving the male residents "the opportunity" to find their feet, and to adjust themselves to the "ways of the European".<sup>41</sup> Policy makers regarded the processes of integration as a 'gradual' one. There was a general feeling that the "boys from the country" needed adequate space to adjust to city life – or to become confident in the Pakeha environment of the city; hostels provided this space. This view lasted into the 1960s, with the Hunn Report articulating a similar belief: "Young Maori coming from outlying parts to populous centres in quest of work need somewhere to stay where they feel at home among their own kin. Otherwise they are more or less adrift in unfamiliar surroundings. Hostels meet this need".<sup>42</sup>

While hostels familiarised young Maori with the Pakeha environment, the hostel residents also provided many Pakeha with their first contact with Maori. When Te Rahui Wahine, a Maori girls' hostel in Hamilton, opened in 1945, the matron, Sister Heeni Wharemaru, instructed her young charges to be careful with how they conducted themselves as they were "introducing a Maori way of life among strangers".<sup>43</sup> Likewise, the Education and Employment Committee warned of the need to "carefully select" the residents of Maori hostels. The committee argued that the residents' "behaviour, attainments and ability would demonstrate their [Maori] value as workers and assist in breaking down the existing

<sup>39</sup> Bockett to Minister of Labour, 9 December 1949, L1, 30/1/28, box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>40</sup> Corbett to Major Powers, Salvation Army, 26 September 1950, AAMK 869, 37/1, box 1115f, Vol.1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>41</sup> "Maori Youth Hostels", undated, Relocation of underemployed Maoris 1960-61, SS7, 9/9/15, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>42</sup> The Hunn Report, p.44.

<sup>43</sup> Wharemaru with Duffié, *Heeni: A Tainui Elder Remembers*, p.123.

prejudices against the employment of Maoris".<sup>44</sup> This view of the young hostel residents as being ambassadors continued into the 1960s. The Department of Maori Affairs in 1963 reminded girls entering Roseneath House, a Christchurch Maori girls' hostel of their responsibilities: "you may look on yourself as an ambassador for the Maori people as a whole because your neighbours will tend to form their ideas of Maori people from the success or otherwise of this undertaking".<sup>45</sup>

Rather than leave young Maori to fend for themselves in the cities, it was believed that the supervision and discipline given by hostels could prevent young Maori, and especially young Maori men, from falling on the wrong side of the law. Keeping young Maori away from trouble, the police, and the courts was seen as crucial in the establishment of an integrated society; the State believed that Pakeha needed to view Maori as productive and law-abiding citizens of the nation. As Maori moved to the cities in increasing numbers there was concern at the number of young men appearing in the cities' courts. Emerging research into the problem of Maori offending in the 1950s suggested that the group most at risk were young Maori from the 'villages' who had previously had little contact with the Pakeha world. Welfare Officers identified young Maori men coming from all-Maori communities in the "back country", and those without high educational qualifications, as fitting an "at risk" profile, and were thought to be especially in danger of slipping onto the "downward path".<sup>46</sup> According to Roi Te Punga, a District Probation Officer in Auckland, these young men, if left to their own devices, would find themselves boarding in overcrowded houses in the poorer parts of the cities. In these environments, he argued they were likely to meet and associate with Pakeha who were "a poor example of the Pakeha way of life".<sup>47</sup> Unused to Pakeha work and savings ethics, the youths were likely to be tempted by the opportunities of the cities, and would before long be frequenting hotels and drunken parties. From here, the research maintained, it was a "downward path" to petty crime, and ultimately court appearances.<sup>48</sup>

Further compounding the State's preference for Maori boys' hostels over Maori girls' hostels was the advent of apprenticeships and trade training schemes for young Maori men. Trade training for Maori youths was one of the major and long lasting policies that eventuated from the Maori Education and Employment Committee's recommendations.<sup>49</sup> The scheme

<sup>44</sup> Bockett to Minister of Labour, 9 December 1949, L1, 30/1/28, box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>45</sup> Lewin, – Note to residents, 26 September 1963, Social Services Committee, 4/8/1, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>46</sup> District Welfare Officer, Wellington, to Ropiha, undated (c.1953/54), AAMK 869, 37/1, Vol.3, box 1116g, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>47</sup> "The Problems of Maori Youth", *Te Ao Hou*, June 1959, No.27, p.18.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, pp.17-19.

<sup>49</sup> "Maori Employment: With particular reference to North Auckland and East Coast", 21 April 1950, L1,

predated this Committee, however. Couched both in terms of the need for Maori labour, and the need to improve Maori citizenship, support for Maori trade training schemes came from both sides of the house. In 1945, William Sullivan, the National member for the Bay of Plenty, argued for the Labour Government to institute a trade training scheme for Maori boys leaving high school. He envisioned the posting out of young men to employers, “under some sort of supervision”. His primary concern was that “native labour was being wasted”. He challenged the view that many people seemed to think that all Maori could do was work on the land. According to Sullivan, it was doubtful whether more than twenty-five percent would make good farmers.<sup>50</sup> Mason, the Minister of Maori Affairs, agreed with Sullivan that Maori should be given the opportunity to develop talents that might lead them “into what might be described as businesses”. He did not however hold any expectation of “Maoris [sic] becoming a nation of merchants and traders”.<sup>51</sup>

To many politicians, for Maori to enter the workforce as skilled labour involved more than the provision of labour and labour policies. The equipping of Maori youths with trade training would equip them well for life, and make possible their transition to the status of ‘ideal citizen’. To many Members of Parliament, there was an understanding of the ‘ideal’ Maori citizen in gendered terms. Speaking in favour of establishing a scheme to enable Maori youths to take up apprenticeships and to become skilled tradesmen, Mr Anderson put forward a gendered argument.<sup>52</sup> He maintained that trade training would do much to “foster citizenship” in Maori youths, and would bring Maori boys “into line educationally with what had been done on behalf of Maori girls”.<sup>53</sup> This was especially important, as “every effort should be made to raise the status of young Maori lads and young women so that they could undertake the highest responsibilities of citizenship.”<sup>54</sup> In his mind, trade training centres would even up the assistance available to boys and girls.

Trade training also fitted neatly with long-held essentialised views about the ‘natural’ aptitude of Maori men and boys for manual labour. Since the nineteenth century, Maori attending Native Schools had been subject to a heavily gendered and raced curriculum. In the mid-1890s, the Pakeha State introduced manual and technical training for Maori boys, along with domestic training for girls.<sup>55</sup> Many of the Native Schools received Government grants to

---

30/1/28, box 162, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>50</sup> NZPD, 1945, Vol.270, pp. 300-301

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p.310.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p.762.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p.778.

<sup>55</sup> Judith Simon, *Nga Kura Maori: The Native School System 1867-1969*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1998, p.113.



develop workshops to train Maori boys who had left the village schools. This focus in the school curriculum was the product of thinking, prevalent since the beginnings of State involvement in Maori schooling that Maori boys were “better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than by mental labour”.<sup>56</sup> The belief that Maori boys had an aptitude for manual labour, and Maori girls an aptitude for domesticity, continued well into the twentieth century. Although the gendered curriculum was a feature of schooling for early-twentieth century Pakeha students also, the emphasis on the acquisition of practical skills was more pronounced in the Native Schools. When the first District Native High Schools opened in 1941, there were no School Certificate or Matriculation courses on offer. Rather, as Inspector T. A. Fletcher articulated, the course curriculum of the schools should focus on “...home-making, home-making in the widest sense, including building construction and all its features, furniture-making, metal work, and home gardening for the boys and home-management, including cookery, home decorating, and infant welfare for the girls”.<sup>57</sup>

Patricia Berwick argues that from 1944, there was an intermittent pilot scheme operating for the trade training of Maori youths.<sup>58</sup> Certainly by 1946, entry into the skilled trades was increasingly becoming an accessible option for some Maori men. In addition to land settlement, the Rehabilitation Department offered trade training as an option to returned Maori servicemen. By 1947, it was noted with some pleasure that “already a number of ex-servicemen trained in the carpentry schools under the rehabilitation trade training scheme have accepted employment with the Department [of Maori Affairs] and are now engaged on the construction of houses for the Maori people”.<sup>59</sup>

In an effort to channel more newly trained Maori tradesmen into building houses for Maori, the Departments of Maori Affairs and of Rehabilitation struck a formal agreement. The Department of Maori Affairs gave all Maori trade trainees, trained under the Rehabilitation Department’s scheme, the opportunity of employment with its building organisation. By the end of March 1948, the Department of Maori Affairs was employing 37 men under this scheme.<sup>60</sup> The men, who had proved their status as ‘ideal’ Maori citizens on the battlefields of World War II, were once again proving their ‘ideal’ citizenship in peacetime. Trained as carpenters, the ex-servicemen trade trainees were participating in the battle against New Zealand’s chronic housing shortage. Furthermore, as skilled tradesmen,

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> cit. in Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Patricia Berwick, *Impact of the Maori Affairs Trade Training Scheme*, Palmerston North, Department of Management Systems, Massey University, Occasional Paper, Number 2, 1995, p.16.

<sup>59</sup> AJHR, 1947, G-10, p.21.

<sup>60</sup> AJHR, 1948, G-10, p.11.

the ex-servicemen were constructing modern homes: spaces in which other Maori families could in turn become 'ideal' Maori citizens.

Spurred on by the success with the returned servicemen, the Department then turned its attention to Maori youth.<sup>61</sup> At the recommendation of the Maori Education and Employment Committee, and undoubtedly with the support of the new Minister of Labour, William Sullivan, 1949 saw the introduction of a formal pilot scheme for the trade training of young Maori men. The younger trade trainees recruited under the Department of Maori Affairs scheme were paid a lower rate than their counterparts on the Rehabilitation Department's scheme, and were required to be under 21 years of age.<sup>62</sup> Potential Maori trade trainees needed a minimum of two years secondary education, although provision was made for the waiver of this requirement in special circumstances.<sup>63</sup>

The initial focus of the scheme was on the training of young men to enter the building industry. The Department viewed the benefits of the scheme as being threefold:

- a) Teaching the youths a worthwhile trade,
- b) Erection of a greater number of Maori houses with the extra skilled labour thus released, and
- c) The employment of youths generally.<sup>64</sup>

Badly needed houses would be built, and 'wasted' Maori labour would be utilised. The State saw the trade training scheme as not only enabling young Maori men to make "an important contribution to the industrial development of the nation", but also as improving "the Maori's place in modern society".<sup>65</sup>

Ten years after the implementation of the pilot scheme, in 1959, the Department of Maori Affairs implemented trade training as a formal policy, with the creation of a carpentry centre in Auckland. With the relocation of Maori youths as a primary objective, the scheme was limited to rural Maori youths aged between 16 and 21 years.<sup>66</sup> Recruits to the scheme underwent a two year course in which they received practical and theoretical instruction in their trade. In addition to this, the boys received help in essential academic subjects such as English and mathematics.<sup>67</sup> After completion of the trade training course, boys were posted out to private employers to complete their apprenticeships in the usual way, with the two year course credited to their term of apprenticeship.<sup>68</sup> In 1961, the scheme was extended to Wellington, and in 1962 the South Island's first carpentry centre opened at Weedons,

---

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> AJHR, 1949, G-9, p.9.

<sup>63</sup> AJHR, 1950, G-9, p.9.

<sup>64</sup> AJHR, 1949, G-9, p.9.

<sup>65</sup> "Young Maori Become Skilled Tradesmen", *Te Ao Hou*, June 1966, No.55, p.8.

<sup>66</sup> AJHR, 1959, G-9, p.36.

<sup>67</sup> "Young Maori Become Skilled Tradesmen", *Te Ao Hou*, June 1966, No.55, p.7.

<sup>68</sup> AJHR, 1959, G-9, p.36.

Christchurch.<sup>69</sup> The success of the scheme in these centres meant that it later spread to other technical institutes, with an expansion of the types of trades offered under the scheme.<sup>70</sup>

In addition to the trade training scheme, the Department of Maori Affairs also took an active role in the placing of young Maori men in conventional apprenticeships. While a small number of young Maori men were given the opportunity to prepare for their apprenticeships in the pilot trade training centres, a much larger number were placed in apprenticeships straight from school. Instituted as policy in 1952,<sup>71</sup> the apprenticeship scheme accounted for the transfer of hundreds of young Maori men from their rural homes to the towns and cities before the formal introduction of the trade training scheme in 1959. To the Department of Labour, the apprenticing of young Maori men offered a solution both to New Zealand's critical lack of skilled labourers, and to the future employment of rural Maori youths.<sup>72</sup> To the Department of Maori Affairs the apprenticeship scheme was "of great importance to the social and economic rehabilitation of the Maori people".<sup>73</sup>

## EMPLOYING YOUNG SINGLE WOMEN

### *Domesticity*

While manual training was considered 'natural' for Maori boys and young men, training in training in domesticity was considered equally 'natural' for Maori girls and young women. As argued in the introduction to this thesis, domestic training had been the dominant aspect of Maori girls' education since the nineteenth century.<sup>74</sup> In the post World War II period, politicians regarded the gendered curriculum that young Maori women received as standing them in good stead to take their place in the New Zealand nation. Speaking in the House in 1945, Mr Anderson, the member for New Plymouth, argued that domesticity was implicated in the making of young Maori women into ideal citizens. According to Anderman, "domestic science had done much to raise the status of Maori girls".<sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup> AJHR, 1961, G-9, p.6; AJHR, 1962, G-9, p.20; *Press*, 29 January 1962, p.15; 5 February 1962, p.15.

<sup>70</sup> Ian Dougherty, *Bricklayers and Mortarboards: A History of New Zealand Polytechnics and Institutes of Technology*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1999, p.41.

<sup>71</sup> AJHR, 1953, G-9, p.11.

<sup>72</sup> "The Fast Growing Maori Population", *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.4, No.3, August 1954, pp.8-11; "The Minister of Labour Says We Need More Apprentices", *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.5, No.3, August 1955, p.31.

<sup>73</sup> AJHR, 1955, G-9, p.25.

<sup>74</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, pp.198-199, Simon, *Nga Kura Maori*, p.113-119. For an example of the Methodist church and the education of Maori girls see: MWMU, *A Venture In Faith: Kurahuna School of Domestic Science and Hygiene*, Methodist Women's Mission Union of New Zealand, Methodist Women's Federation, Box 1, Methodist Archices, Morley House, Christchurch, 1941. For a detailed discussion of the education of Maori girls in New Zealand since the nineteenth century see: Jenkins and Matthews, *Hukarere*.

<sup>75</sup> NZPD, 1945, Vol.268, p.778.

In learning domesticity during their schooling, post-war Maori girls were not only being prepared for a life as an unpaid housewife, they were also being prepared to take an active role in the paid labour market. Following the war, the seemingly insatiable appetite of the booming economy demanded even greater numbers of young Maori female workers in the cities. Initially, the majority of young women migrants entered domestic employment. Although domestic training had been the dominant aspect of Maori girls education since the nineteenth century,<sup>76</sup> and despite the ever present 'servant problem' in New Zealand, Maori women had not engaged in that work in large numbers.<sup>77</sup> It seems that Pakeha women, although hungry for domestic labour in their homes, did not desire Maori women in these positions. A 1945 report from the New Zealand Council for Educational Research on the question of vocations for Maori youths, recommended that any scheme to draft Maori girls into city homes "as maids on the old pattern" should be discouraged.<sup>78</sup> Humphrey McQueen, the author of the report, cited the fact that Pakeha would not tolerate such a scheme as the rationale underlying his recommendation.<sup>79</sup>

During the war years, Pakeha women's organisations, continuing the crusade of women's organisations since the nineteenth century, bombarded the Government with schemes to increase the number of women available as domestic helps. To this end, the National Service Department (from 1946 the National Employment Service) invited applications for domestic work from single women aged between 18 and 50. A scheme for the training of women in domestic service was also implemented.<sup>80</sup> By the end of World War II, domestic service as an occupation had largely "collapsed" in New Zealand, although there was an increase in the number of Maori women in the occupation.<sup>81</sup> This increase occurred despite the institutional and individual racism that prevented many Maori women applying via the official channels.<sup>82</sup>

The domestic work that young Maori women were moving into was not necessarily the traditional live-in position in a private house.<sup>83</sup> Instead, it was domestic positions in hotels and institutions that post-war young single Maori women urban migrants moved into. In these positions, it was urban Maori hostels, rather than the private homes of employers, that

<sup>76</sup> Simon, *Nga Kura Maori*, pp.113-119.

<sup>77</sup> Charlotte Macdonald, "Strangers at the Hearth: The Eclipse of Domestic Service in New Zealand Homes c.1830s-1940s", in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp.41-56, pp.50-52, Pickles, "Empire Settlement", pp.38-39.

<sup>78</sup> McQueen, *Vocations for Maori Youth*, p.137.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Nolan, *Breadwinning*, pp.216-219.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p.217.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, pp.218-219.

<sup>83</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p.225.

Occupation	Number	% of total
Attending Schools and Colleges	35	20
Attending Training Colleges	13	8
Attending Universities	2	1
Employed in restaurants and domestic duties	47	27
Employed in factories	54	31
Employed in shops and offices	22	13
<b>Total:</b>	173	100

**Table 5: Occupations of residents of Maori hostels in 1948. Note that the data combines male and female residents, with no breakdown by gender available. Source: AJHR, 1948, G-9, p.10.**

accommodated the female workers. In 1948, over 27 per cent of the residents of Maori hostels were engaged in restaurant and domestic duties (see Table 5). The figure for women is much higher than this, however, as the data supplied in the 1948 report did not break the numbers down by gender. Assuming that no males were engaged in domestic work, the figure was more likely around 35 per cent than the 27 per cent stated in the table. The category of education was likely to be lower for women for men, and both men and women were likely to be involved in factory work. If this was the case, then domestic work represented the largest employment category for female residents of Maori hostels in the late 1940s.

Into the 1960s, domestic work continued to be a large source of employment for young single Maori women. In 1964, Joan Metge suggested that around one quarter of residents at Maori girls' hostels found employment in "service occupations".<sup>84</sup> Kia Riwai, Maori Welfare Officer for Christchurch, in 1962 reported placing "many" girls in domestic positions.<sup>85</sup> Young Maori women contemplating migrating from their rural homes to the cities were informed of the employment opportunities that awaited them in the cities as domestics, through the Department of Maori Affairs magazine, *Te Ao Hou*. Throughout the 1960s, the publication that sought to educate Maori about 'the new world' ran advertisements on behalf of the Wellington and Auckland Hospital Boards, encouraging young Maori women into domestic positions (see Illustration 8). In an effort to encourage as many girls as possible, the employers provided hostel accommodation.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Metge, *A New Maori Migration*, p.136.

<sup>85</sup> K.Riwai, Annual Report, 1 January –31 December 1962, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>86</sup> See for example: *Te Ao Hou*, September 1965, No.52, p.12; March 1967, No.58, pp.12, 22.

## Hospital Housekeeping in Auckland

offers

1. Good pay
2. Secure employment
3. Full board for £2. 2. 5 per week
4. Excellent training courses and opportunity for promotion.

When you come to Auckland, enquire about positions as wardmaids, waitresses, kitchen assistants etc. from the Personnel Officer—

AUCKLAND HOSPITAL BOARD, WELLESLEY STREET, AUCKLAND.



## GOING TO WELLINGTON?

THEN WORK FOR THE WELLINGTON HOSPITAL BOARD IN ONE OF ITS MANY HOSPITALS.

There is work as:—

- COOKS
- HOUSEMAIDS
- LAUNDRY ASSISTANTS
- DIET AIDS

FULL BOARD AND ACCOMMODATION £2-8-9 (\$4.58) A WEEK

Apply to:—

The Recruitment Officer, Wellington Hospital.

Illustration 8: Advertisements appeared in *Te Ao Hou* throughout the 1950s and 1960s encouraging young, single Maori women to move to the cities to take up domestic positions in hospitals and hotels. While some advertisements such as that placed by the Auckland Hospital Board depicted ideal Pakeha femininity, others such as that placed by Wellington Hospital depicted young Maori women in their new urban-based roles. Source: *Te Ao Hou*, September 1965, No.52, p.12. (Auckland); *Te Ao Hou*, March 1967, No.58, p.22

Unlike traditional domestic employment in private homes, domestic work in hospitals and hotels offered Maori women freedom and increased opportunities. In recent years, historians of New Zealand women have acknowledged the need to research why Maori women shunned domestic services.<sup>87</sup> The consensus they have arrived at is that the structure and needs of Maori society, combined with the low social status ascribed to domestic servants, discouraged young women who were accustomed to an autonomous and hierarchical society from seeking employment steeped in restrictions and servitude.<sup>88</sup> The drive to recruit young Maori women migrants for post-war institutional domestic employment, however, sought to avoid any of those connotations. The recruitment advertisements appearing in *Te Ao Hou* emphasised instead the good pay, cheap board, the training required that gave the employment a more professional veneer, and importantly the opportunities for advancement that existed. Like their Pakeha counterparts, once Maori women arrived in their new urban homes, they had no desire to enter the restrictive life associated with private domestic service.

<sup>87</sup> Pickles, "Empire Settlement", n.125, p.44.

<sup>88</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p.225, Macdonald, "Strangers at the Hearth", pp.50-52, Pickles, "Empire Settlement", pp.38-39.

Since the 1920s, more exciting, 'modern', and glamorous employment opportunities had been developing for young urban New Zealand women.<sup>89</sup>

As well as employment as domestics, domestic and 'feminine' skills also gave Maori women an entrance into the professions of nursing and teaching. The State viewed young Maori women migrants as especially suited to the professions of nursing and teaching because they were women. Fundamental to these professions were the traditionally feminine and maternal qualities of care and nurture. Like domestic employment, nursing and teaching were perceived as being natural extensions of the domestically focused high school curriculum. Importantly, entry into them was also viewed as equipping young Maori women for their ultimate calling - that of mothers of the race. Educationalists made no attempt to disguise their agenda, with the 1946 report of Te Waipounamu Maori Girls' College stating:

The basic idea behind the organisation and development of the school is the necessity for inculcating the principles of healthy living in Maori girls, and the desire to give that training in household management essential for the future wives and mothers of the Maori race. Both from the point of view of economic security and to give incentive to the girls' studies, the immediate goal of the school is education of girls for admission to one of the professions whose basis is domestic training - nursing or teaching.<sup>90</sup>

Adding to the State's essentialised view of young Maori women was a growing need for young women to enter these professions. In the 1950s and 1960s a sustained recruitment campaign targeted school leavers, and later married women who had left the profession, to utilise their maternal and feminine skills in motherhood.<sup>91</sup> Although there were notable and important individual exceptions, prior to World War II, nursing was a predominantly Pakeha occupation in New Zealand.<sup>92</sup> The post-war recruitment campaign, however, actively sought to recruit young Maori women. Labour's Social Security Act of 1938 had resulted in a massive expansion of hospitals. By 1950, it was apparent that this reform had produced a shortage of nurses.<sup>93</sup> In order to remedy the shortage, the Health Department and the New Zealand Hospital Boards Association mounted a campaign aimed to appeal to young single women, including Maori women.

<sup>89</sup> Pickles, "Workers and Workplaces", pp.154-158.

<sup>90</sup> cit. in Catherine Frances Gudgeon, "A History of Te Wai Pounamu Maori Girls College: He Pounamu Kakano Rua", MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1998, p.141.

<sup>91</sup> Nolan, *Breadwinning*, p.227.

<sup>92</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, pp.92-93; 102-103.

<sup>93</sup> Nolan, *Breadwinning*, pp.225-229.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, young Maori women and their parents received encouragement to enter the profession through the pages of *Te Ao Hou* (Illustration 9; Illustration 10; Illustration 11). In advertisements depicting Pakeha women, hospitals attempted to lure young Maori women with promises similar to those extended to young Maori women entering institutional domestic service. Nursing was touted to perspective migrants as offering not only good pay, cheap board, increased opportunities, and freedom, but also as a 'natural' calling (see Illustration 10), with the honour of the profession emphasised. Not only would nursing provide a good living and urban lifestyle for young Maori women, but the opportunities for social advancement were emphasised through the highlighting of the 'honoured profession'. A direct appeal was made to youth, with young Maori women being targeted through appeals to 'girls' and through an emphasis on the start of training in the teenaged years. As well as general nursing, an appeal was made to Maori women migrants to enter psychiatric nursing (see Illustration 11), a profession historically taken up by immigrant women in New Zealand. In noting British migrant women entering the profession in the 1920s, Katie Pickles suggests that this may have been due to its low

## Be a nurse

### FULLY QUALIFIED AT 20

You can be a registered nurse at the age of 20 ... fully qualified in both general and maternity nursing ... assured of a position in an honoured profession either in New Zealand or overseas. Start training at 17. You're paid well; the work is interesting. You enjoy lots of free time for a "life of your own".

### Send this coupon NOW!

NURSING HEADQUARTERS,  
P.O. Box 5013, Wellington.

Please send me, without obligation, free literature and details on "Nursing as a Career".

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

AGE \_\_\_\_\_



Inserted by the Campaign for Nurses  
Committee on behalf of the Hospital Boards  
Association of New Zealand.

Illustration 9: *Te Ao Hou*, December 1959, No.29.

desirability amongst New Zealand women.<sup>94</sup> In the 1950s and 1960s, due to its low desirability amongst Pakeha women, psychiatric nursing was once again targeted to migrants; this time a group of internal migrants of young single Maori women. Likewise, Maori women were also encouraged to enter the nursing profession at the lesser level of nurse aid (see Illustration 10).

<sup>94</sup> Pickles, "Empire Settlement", p.38.





**NATURALLY** you'll  
want to be a **NURSE**

... and there is a place  
for you as a

## NURSING AID

*Send Coupon  
for full information.*

Nursing Headquarters, Z  
P.O. Box 5013, Wellington.

Please send me without obligation,  
free literature and details on Nursing  
as a career.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

**Illustration 10:** Building on essentialised notions of women, recruitment campaigns sought to encourage young Maori women into nursing and nurse aiding. In this advertisement, the lesser role of nurse-aid is emphasised as an option for young Maori women. *Te Ao Hou*, October 1958, No.24.



**A girl in ten thousand\***

### WHAT PSYCHIATRIC NURSING OFFERS YOU

- \* 250 more nurses, one for every 10,000 of New Zealand's population, are needed to increase the present staff of the country's psychiatric hospitals.
- There are nursing opportunities in the hospital serving your district.
- A satisfying, rewarding profession, full of interest, for healthy intelligent women and girls with a sincere desire to take up the service of healing.
- Payment while training with a starting wage of about £10 a week.
- Good working conditions, free uniforms and text books and excellent leave provisions with up to two months holiday a year.
- Full facilities for study to qualify for a future career of unlimited opportunity, with a partly revised curriculum making training more interesting, more practical.
- Full board in a nurses' home at moderate charge, with comfortable single room accommodation.
- Many recreational facilities for off-duty hours and the congenial companionship of those of similar age and with similar interests.

**WRITE AWAY TODAY—ADDRESS YOUR ENVELOPE TO**

THE MATRON,  
AUCKLAND PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL  
KINGSEAT (Papakura)  
TOKANUI (Te Awamutu)  
OR YOUR NEAREST PSYCHIATRIC  
HOSPITAL

Please send me the folder which gives full details of how I can become a Psychiatric Nurse.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

E. 5 AGE \_\_\_\_\_

**Illustration 11:** Likewise, Maori women were also recruited into the less desirable field of psychiatric nursing. *Te Ao Hou*, October 1958, No.24, p.58.

Although the curriculum at exclusive Church Maori girls' colleges explicitly aimed to ready their students for a career as either a nurse or a teacher, it soon became apparent that many young rural Maori women simply did not meet the criteria for entry into training. In an attempt to remedy this, the Auckland Hospital Board mooted the idea of a pre-training course in nursing for Maori girls in 1952. The stated aim of the course was to "accustom the [Maori] girls to an entirely new way of living", with the course concentrating on improving written and spoken English, the history of nursing, and hospital management and hygiene.<sup>95</sup> Likewise in 1969, with the State still desiring the labour of young Maori women as nurses, but recognising that many lacked the School Certificate requirement, the Departments of Maori Affairs and of Health, in association with the Wellington Polytechnic, began an 'Introductory Nursing Course'.<sup>96</sup>

There was a similar courting of Maori women to become teachers. Through *Te Ao Hou*, the Department of Maori Affairs outlined the advantages of kindergarten teaching to

<sup>95</sup> *Press*, 11 June 1952, p.2.

<sup>96</sup> *AJHR*, 1969, G9, p.14.

young Maori women and to their parents.<sup>97</sup> Although perspective trainees were reassured that the job entailed “more than child minding”, the domestic nature of the job, and the training it provided for motherhood, made it ideal for Maori women. Maori women were essentialised as “being good with children”, and as possessing a “pleasant manner which instinctively draws children to them”.<sup>98</sup>

Young Maori women by virtue of their sex, and the essentialised qualities associated with it, gained access to the professions in a way that was not open to their male counterparts. Between 1951 and 1956, there was a 69 % increase in the number of Maori employed in the professions. This increase, it was noted by the Department of Maori Affairs, was largely due to the increase in the number of nurses and teachers; professions traditionally associated as feminine.<sup>99</sup> Throughout the 1950s and 1960s large numbers of young single Maori women continued to enter the professions of nursing and teaching. In a single year, 1958, the Department of Maori Affairs assisted over 100 women into nursing training.<sup>100</sup> Once trained, these young women found employment as nurses in the cities. In Christchurch alone, in 1959, Kia Riwai, the Maori Welfare Officer, reported placing ten young women as nurses and four as dental nurses, and in 1962, 29 young Maori women were placed as nurses and two as dental nurses.<sup>101</sup>

### ***Expanding Urban Opportunities***

The needs of the flourishing economy demanded, however, that the employment opportunities of the young single Maori women migrants expand beyond those associated with domesticity and traditional ‘feminine’ qualities. In the inter-war period, young working-class Pakeha women had increasingly found employment in the expanding and increasingly ‘modernised’ factories of the cities and towns of New Zealand.<sup>102</sup> It was several years and the needs of the wartime State and economy, however, that brought young Maori women onto the factory floor. Young Maori women from all over the country found themselves ‘manpowered’ in the nation’s factories, contributing to the production of munitions and domestic consumables.

Following the war, with New Zealand’s manufacturing sector enjoying a period of sustained growth, even larger numbers of young single Maori women were required to staff

<sup>97</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, No.59, June 1967, pp.53-54.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>99</sup> *AJHR*, 1959, G9, p.37.

<sup>100</sup> *AJHR*, 1958, G9, p.26.

<sup>101</sup> K.Riwai, Annual Report, 1 January –31 December 1959 and Annual Report, 1 January –31 December 1962, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>102</sup> For a discussion of inter-war industrial production in the Christchurch context see: Pickles, “Workers and Workplaces”, pp.145-150. Pickles (p.149) notes the large numbers of women who gained employment in factory work.

the nation's factories. In order to encourage young Maori to migrate from their rural homes and to take up employment in the cities, school tours were organised by local conglomerations of businesses and schools, whereby young Maori men and women could glimpse the opportunities that existed for them in the urban environments. In the late 1950s and 1960s, Christchurch played host to a number of North Island school children. In 1959, 34 Maori pupils from Bethlehem School, Tauranga visited the city for five days. Organised by the Canterbury Public Relations Office, the Maori school children entertained at the Civic Theatre with a concert party performance, and visited local factories, the Canterbury Agricultural College, and the Canterbury Museum.<sup>103</sup> In 1967, a similar tour was organised for a group of pupils from Queen Victoria Maori Girls' School and Te Aute College. Like the students from Tauranga, these Maori boys and girls visited Lincoln College (formerly Canterbury Agricultural College) and Lane Walker Rudkin, a leading national clothing manufacturer.<sup>104</sup>

Imperially school tours have recently been shown to have been an effective means of 'exhibiting' colonies to desired British migrants.<sup>105</sup> These tours of Maori school children to New Zealand's cities need to be read in a similar light to other migration 'propaganda' tours. Christchurch, as a city to which the Department of Maori Affairs was actively encouraging young Maori to migrate, was displayed to the visitors from the North Island, and the opportunities that the city offered young Maori highlighted. The 1967 tour emphasised the employment prospects open to young Maori women at the city factory of Lane Walker Rudkin, while the male students from Te Aute were familiarising themselves with the opportunities of Lincoln College. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Christchurch succeeded in attracting young Maori women to the city to work in its factories. Just as Kia Riwai noted the "many" girls she had placed in domestic positions, she also noted many placements in factory jobs.<sup>106</sup>

The school tours were also critical in capturing Pakeha acceptance of the intending migrants as both employees and as residents of the city. Through reports of their activities, the Christchurch *Press* reassured the predominantly Pakeha population of Christchurch that the Maori children were sufficiently 'modern' to be made into 'ideal' Maori citizens. In an article describing the Tauranga school children's visit to the Canterbury Museum, the *Press*

<sup>103</sup> *Press*, 28 July 1959, p.18; and 8 August 1959, p.15.

<sup>104</sup> *Press*, 19 August 1967, p.3.

<sup>105</sup> For a discussion of the 'exhibiting' of Canada to a group of desired English migrants see: Pickles, "Exhibiting Canada".

<sup>106</sup> K.Riwai, "Annual Report", 1 January –31 December 1962, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

reported that the Maori children were far more interested in the display of James Fitzgerald's cabin on the Charlotte Jane than in the Maori displays.<sup>107</sup> Christchurch residents were to be reassured and comforted by the fact that these potential Maori migrants had bypassed their own 'ancient' culture in favour of a display that epitomised colonisation and 'civilisation'. The 'modernity' of the children was emphasised through reports of their enthusiastic responses to the epitome of the modern post-war era - the jet aircraft. Reportedly, the group was 'wide eyed' and 'excited' during their visit to Christchurch's new international airport. The *Press* emphasised that for many of these North Island Maori children, this was 'the first time in their lives' that many had the opportunity to see an aircraft.<sup>108</sup>

In addition to school tours, the Departments of Maori Affairs and Labour sought to aid businesses in directly sourcing Maori labour. Desperate for workers, many companies desired to 'tap' the pool of Maori labour, but demanded State assistance in procuring their Maori workforce. Nervous about the reliability of Maori women employees, many employers would only proceed on the understanding that the Department of Maori Affairs would take a degree of responsibility for the girls once they were in the cities.

Following Noel Woods' address to the Industrial and Development Conference on the "surplus of Maori Labour in rural areas",<sup>109</sup> Amos, a soft goods manufacturing company, approached the Department of Labour wanting to recruit young Maori women for its Wellington factory. Collaboration between the Department of Labour, the Department of Maori Affairs, and the company resulted in twelve 'suitable' young women being recruited from Wairoa on the East Coast of the North Island. The company stipulated that the girls have "good religious backgrounds" and that the Department of Maori Affairs be involved in their welfare once they were in the city.<sup>110</sup> For their part, the company paid not only their fares to Wellington, but also their first week's board. They also assisted in finding their accommodation either in hostels or in flats.<sup>111</sup> Reports of this initiative appeared in both the *Labour and Employment Gazette* and *Te Ao Hou*, with the hope of encouraging more employers to recruit young Maori women into their workforce.

The Department of Maori Affairs also actively solicited opportunities to further facilitate the migration of young Maori women to the cities. Noting the number of vacancies that existed in the manufacturing sector, in April of 1961 the Department of Maori Affairs

---

<sup>107</sup> *Press*, 8 August 1959, p.15.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> N.S.Woods, "Immigration and the Labour Force: a background paper presented to the Industrial Development Conference, June 1960", *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.10, No.3, August 1960, p.46.

<sup>110</sup> "Girls Come to the City", *Te Ao Hou*, No.36, September 1961, pp.28-31

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, "Maori Girls Come to the City", *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.10, No.4, November 1960, p.16.

Girls!

## Join the Post Office Telephone Service !

If you are looking for an interesting well paid job that provides plenty of congenial company—then join the staff of the Post Office as a telephone exchange operator. The work is easy to learn and applicants will be trained on the job and receive full pay during the training period. This is the sort of job specially suitable for girls with their clear young voices—so if you are interested get in touch with the Staff Officer at your nearest Post Office.

**Mahia nga mahi kei tamariki ana**  
(Make the most of your time while you are young)

ISSUED BY THE NEW ZEALAND POST OFFICE



offered the services of young North Island Maori women to the Canterbury Manufacturers Association. Although there were some apprehensions over the employment of Maori women, the general response of the body's council was positive. One Christchurch manufacturer, Mr C. H.

Illustration 12: *Te Ao Hou*, October 1958, No.24, p.4.

Stockbridge, spoke of a Maori woman he had employed, and advised his cohort that they “could do with more like her”.<sup>112</sup>

In concert with the expanding ‘blue collar’ employment opportunities for young single Maori women, office work also increasingly became an appealing option. In 1958, the State owned New Zealand Post Office targeted young Maori women with a dedicated recruitment campaign featuring both a Maori model and a slogan in Maori (see Illustration 12). “Girls with their clear young voices” were encouraged to become telephone exchange operators, with the slogan, printed in both English and Maori, “Mahia nga mahi kei tamariki ana - make the most of your time while you are young”.<sup>113</sup> Good pay, a social environment, and easy work were all emphasised as inducements to young Maori women to move to work in a telephone exchange located in a town or city.

## REHUA HOSTEL, 1951-1969

As a means of examining in detail the intersecting gender beliefs, race relations aspirations, and labour requirements underwriting the labour policies, and the provision of mid-twentieth century urban Maori hostels, this section examines the history of Rehua hostel in Christchurch. Additionally, this chapter also examines the establishment of Roseneath House, Te Kaihanga, and Te Aranga hostels in the city. The tale of the establishment and running of these hostels draws out the State's shift from providing hostels for Maori girls to providing hostels for Maori boys. It shows how hostels as a means to protect young Maori

<sup>112</sup> *Press*, 19 April 1961, p.13.

<sup>113</sup> “Join the Post Office Telephone Service” recruitment advertisement, *Te Ao Hou*, October 1958, No.24, p.4.

women coming to the city as workers, gave way to hostels becoming an integral component of the State's wider objectives of providing more urban labour, and the transferral of young Maori from 'uneconomic' areas of the country. As detailed in Chapter Three, it was the urbanisation of young North Island Maori as trade trainees and apprentices that resided at the centre of Christchurch's rapidly rising Maori population. This section demonstrates the importance of hostels to the success of those schemes.

### ***Rehua Maori Girls' Hostel, 1951-1953***

With the opening of Rehua, in August 1952, Christchurch joined the list of cities with hostels for Maori girls. Made possible by the Government subsidy, the drive for the hostel came from a consortium of interests within Ngai Tahu and the Methodist Church. The initial impetus for the hostel came from a visit to a hui at Ngaruawahia by Joe Moss, Maori Welfare Officer for the South Island, Wira Couch of Ngai Tahu, and the Reverend Falkingham, superintendent of the Methodist Christchurch Central Mission. At this hui, the trio learned of Te Rahui Wahine, the hostel that Princess Te Puea Herangi, with the help of the Methodist

Church, had established for Maori girls in Hamilton.<sup>114</sup>



**Illustration 13: Reverend Falkingham, Superintendent of the Christchurch Central Mission. Source: *Enterprise*, June 1962, Vol.1, No.1, p.1.**

The trio returned from the hui determined to open a similar hostel in Christchurch.<sup>115</sup> Wanting to protect young Maori workers in the city, two hostels were mooted, one for Maori girls, and one for Maori boys.<sup>116</sup> The initial goal, and primary concern, however, was the establishment of a girls' hostel. Reverend Falkingham discussed the matter with the Superintendent of the Methodist Home and Maori Mission Department, Reverend George Laurenson, who encouraged him in the endeavour of

<sup>114</sup> Interview with "Ian", 18 April 2000.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

Place of employment or study	Number of girls
Domestic 'live in' positions	16
New Zealand Rail Machinist	1
Clothing Machinist	1
Apprentice – Beauty Salon	1
Telephone Exchange	2
Training College	8
<b>Total:</b>	<b>29</b>

**Table 6: Places of employment or study of the young Maori women identified as needing hostel accommodation in Christchurch, c.1951. Note that Maori women in domestic positions constituted 55 per cent of the women needing hostel accommodation in the city. Source: Mr Barrett, Maori Welfare Officer, Christchurch to Head Office, Department of Maori Affairs, undated (c1951), MA 1, W2490, 37/41/ box 167, ANZ, Wellington.**

establishing a hostel in the city.<sup>117</sup> Lack of finance meant, however, that a hostel did not seem likely to proceed.<sup>118</sup> In June 1951, one month following the announcement of the Government's pound for pound subsidy, several steps were taken towards the establishment of the hostel in Christchurch.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> June, Mr D. V. Ayres, a member of the Christchurch Central Mission Social Services Committee, Joe Moss, and the Reverend Falkingham met with Ernest Corbett to discuss the establishment of a girls' hostel in Christchurch. At the meeting, the Minister was informed that up to 30 young women, from a variety of employment and educational backgrounds (for a breakdown, see: Table 6) could immediately be housed in a hostel. The argument presented to Corbett stressed the need to protect the young Maori women migrants to the city. He heard of young women living "in undesirable conditions", and of young women being sent back to their rural homes due to a lack of suitable accommodation.<sup>119</sup> It was at this meeting that Joe Moss, himself a Ngai Tahu man, intimated that the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board was interested in the proposed hostel.<sup>120</sup>

With Government funding approved, all that remained to be done was to formalise the arrangement whereby the Christchurch Central Mission of the Methodist Church would assume responsibility for the running of the hostel. To this end, on 14 March 1952, Joe Moss addressed the Board of Management of the Mission. He drew attention to the "social and

<sup>117</sup> Norman Gill, *Mission Accomplished: The Establishment of the Christchurch Methodist Mission*, Christchurch Methodist Mission, Christchurch, 1991, p.49.

<sup>118</sup> Falkingham to Corbett, 9 May 1951, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1, Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>119</sup> Notes of Interview, 11 June 1951, MA 2, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1, Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

colour bar” that hindered Maori in Christchurch from finding suitable accommodation.<sup>121</sup> In the ensuing debate, Reverend Falkingham stressed the responsibility of the church toward their “Maori brethren”.<sup>122</sup> Reverend Jamieson, considered that Maori themselves should contribute to the financial running of the hostel, and enquired whether individual Maori would donate to the hostel. In response to this, Joe Moss argued that Maori would be contributing through the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board’s annual grant of £100. He further argued that this money, although it came from a Government payment to the Trust Board, was part of the country’s indebtedness to the Maori people.<sup>123</sup>

Although Ngai Tahu were active in the establishment of the hostel, it was apparent from the outset that the hostel would not be for the exclusive use of Ngai Tahu women. The Maori Welfare Officers working in the Christchurch area all reported an influx of young Maori women seeking employment or study opportunities in the city. Reporting on the need for a hostel in the city, the Maori Welfare Officers, Joe Moss, and his cousin by marriage, Mori Ellison,<sup>124</sup> and Barrett, the District Maori Welfare Officer all reported the presence of young women from the North Island.<sup>125</sup> Mori Ellison, herself a Ngai Tahu woman, reported that there were girls from as far north as Kaitia working in the city, and argued that the need for a hostel could not be judged solely on the Maori population of the South Island. Barrett noted his surprise at the number of North Island girls finding employment in the city.<sup>126</sup>

In early 1952, the Mission purchased a property previously used by a Christchurch business as a hostel. Located in Stanmore Road, the purchase price was £3750. With contributions from the Methodist Home Mission fund (£2000), the Government (£1875), and the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board (£100), the Mission found it had ample funds. Furthermore, as the site had previously been a hostel, no alterations were needed.<sup>127</sup> On 15 August 1952, the Mayor of Christchurch, R. M. McFarlane, officially opened Rehua Maori Girls’ hostel. Thirteen Maori girls from throughout New Zealand now called the hostel

---

<sup>121</sup> 14 March 1952, Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Board of Management, 8011/651/1, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Mori Pickering (nee Ellison) to Reverend Chambers, 25 October 1950, Maori Choirs, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>125</sup> Ellison to the Registrar of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 17 May 1951; Moss to the Registrar of Maori Affairs, 18 October 1951, Wellington; Barrett to the Registrar of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 30 October 1951, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1, Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>126</sup> Barrett to the Registrar of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 30 October 1951, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1, Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>127</sup> 31 July 1952, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.



home.<sup>128</sup> The Christchurch Central Mission appointed Joe Moss and his wife Taka as the first master and matron of the hostel respectively.

Only fourteen months after the official opening of the hostel, a lack of residents prompted Reverend Falkingham to contact the Department of Maori Affairs in Wellington.<sup>129</sup> At this meeting, the Minister of Maori Affairs requested that the Christchurch Central Mission consider converting the property to a hostel for Maori boys, as his Department was actively encouraging young Maori men from rural areas to take up trade apprenticeships.<sup>130</sup> In December of 1953, the Social Services Committee voted in favour of this suggestion.<sup>131</sup>

The question of why the hostel converted from a girls' to a boys' hostel is answered by the shift in policy toward the provision of hostels for Maori boys over Maori girls. Falling numbers of residents provided the Department of Maori Affairs with the opportunity to request the conversion of the Maori girls' hostel into one for Maori boys. The reasons for the falling numbers of residents are, however, best explained by the particular set of circumstances, and the actions of individuals, rather than by broad national policy shifts. The lack of demand for Maori girls accommodation provided the bureaucrats in Wellington with the perfect opportunity to establish a Maori boys hostel in the city.

Lack of hostel residents had not been a problem until the departure of Taka and Joe Moss in June 1953. By the end of September 1953, the number of girls in residence had fallen from fourteen to five.<sup>132</sup> There were suspicions that Joe Moss, in his position as a Maori Welfare Officer, was dissuading girls from taking up residence at the hostel.<sup>133</sup> Within the Home Mission Department of the Methodist Church, there was a realisation of the influence that both Joe and Taka Moss exerted in the Christchurch Maori community. In October of 1953, Reverend Laurenson wrote to the Secretary for Maori Affairs stating his belief that the problem of the falling number of residents at the hostel could be remedied if the former master and matron encouraged girls to come to the hostel.<sup>134</sup>

The reason for the resignation of the master and matron was a dispute with the Methodist administrators over the focus of the hostel. Even before the girls' hostel had

---

<sup>128</sup> *Press*, 18 August 1952, p.2.

<sup>129</sup> 5 October 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>130</sup> Note for File, 10 November 1953, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1 Box 167, ANZ, Wellington; Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.49.

<sup>131</sup> 10 December 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>132</sup> 5 October 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>133</sup> Reverend G. Laurenson to The Secretary of Maori Affairs, 9 October 1953, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1 Box 167, ANZ, Wellington

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

accepted its first charge, the question of religious observance amongst the residents had become fraught issue. Members of the Social Services Committee of the Methodist Mission were concerned that the hostel be a “spiritual home” for the girls.<sup>135</sup> Taka Moss firmly opposed the appointing of any set religion.<sup>136</sup> In line with this, Taka Moss, who was in charge of setting the rules of the hostel, did not foist the Methodist faith upon her charges, and the residents all attended their own churches.<sup>137</sup> By March 1953, the Social Services Committee was growing increasingly uncomfortable with this position and they consulted with Reverend Laurenson over the rules and regulations in operation in other Methodist Maori hostels.<sup>138</sup> By April of that year, the committee decided to hold devotions in the hostel once a week. There was a problem, however, with the Roman Catholic girls, who were unwilling to take part in these religious observance. In May, Reverend Falkingham consulted with the Department of Maori Affairs, stressing the importance of devotional exercises in church hostels.<sup>139</sup> In June of 1953, Taka and Joe Moss resigned their positions at the hostel. At issue was the question of religious observance.<sup>140</sup> Taka Moss argued that they had been in favour of “accepting girls of any denomination as this was in keeping with the spirit behind the Government subsidy”.<sup>141</sup>

Although both Taka and Joe Moss had a long and heavy involvement with the Methodist Church, it seems that the provision of shelter for young Maori women took precedence over their religious affiliation. Both Taka and Joe Moss were former members of the Methodist ministry, with Taka a former Deaconess known as Sister Ropata,<sup>142</sup> and Joe a former Reverend known as Reverend Hohepa Tutawhaio.<sup>143</sup> Throughout the 1930s, both Taka and Joe Moss had been members of Waiata Maori Choir, a choir started in 1926 by Reverend Seamer in the King Country (see Illustration 14). Seamer’s aim was for Pakeha New Zealanders to reach a “better understanding” of Maori through the presentation of Maori

---

<sup>135</sup> 31 July 1952, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> 3 November 1952, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>138</sup> 10 March 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>139</sup> 23 April 1953 and 14 May 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>140</sup> Notes of interview with Mrs Moss, 8 June 1953, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1 Box 167, ANZ, Wellington; 11 June 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>141</sup> Note for file, 2 October 1952, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1 Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>142</sup> Wesley Chambers, *Not self - but others : the story of the New Zealand Methodist Deaconess Order together with an index of all those who have served in it*, Auckland, Wesley Historical Association, 1987, p.109, 48.

<sup>143</sup> Notes re photo, undated, Maori Choirs, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.



**Illustration 14: The Waiata Maori Choir c. 1938. Sister Ropata (Taka Moss) with the Choir. Standing next to her is Reverend Hohepa Tutawhaio (Joe Moss). Taka Ropata was a member of the choir from 1931-34. In later years, she was in charge of the male choir and toured the British Isles with the choir in 1937-38. Source: Maori Choirs, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.**

culture “through song and action”.<sup>144</sup> Taka and Joe Moss brought a similar ideal to their work with Rehua, and the Christchurch Maori community more generally. As master and matron of the hostel, Taka and Joe Moss brought their enthusiasm for Maori culture.

Not only were both Taka and Joe active in the Methodist church, they were both also active members in the Maori community. Both were Ngai Tahu, with Taka being brought up at Little River on Banks Peninsula, and Joe being from South Riverton in Otakau.<sup>145</sup> When the Maori Women’s Welfare League was formed in 1951, Taka Moss was instantly drawn to the organisation. In 1952, she became President of the Christchurch branch of the League.<sup>146</sup> She served on the Dominion executive of the organisation, and in 1964 received a nomination to the post of Dominion president.<sup>147</sup> In 1957 Taka Moss’ “drive and initiative” in promoting the Maori Women’s Welfare League in the South Island was rewarded with an MBE.<sup>148</sup>

In 1952, both Joe and Taka Moss were instrumental in the formation of a Maori Community Centre Committee in Christchurch. This committee, along with the ‘Ngati Otautahi Maori Association’, sought the establishment of a Maori community centre in

<sup>144</sup> Ruth Fry, *Out of the Silence: Methodist Women of Aotearoa 1822-1985*, Methodist Publishing, Christchurch, 1987, p.182.

<sup>145</sup> Mori Pickering (nee Ellison) to Reverend Chambers, 25 October 1980, and Notes re photo, undated, Maori Choirs, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>146</sup> Kia Riwai, Welfare Officer, Department of Maori Affairs to The Dominion Secretary, Maori Women’s Welfare League, 25 February 1953, MS-Papers 1396 – 85, ATL.

<sup>147</sup> Bottomley to Bell, 13 May 1964, MS-Papers 1396 – 85, ATL

<sup>148</sup> “Queen’s Birthday Honours”, *Te Ao Hou*, No.19, August 1957, p.51.

Christchurch.<sup>149</sup> The inaugural meeting of the organisation elected Taka Moss as President, and Joe Moss as Treasurer of the organisation.<sup>150</sup> The aim of the group was to provide a hall with a kitchen that would serve as a meeting place for all Maori visiting Christchurch. They proposed to finance the project through a combination of street appeals, concerts, sponsorship, and a Government subsidy. To this end, Taka Moss led a deputation to the Prime Minister, Sidney Holland, in late February 1952.<sup>151</sup> In June of 1952, in an effort to raise funds for the centre, the group staged a Maori Concert; Taka Moss was the compere.

Taka and Joe Moss had no desire to conclude their work with the hostel; they were merely unwilling to do so under the auspices of the Methodist Church. On discussing her resignation with Barrett, Taka Moss offered to take over the hostel “as an organisation”.<sup>152</sup> Although she did not explicitly name the organisation, it is more than likely she was mooted either the Maori Women’s Welfare League or the Maori Community Centre Committee to take over the job of running the hostel. After their departure from the hostel it seems that the Social Services Committee were eager to establish distance between Joe and Taka Moss and their former charges. With some satisfaction, the administering committee noted in August 1953 that under the new matron Mrs Vuletich, a Maori woman from North Auckland,<sup>153</sup> the residents were abiding by the rules and that since her arrival twelve girls had drawn away from the Maori Community Centre.<sup>154</sup>

### ROSENEATH HOUSE

Following the closure of Rehua as a girls’ hostel, the city of Christchurch had to wait nearly ten years before another hostel for Maori girls opened its doors. Underpinning this hostel was a changed philosophy from that which had led to the establishment of Rehua. Roseneath House, and the thinking that lay beneath it, demonstrate the explicitly gendered nature of the policies surrounding Maori employment, hostels, and integration more generally.

Opened in late 1963, and described as an “experiment”,<sup>155</sup> Roseneath House was in fact not a hostel, but was rather more of a hybrid hostel/flat. Living in groups ranging from three to five, the girls were responsible for their own living expenses, and did their own cooking and laundry, utilising shared facilities. Although the girls each had a door key, the

<sup>149</sup> *Press*, 8 February 1952, p.5; *Press*, 19 February 1952, p.9.

<sup>150</sup> *Press*, 8 February 1952, p.5. Other individuals elected to office were: vice-presidents, Miss K. Riwai, Messers A. Phillips, K. Hopa, L. Rangi, A. Kahi and B. Harden, secretary Mr W. Royal.

<sup>151</sup> *Press*, 1 March 1952, p.8.

<sup>152</sup> Notes of interview with Mrs Moss, 8 June 1953, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1 Box 167, ANZ, Wellington; 11 June 1953.

<sup>153</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.50.

<sup>154</sup> 13 August 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>155</sup> *Press*, 15 October 1963, p.19.



**Illustration 15: Maori female residents of Roseneath House, Christchurch, c.1971. Source: The Christchurch Presbyterian Social Service Association, 62<sup>nd</sup> Annual Report, 1971, Presbyterian Archives, Christchurch.**

presence of a matron and master regulated and confined the freedom of the residents.<sup>156</sup> Although more individual than a traditional hostel, the environment provided at Roseneath fostered communal living through the provision of a lounge where the girls could meet to socialise, watch television or “have a sing song” around the piano (see Illustration 15).<sup>157</sup>

Roseneath was not established under the pound-for-pound subsidy scheme that Rehua had been. Instead, the Department of Maori Affairs had purchased a large two story house on the corner of Papanui Road and Webb Street and converted it into flats. This was not the first time the building had sheltered young women: previously it had housed Miss Gibsons’ School, the forerunner to Rangi Ruru, a Presbyterian private girls’ school.<sup>158</sup> The Christchurch Diocesan Social Services Council of the Anglican Church entered into an agreement with the Department of Maori Affairs to employ a married couple as matron and master, at an estimated cost of £350 per annum.<sup>159</sup>

For two years prior to the opening of Roseneath, the Department of Maori Affairs had been considering the establishment a Maori girls’ hostel in Christchurch. It was Reverend Falkingham who in 1961 raised the issue with the Department of Maori Affairs.<sup>160</sup> Falkingham, although he had no detailed proposal, had in mind the establishment of a hostel

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> *Press*, 31 July 1964, p.2.

<sup>158</sup> *Press*, 4 October 1963, p.14.

<sup>159</sup> 25 October 1952, Minutes of the Full Committee of the of the Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>160</sup> Minute from Minister of Maori Affairs, 19 June 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4 Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

“for a better class of girl” who would be taught culinary arts.<sup>161</sup> The Department of Maori Affairs rejected Falkingham’s suggestion, arguing that the need for a girls’ hostel had not been established. Furthermore, the Department did not see the purpose of the proposed hostel as a necessary one. They argued that most post-primary schools taught the culinary arts, and a hostel would not be established unless it could be shown that there were young women moving to Christchurch to take up employment and that they were in need of accommodation.<sup>162</sup> A hostel with the aim of inculcating young Maori women into ideal femininity would not receive State assistance, yet a hostel to house young female workers would.

Falkingham’s suggestion spurred the Department to investigate the accommodation situation for young women in Christchurch.<sup>163</sup> In line with the bureaucrats’ assumptions about the willingness of Maori women to reside at ‘Pakeha’ hostels, the Department found Maori women resident in the Immigration Hostel in Hansons Lane, and at Mansfield House, an Anglican Church hostel for country girls working in the city.<sup>164</sup> With a view to increasing the number of hostel places available to Maori girls without the expenditure of providing a dedicated hostel, the Department of Maori Affairs approached the YWCA, which were planning on extending the hostel facilities they provided young women in the city.<sup>165</sup> In 1961, the Department found that there was no requirement for a Maori girls’ hostel in the city. This was not due to a lack of young Maori women coming to the city. In the Department’s thinking there was no need for a girls’ hostel as young women continued to come to the city despite the absence of a dedicated hostel.

There was certainly a steady annual flow of young Maori women into Christchurch, particularly from Motueka at the end of the picking season. In 1961 alone, following the conclusion of seasonal labour in the Nelson region, 250 young women were placed throughout the South Island. Over half of these women were placed in Christchurch, with one city firm employing 40 women. Businesses in the city intimated to the Department of Maori Affairs that they would be prepared to employ a similar number of young women in the following year.<sup>166</sup> Department of Labour investigations of 1960 and 1961 found that employment prospects were good for young Maori men and women who possessed

<sup>161</sup> J. E. Lewin, Notes for File, 29 June 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.5 Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>162</sup> Notes for File, 19 July 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.5 Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>163</sup> Hunn to Hanan, 3 August 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.5 Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>164</sup> J.E.Lewin, Survey of Hostel Accommodation for Maori Boys and Girls, 10 October 1961, AAMK 869, 37/1, Box 1116c, Vol.5, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid; and *Press*, 3 October 1961, p.2.

<sup>166</sup> K. Riwai, “Annual Report”, 1 January–31 December 1961, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

Year	Number of apprentices in occupation					Total
	Tailoring	Dress-making	Nursing	Dental nursing	Clerical	
1958	3	5	-	-	-	8
1959	-	-	10	4	-	14
1960	15 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	-	15
1961	15	4	-	-	-	19
1962	-	1	29	2	2	33
<b>Total</b>	33	10	39	6	2	89

Table 7: Number of young Maori women taking up apprenticeships in Christchurch 1958-1962.

<sup>a</sup> The data for 1960 did not distinguish between tailoring and dressmaking.

Source: K. Riwai, Annual Reports, 1 January 1958–31 December 1962, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

‘reasonable’ standards of education and deportment. In fact, in Christchurch, demand for Maori labour outstripped supply.<sup>167</sup> Throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s, there was also a steady stream of young Maori women taking up apprenticeships in the city. In the five-year period between 1958 and 1962, 89 young women began their training, yet there was no dedicated accommodation for them (see Table 7).

By 1963, the Department of Maori Affairs had changed its thinking and determined that accommodation in the city was required for young Maori women. The reason for the Department’s shift in thinking lay in the demands of potential employers. The Canterbury Manufacturers’ Association made its acceptance of the Department’s offer of North Island female workers in April 1961 dependent upon the Department organising accommodation for the employees.<sup>168</sup> With this in mind, the Department of Maori Affairs entered into negotiations with the Anglican Christchurch Diocesan Missionary Council with a view to providing accommodation in the city for young Maori women.<sup>169</sup> In February of 1962, the Diocese transferred responsibility for the negotiations from the Missionary Council to the Social Services Council when members of the latter expressed interest in becoming involved in this “worthwhile” work.<sup>170</sup>

It was clear from the outset that the driving force behind the hostel was the provision of workers rather than the protection of young Maori women. In April 1962 there was a clear expression of the link between the hostel and potential city employers, when the Diocesan

<sup>167</sup> Bell, to The District Officer, Department of Maori Affairs, 4 October 1961, AAMK 869, 37/1, Box 1116c, Vol.5, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>168</sup> *Press*, 19 April 1961, p.13.

<sup>169</sup> 22 February 1962, Minutes of the Full Committee of the of the Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

Council arranged for Mr Alton, the Secretary of the Canterbury Manufacturers' Association, to address its meeting.<sup>171</sup> By the establishment of Roseneath, the Department of Maori Affairs was aiming to harness the flow of around 200 young Maori women migrants from the North Island who arrived following the end of the picking season in Motueka.<sup>172</sup> In the minds of the bureaucrats, these women were of greater value to the country as settled, rather than itinerant, workers. The Department aimed to coincide the opening of the flats with the end of the harvesting season.<sup>173</sup> It seems that the intended women did take up the opportunity of accommodation at Roseneath. Ten months following the opening of the hostel, only two South Island girls had been accommodated, with many of the residents having been previously employed as seasonal workers in Motueka.<sup>174</sup>

At a national policy level, the provision of individual flats rather than traditional hostel accommodation for Maori girls was growing in favour. The 1960 Hunn Report contained a suggestion that "it may become necessary" to investigate the "building [of] 'bachelor' flats ...for the young people who prefer 'flatting' to hostel life".<sup>175</sup> Concerned about its loss of control of Maori girls, who had shown a clear preference for flatting over hostel life, in the early 1960s the Department of Maori Affairs saw the provision of supervised flats as an effective means to provide controlled accommodation of young Maori women in the cities.

For the Department of Maori Affairs, the provision of flats had two clear advantages. The Department's provision of controlled flats, such as Roseneath House, removed young women from the 'unsuitable localities' in which it was said that many of them were flatting, thus allowing the Department to closely monitor their activities and behaviour.<sup>176</sup> The second advantage of flats for the Department was the lower cost of their provision compared to traditional hostels. As young women, the Department viewed the residents of accommodation such as Roseneath as capable of attending to their own domestic needs. With the young women doing their own housework, personal laundry, shopping, and cooking, the wages bill for paid domestic labour could be kept to a minimum.<sup>177</sup> In early 1961, the Minister of Maori

---

<sup>171</sup> 26 April 1962, Minutes of the Full Committee of the of the Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>172</sup> Lewin to Head Office, 16 March 1966, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.6, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington ; *Press*, 13 February 1963, p.7.

<sup>173</sup> K. Riwai, "Annual Report", 1 January –31 December 1961, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>174</sup> *Press*, 31 July 1964, p.2.

<sup>175</sup> The Hunn Report, p.45.

<sup>176</sup> Minister of Maori Affairs to all Members of Cabinet, undated (c.1961), AAMK 869, 36/20, Box 1101e, Vol.2, ANZ, Wellington; AJHR, 1961, G-9, p.11.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.



Affairs implemented gender-differentiated bachelor flats for girls and hostel accommodation for boys as policy.<sup>178</sup>

Although referred to as ‘bachelor’ flats, there was an explicit intention that this arrangement was solely for Maori girls; boys, the Department maintained, needed the closer supervision of a traditional hostel.<sup>179</sup> At the same time as flats were being mooted as a solution to the problem of providing accommodation for young women, the Department explicitly rejected them for young Maori men. It was argued that as males, they would need domestic assistance to maintain rooms and prepare their meals, making it an uneconomic proposition. Furthermore, it was argued that the boys would be living with “less than the degree of supervision and guidance than the hostel might wish”.<sup>180</sup> In 1966, the Department of Maori Affairs viewed with alarm the falling demand for accommodation at Roseneath. Owing to the mechanisation of much of the tobacco harvesting process in Motueka, the number of young women annually arriving in the city had dwindled. Within the Department, there was a short-lived flirtation with the idea of converting Roseneath for use by young Maori men. Influencing the Department’s decision not to proceed with this option was the high cost of installing an institutional kitchen and servicing.<sup>181</sup> Maori boys needed hostel accommodation and not flats.

A deeply ingrained belief in the respective domestic roles and capabilities of men and women was operating. While the flatting arrangement allowed young women to hone the skills that would lead them to become modern, and therefore ideal, Maori housewives, the young male residents needed “domestic assistance in maintaining their rooms and preparing their meals”.<sup>182</sup> Thus, even when young Maori women were employed in occupations such as factory work, their domestic skills were still deemed necessary for their survival in the cities.

## ***Maori Boys’ Hostels***

### **REHUA MAORI BOYS’ HOSTEL, 1954-1969**

Simultaneously with the pilot trade training scheme, the Department of Maori Affairs pioneered another scheme in Christchurch. When the Rehua reopened its’ doors in 1954, it was as a hostel for young Maori apprentices. The Methodist administrators of the hostel viewed their work as protecting their young male charges from the “bright lights glitter” of

<sup>178</sup> Secretary of Maori Affairs to the Minister of Maori Affairs, undated (c.1961), AAMK 869, 37/1, Box 1116b, Vol.4, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>179</sup> Minister of Maori Affairs to all Members of Cabinet, undated (c.1961), AAMK 869, 36/20, Box 1101e, Vol.2, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>180</sup> Hunn to Hanan, Minister of Maori Affairs, 3 August 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.5 Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>181</sup> Lewin to Head Office, 16 March 1966, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.6, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>182</sup> Hunn to Hanan, 3 August 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.5 Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

the city, which was “sometimes blinding”.<sup>183</sup> With no carpentry school established in Christchurch in 1954, the first draft of twenty boys all found apprenticeships with various city employers.<sup>184</sup> Rehua was the first hostel established for young Maori apprentices in the South Island, and the Department of Maori Affairs and the Methodist Mission looked on the enterprise as being an ‘experiment’. Both T. T. Ropiha and Mr Bennett, the Controller of Maori Affairs, cautioned that the future success of the scheme depended on “how the first draft impresses employers and the South Island Pakehas generally” and as such, there was a need for a “careful selection” of apprentices.<sup>185</sup> As the first boys arrived in the city, many viewed the hostel as a site for “equipping Maori youths for citizenship and ...giving them character training”.<sup>186</sup> Christchurch, as an overwhelmingly Pakeha city, was an ideal space for the production of modern and integrated Maori, or ‘ideal’ Maori citizens.

From its beginnings, it was clear that the primary purpose of the hostel was not to accommodate rural South Island Maori boys. Although five of the initial 22 spaces were reserved for South Island boys,<sup>187</sup> the Department saw the potential of the hostel lying in the accommodation of North Island apprentices. In late 1953, the Secretary advised all his District Officers of the impending Christchurch hostel.<sup>188</sup> News of the hostel was well received in the North Island offices of the Department,<sup>189</sup> and in early 1954, 13 young Maori men from North Auckland, the King Country, and the East Coast of the North Island, arrived in Christchurch to take up apprenticeships.<sup>190</sup>

These were the very locations that the Maori Education and Employment Committee had identified as being centres of Maori under-employment in its 1949 report. It was from these areas that a high proportion of the Rehua residents came during the 1950s and 1960s. By 1958, Rehua had accommodated 61 boys. Of these 51 (87 per cent) came from the North Island, mainly from the East Coast and Northern Hawkes Bay areas.<sup>191</sup> By 1962, the proportion of North Island boys who had been accommodated at the hostel had increased

---

<sup>183</sup> “Rehua Hostel for Maori Apprentices” in *Investment in Humanity*, undated (c.1954), Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch, [unpaginated].

<sup>184</sup> Methodist Church Annual Conference 1954, p.137, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>185</sup> Ropiha to Falkingham, 27 November 1953, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1 Box 167, ANZ, Wellington; D.G.Clark, “Apprentices – Christchurch”, 1 April 1962, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.5 Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>186</sup> *Press*, 4 February 1954, p.6.

<sup>187</sup> *Press*, 4 February 1954, p.6.

<sup>188</sup> Ropiha to Falkingham, 27 November 1953, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1, Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>189</sup> See for example, District Officer, Auckland Office to T.T.Ropiha, 3 December 1952, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1, Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>190</sup> 10 February 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch; and *Press*, 4 February 1954.

<sup>191</sup> D.G.Clark, “Report on Rehua Hostel, Christchurch”, 1 April 1959, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.2, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

slightly, to 107 of the 123 (89 per cent) boys. Again, these residents were predominantly from the East Coast.<sup>192</sup> It is not surprising that it was from these areas that a great number of Rehua residents came, as it was on the East Coast of the North Island that both the Methodist Mission and the Department of Maori Affairs concentrated their recruitment drive. Whereas many of the girls accommodated at Rehua, and later at Roseneath, took up residence after they had made their own way south following the cessation of seasonal work in Motueka, the young male residents were actively recruited from their homes. Reverend Falkingham, along with many others, held the view that if young Maori men were allowed to “drift into the cities under [their] own steam”, they would eventually fall into the “record of juvenile Maori delinquency”.<sup>193</sup> Rehua, in its incarnation as a boys’ hostel, relied on the transplantation of young Maori men from the North Island to the South Island. In the early days of the boys’ hostel, in an attempt to encourage Maori families to send their sons to Christchurch, Reverend Falkingham, Wira Couch, and Joe Moss travelled to the East Coast locations of Mahia Peninsula, Wairoa and Poverty Bay.<sup>194</sup> Also hugely influential in the decision of many of the boys to come to Christchurch were the local Maori Affairs Welfare Officers. Many of the hostel residents who came to Christchurch from the small East Coast settlement of Wairoa credit Lena Manuel, the local Welfare Officer, as persuading and encouraging them to apply for the scheme.<sup>195</sup> Into the 1960s, as the scheme became more formalised, recruiting officers from the Department of Maori Affairs would visit local high schools on the East Coast in an attempt to persuade the boys to enter the trade training scheme.<sup>196</sup>

For the boys who came down to Christchurch, Rehua and apprenticeships represented an adventure and a great opportunity. The boys were eager to move to urban centres; to experience the lifestyle which they were increasingly witnessing on both the television and movie screens. Former residents of the hostel regard their transitions south in the 1950s and 1960s as journeys that changed their lives. Many claim that opportunities did not exist for them in their home localities, and without the benefit of the hostel and apprenticeship scheme, they speculate that their lives would have been “very different”. Some former residents claim that if it were not for the opportunity to migrate to Christchurch, they may have ended up in jail.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>192</sup> D.G.Clark, “Report Apprentices Christchurch”, 1 April 1962, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.5, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

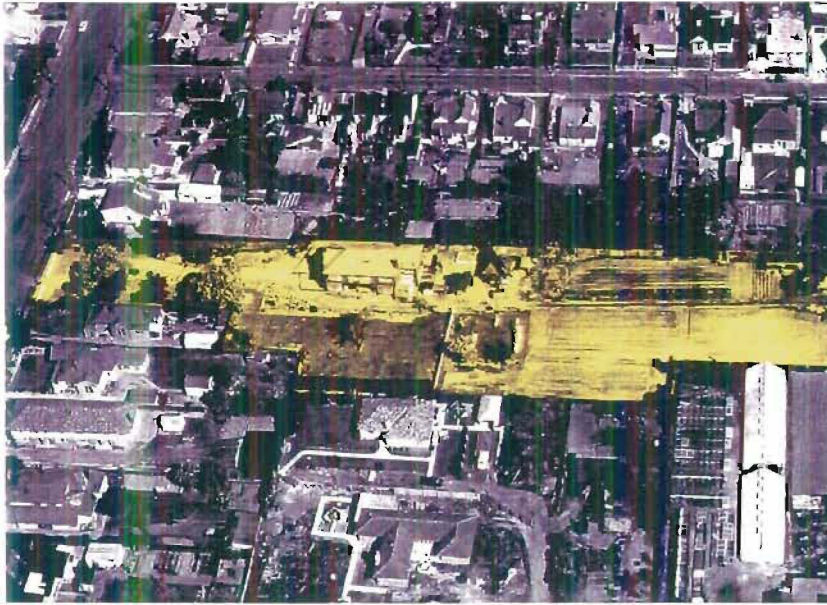
<sup>193</sup> Falkingham to Ludbrook, 5 April 1960, Christchurch Central Mission Correspondence, 1954-1961, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>194</sup> Interview with “Ian”, 18 April 2000; Parsonson, “Ngai Tahu - The Whale That Awoke”, p.250.

<sup>195</sup> Interview with “Bill”, 23 November 2000; see also McRoberts, “White Sheep”.

<sup>196</sup> Interview with “Peter”, 24 May 2000.

<sup>197</sup> Interview with “Bill”, 23 November 2000; see also McRoberts, “White Sheep”.



**Illustration 16:** An ariel view of the new hostel property, and the surrounding suburb. The area of the hostel property is shaded in yellow. Although in Illustration 17 it seems that the new hostel was isolated and in a semi-rural setting, it was in fact located in the midst of a middle class residential suburb, St Albans. Source: MA 2, W2490, 37/48, Vol.7, ANZ, Wellington.

was overwhelming and huge. It also looked different and felt different from their North Island homes. Many of the former residents of the hostel recall arriving in Christchurch's port, Lyttelton Harbour, feeling lost, disorientated, and lonely. The brown hills of Banks Peninsula seemed barren and treeless.<sup>199</sup>

Unlike its incarnation as a Maori girls' hostel, with both the State and the Methodist Church attempting to recruit residents, as a boys' hostel, Rehua experienced no difficulties keeping its beds full. After only a matter of weeks of operating as a hostel for Maori boys, the Methodist administrators began to regard the Stanmore Road building as "unsuitable for present and future requirements".<sup>200</sup> City employers, pleased with the first draft of North Island Maori apprentices, reported positively on their progress, and indicated to the Department and to Church authorities that they would gladly employ more trainees were they available. The Mission estimated that 50 additional boys could take up apprenticeships in the building trade alone, if more accommodation was available.<sup>201</sup> As the first draft of apprentices proved to be valuable additions to the city's workforce, city firms demanded even more North Island Maori apprentices. By 1956, the Christchurch Central Mission estimated

The predominantly Pakeha city of Christchurch was an alien environment for many of the hostel's residents. For the residents from the far north, coming to Christchurch meant travelling as far as 1000 kilometres from their homes and their families. Many of the boys from the East Coast had previously been no further south than Napier.<sup>198</sup> Christchurch, in the arriving boys minds',

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Interview with "Ian", 18 April 2000.

<sup>200</sup> 11 March 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731; 29 July 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Board of Management Minutes, 8011/651/1, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>201</sup> "Rehua Hostel for Maori Apprentices" in *Investment in Humanity*, undated (c.1954), Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.





**Illustration 17: The Springfield Road property purchased in 1957 at a cost of £6500. Source: MA 2, W2490, 37/48, Vol.7, ANZ, Wellington.**

that it could place 65 apprentices in employment if only they had the accommodation facilities.

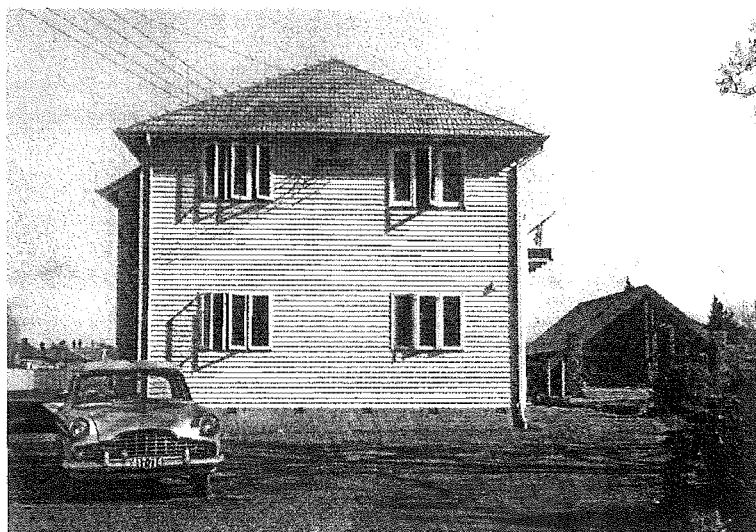
With encouragement from the Departments of Maori Affairs and Labour, the Mission authorities set about finding alternate premises.<sup>202</sup> In late 1956, after rejecting an earlier proposed property, the Department of Maori Affairs approved payment of a subsidy for the purchase of a property in Springfield Road, St Albans, a middle class residential suburb (see Illustration 16).<sup>203</sup> In April 1957, the residents of the Stanmore Road site moved to their new home (See Illustration 17). With alterations completed the following year, the new hostel housed 31 apprentices. Ruku Wainohu, a resident at the time of the move, recalls that the residents were initially daunted by the “huge old mansion and the large grounds”.<sup>204</sup> However, it was not long before the boys had settled into their new building, that retained the name of Rehua Hostel.

While city employees demonstrated satisfaction with their young Maori employees, Christchurch, and more particularly Rehua, continued to grow in reputation with North Island Maori Welfare Officers. At the end of 1959, Doug Clark was able to report that all boys were doing well in their trades, and “some have been outstanding apprentices. It is pleasing on

<sup>202</sup> 12 August 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>203</sup> 14 October 1954; 23 August 1956; 4 October 1956, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch. For a consideration of the social status of the suburb of St Albans in the 1960s see: McIntyre, “Outwards and Upwards”, p.113.

<sup>204</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.50.



**Illustration 18:** The new dormitory block opened in January 1960. The building materials for the dormitory were donated by building firms, and therefore the block was erected debt-free. The value of the building was estimated to be £5,500. Source: MA 2, W2490, 37/48, Vol.7, ANZ, Wellington.

some occasions to call on a foreman and to hear that his Maori boys are the best in his shop".<sup>205</sup> With a capacity for housing only 36 apprentices in 1959, the Christchurch Central Mission reported being under continual pressure from North Island Maori Welfare Officers to

accommodate more Maori apprentices.<sup>206</sup> Ever keen to accommodate more young

Maori male apprentices from

the 'uneconomic' areas of the North Island, the Department of Maori Affairs agreed to give a further Government subsidy,<sup>207</sup> and in January 1960, a further dormitory block was opened (see Illustration 18). Rehua Maori boys' hostel could now accommodate up to 50 boys. Local building firms, also eager for more young Maori apprentices in the city donated many of the materials needed for the construction of the extra hostel accommodation.<sup>208</sup> Aware that many city employers laboured under the fallacy that the North Island Maori apprentices returned home after completing their training, thus denying local firms the benefits of their training, Doug Clarke collated and publicised the retention rates of the apprentices in the Christchurch area. While half of the initial 1954 intake of Maori male apprentices returned to the North Island, only ten per cent from the 1957 intake had returned north. With the exception of one who moved to Invercargill, the remainder stayed in Christchurch.<sup>209</sup>

As the housing shortage crisis lessened, the demand for apprentice builders began to wane. Young Maori labour had in part helped to quench the immediate post-war demand in the building industry. By the close of the 1950s, due to issues of both demand and supply, many within the Department of Maori Affairs realised that concentrating so heavily on the

<sup>205</sup> D.G.Clark, "Report on Rehua Hostel, Christchurch", 1 April 1959, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.2, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>206</sup> Methodist Church, Minutes Annual Conference 1959, p.165, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>207</sup> *Press*, 18 July 1959, p.11.

<sup>208</sup> Methodist Church, Minutes Annual Conference 1960, p.172, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch. Some of the materials donated were not "up to standard", however, and by 1961 the Department of Maori Affairs and the Christchurch Central Mission were having to replace them, J.K.Hunn to J.R.Hanan, Minister of Maori Affairs, 3 August 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>209</sup> D.G.Clark, "Annual Report", year ending 31.12.62, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

building trade was not going to relocate a sufficient number of young Maori men from their ‘uneconomic’ rural homes. Demonstrating that they saw their employment policies as having a wider function than the mere provision of labour, the Department sought to expand its Maori apprenticeship scheme. Apprenticeships provided an effective means with which to attract the young men to the cities, and ultimately to taking a “full part in the economic life” of the nation.<sup>210</sup> In order to counter both the slow down in the building industry, and the level of education required to enter building apprenticeships, the Department of Maori Affairs began to promote trades without an educational requirement, such as boiler making, moulding, and sheet metal work, to young rural male Maori school leavers.<sup>211</sup> Both Clark and the Wellington based Department of Maori Affairs bureaucrats recognised that many of the rural school leavers possessed very little knowledge of the opportunities open to them, and as such tended to gravitate towards the well-known trades.<sup>212</sup> Their rural locations made informing boys of the multitude of options difficult, with field trips to factories rare and hard to organise.<sup>213</sup> Clark also emphasised the need to educate the local welfare officers of the various trades that boys could enter.<sup>214</sup> For the young men themselves, knowledge of a trade was not a necessary prerequisite. Eager to leave their rural homes and to embark upon their urban adventures, Maori boys from the East Coast sometimes accepted apprenticeships for trades of which they had no knowledge.<sup>215</sup>

The building of the new dormitory meant that an increasing number of apprentices were passing through Rehua from 1960. As at 1957, 61 apprentices had been housed at the hostel, by April 1962 this figure had doubled to 123. The residents were entering an increasing array of trades. In addition to carpentry, the 1954 apprentices entered three additional trades; by 1957, the additional trades numbered 11, by 1962, there were 16. Increasingly, the newly arriving residents were taking up trades with lower educational requirements. After the initial intake in 1954, by 1962 no further residents took up apprenticeships as an electrician, and between 1959 and 1962 no further Rehua apprentices entered the motor mechanic trade, both trades requiring the educational qualification of School Certificate. In 1962, Doug Clark noted the decreasing standard of educational achievement of the apprentices coming to Christchurch, but conceded that the scheme was

<sup>210</sup> AJHR, 1960, G-9, p.19.

<sup>211</sup> D.G.Clark, “Annual Report”, 1 January 1960- 31 December 1960, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington; and AJHR, 1960, G-9, p.19.

<sup>212</sup> D.G.Clark, “Annual Report”, 1 April 1958- 31 December 1958; “Annual Report”, 1 January 1960- 31 December 1960, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington; and AJHR, 1960, G-9, p.19.

<sup>213</sup> D.G.Clark, “Annual Report”, 1 January 1960- 31 December 1960, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington; and AJHR, 1960, G-9, p.19.

<sup>214</sup> D.G.Clark, “Annual Report”, 1 April 1958- 31 December 1958, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington

<sup>215</sup> Interview with “Peter”, 24 May 2000.

still proving successful, with many of the less educated boys being “good practical trainees”.<sup>216</sup>

Realising that the apprenticeship scheme was simply not attracting sufficient boys to Christchurch to enable the expanded hostel to keep its dormitories full, Reverend Falkingham and the Christchurch Central Mission observed the expansion of the trade training scheme in 1959 with interest. In 1960, Falkingham and Mr J. E. Colechin, a member of the Christchurch Central Mission Social Services Committee, approached Jack Hunn with a view to establishing a Maori carpentry school in Christchurch. In order to expedite the bureaucratic process, they courted the support of the Christchurch Mayor, George Manning, a man with close associations to the Trade Union movement. With his support secured, both Falkingham and Colechin made a strenuous case for the establishment of a trade training centre in Christchurch. In his argument to the Secretary of Maori Affairs, Falkingham fully endorsed the scheme for the skilling of Maori youths. He expressed the Mission’s view that crucial to the success of any scheme was the provision of supervised hostel accommodation, especially in the first two years of the apprenticeship. He also explicitly articulated the twin aims of the Christchurch Central Mission being firstly to give Maori boys “the opportunity of acquiring the qualifications of tradesmen” and secondly to encourage their charges “to become responsible Christian citizens”.<sup>217</sup> Falkingham advanced the case of a trade training school for Christchurch on the grounds that the city already possessed, in Rehua, the largest Maori apprentices hostel in the country, and that keeping it at capacity made prudent fiscal sense.<sup>218</sup>

There was, however, some reticence on the part of Ralph Hanan to expand State expenditure to achieve the acceleration. Hanan saw the scheme as it ran in Christchurch, whereby rural Maori youths undertook standard apprenticeships, as a better option.<sup>219</sup> Hanan and the bureaucrats within the Department never faltered from their conviction that young Maori men needed hostel accommodation in the cities. Whereas economic pressures had meant the abandonment of hostel accommodation as a priority for Maori girls, District Officers were reminded by Department of Maori Affairs in Wellington of the “anti-social aspects of urbanisation” and the need to keep themselves informed about the “adequacy of hostel accommodation provided for young arrivals in the city”.<sup>220</sup> With the proportion of

<sup>216</sup> D.G.Clark, “Apprentices – Christchurch”, 1 April 1962, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.5 Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>217</sup> Falkingham to Hunn, 18 August 1960, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Hunn, “Minute of meeting with the Minister”, 15 June 1960, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>220</sup> Memorandum: Head Office to District Officers, 21 July 1961, AAMK, 37/1, Vol.4, Box 1115f, ANZ,



hostel accommodation for Maori girls decreasing, the ‘young arrivals’ referred to in the instruction were in reality young Maori men.

Just as the 1951 pound-for-pound subsidy scheme had allowed the State to avoid responsibility for half of the cost of establishing Maori urban hostels, in the early 1960s they were again eager to find a partner willing to share the cost. With many church organisations already burdened with heavy financial commitments in the area of welfare, the State sought a contribution from the employers who were enjoying the fruits of the newly ‘tapped’ pool of Maori labour. In order to offset State expenditure on Maori trade training, in 1961 the Joint Departmental Committee on Maori Employment, established under the broader relocation policy,<sup>221</sup> investigated the possibility of private industry contributing to the cost of Maori workers’ accommodation in the cities. Initial surveys of industry yielded only a lukewarm response, and the State realised that in order to fulfil its policy objective of relocating Maori from their rural homes to the towns and the cities, it would have to take most of the financial responsibility.<sup>222</sup>

While the Minister of Maori Affairs was slightly apprehensive about increasing Government spending in the area of Maori trade training, the same could not be said of the Secretary of Maori Affairs. Falkingham’s proposal for a carpentry school in Christchurch found a champion in Jack Hunn. In his 1960 report, Jack Hunn had advocated the expansion and acceleration of the trade training scheme. He envisaged the scheme as being a collaborative effort between the Departments of Labour and of Maori Affairs, with the Department of Labour running the training schools and the Department of Maori Affairs taking responsibility for recruitment and “other contact work”.<sup>223</sup> In the case of Christchurch he saw Rehua hostel, albeit in an expanded form, as the logical home for the attending boys. It was preferable, in his mind, to have all the boys housed together.<sup>224</sup> As the proposed school became a more likely eventuality, others in the Department took a more fiscally pragmatic view of the provision of hostel accommodation. Assistant Secretary of Maori Affairs, Mackay, instead made a case to house the students of the proposed school at the Department of Labour’s Immigration Hostel in Christchurch.<sup>225</sup> A survey of the available hostel

---

Wellington.

<sup>221</sup> Interim Advice No.252, 12 January 1961, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.2, Box 1101e, ANZ, Wellington. The formation of the inter-departmental committee was a result of a Hunn Report recommendation, The Hunn Report, p.31.

<sup>222</sup> Maori Education and Employment Committee, Minutes of meeting 16 November 1961, AAMK 869, 36/20, Vol.2, Box 1101e, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>223</sup> The Hunn Report, p.31.

<sup>224</sup> Hunn, “Minute of meeting with the Minister”, 15 June 1960, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>225</sup> Mackay, “Notes on meeting of Minister and Reverend Falkingham”, 19 July 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48,

accommodation in Christchurch showed that this hostel had some experience in housing young Maori migrants. In September 1961, Lewin reported to head office that the hostel had recently housed ten Maori girls who had migrated south following temporary employment in Motueka.<sup>226</sup>

### TE KAIHANGA AND TE ARANGA HOSTELS

In February 1962, 12 young Maori men, ten of them from the North Island, began a course at Christchurch's new Carpentry School. For these new North Island migrants, home was the Department of Labour's Immigration Hostel in Hansons Lane. With the hostel having accommodation for fifty, the young Maori migrants shared their quarters with newly arrived migrants from overseas.<sup>227</sup> Through utilising the immigration hostel to house the new Maori arrivals, the Department of Labour demonstrated its view of the purpose of the Maori trade training scheme; the utilisation of 'wasted' Maori labour. The co-presence of the overseas migrants and the North Island Maori migrants in the one hostel symbolised the Department of Labour's view of Maori labour as being a substitute for large scale overseas migration to New Zealand.

Not all, however, took a wholly economic view of the scheme. Intersecting with the need for labour was the desire for integrated citizens and for an integrated nation. Whereas the long-term housing of the trade trainees in the immigration hostel would have been the fiscally prudent scenario, the race relations aspirations of the Department of Maori Affairs cut across the bottom line of the balance sheet. While housing young Maori women, believed to be ready integrators, in the immigration hostel, was no cause for alarm, the boys were an entirely different matter. As residents of the Immigration Hostel, the Department of Maori Affairs had no overt control over the boys' behaviour. The lack of a means of policing their behaviour meant that the boys resident at this hostel, unlike their counterparts at Rehua, faced no restriction on the hours they kept. Under this regime, reports of 'trouble' began to emerge. One boy, although described as "possibly the best on the job", was identified as the main cause, and alcohol was reported to be at the core of the misbehaviour.<sup>228</sup> Welfare Officer Clark did not see any real problems with the lack of restrictions, but the Department of Maori Affairs moved to rectify the problem. By October 1962, the Department was well into negotiations with the Social Services Council of the Anglican Church to establish Roseneath. During these negotiations, the Department suggested the conversion of the Immigration

---

Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>226</sup> Lewin to Head Office, 28 September 1961, AAMK 869, 37/1, Vol.5, Box 1116c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>227</sup> D.G.Clark, "Annual Report", year ending 31.12.62, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

Hostel in Hansons Lane into a Maori boys' hostel that the church could also administer.<sup>229</sup> In December 1962, the Social Services Council accepted the Department of Maori Affairs offer.<sup>230</sup> Like the arrangement with Roseneath, but unlike Rehua, the Department of Maori Affairs supplied the property, thus requiring no capital expenditure on the part of the Church. The day-to-day running and employment of staff was, however, the responsibility of the Social Services Council.<sup>231</sup>

Named Te Kaihanga, the Hansons Lane Maori boys' hostel rapidly expanded. In 1963, a further 24 boys were brought down to begin their trade training at the Weedons Carpentry School. Building upon the original 12 who had taken up residence at the Immigration Hostel, Te Kaihanga Maori boys' hostel now housed 36 residents. The Department of Maori Affairs instructed the Social Services Council to be prepared for this number to double.<sup>232</sup> By 1966, the number of residents had increased to 48, and the Department of Maori Affairs had plans to build a further block at the hostel.<sup>233</sup> With the 1967 opening of the additional block, the old Immigration Hostel now housed 76 Maori trade trainees drawn mainly from the North Island.<sup>234</sup> In only five years, 132 Maori boys had passed through the hostel as trade trainees.<sup>235</sup>

In 1967, New Zealand experienced a fall in export prices and an economic slow down, and consequently its first real unemployment in 25 years.<sup>236</sup> The golden weather was drawing to a close. For Maori and Pacific Islanders, the situation was far worse, in 1967 this group were over-represented in the registered unemployed (31.6%).<sup>237</sup> Well aware that a lack of occupational skills made Maori more susceptible to unemployment than Pakeha, the Department of Maori Affairs saw an increased need for the trade training as increased in light of the economic downturn. Speaking at the opening of the new Te Kaihanga wing in

<sup>229</sup> 25 October 1962, Minutes of the Full Committee of the of the Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>230</sup> 18 December 1962, Minutes of the Full Committee of the of the Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch. In November 1962, the National Council of Churches had written to the council suggesting that the Hansons Lane Hostel could be jointly administered by the Anglican Social Services Council, and Presbyterian Social Services Association – the Anglican body decided against this arguing that the hostel should be the responsibility of one organisation or another, but should but not a co-operative effort. 29 November 1962, Minutes of the Full Committee of the of the Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>231</sup> 15 May 1963, Minutes of the Full Committee of the of the Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> *Press*, 7 April 1966, p.18.

<sup>234</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, June 1967, No.59, p.46.

<sup>235</sup> *Press*, 1 July 1967, p.14.

<sup>236</sup> "Sharp Rise in Unemployment in 1967", *Labour and Employment Gazette*, Vol.17, No.4, November 1967, pp.8-15.

<sup>237</sup> "Sharp Rise in Unemployment in 1967", p.9.

February 1967, Ralph Hanan clearly articulated the Government's position regarding the training of Maori youth:

You will be aware that various measures have been taken and will be taken in the near future to offset the low prices we are getting for our goods on the world market...But let me say now – quite clearly- that the work of increasing the number of Maori trade trainees and apprentices and the building of hostels and flats for the country youths who have come to the cities for training, will continue at an accelerated rate.<sup>238</sup>

In the mind of the Minister of Maori Affairs there was not only an economic incentive to keep “producing the sort of people that New Zealand industry needs” through the trade training scheme. In addition to training Maori to “contribute to the development and progress of New Zealand”, according to Hanan the scheme also proved the “outstanding success of the present Government and New Zealand's policy of integration”.<sup>239</sup>

With this in mind, the Minister announced plans for the establishment of a third Maori boys' hostel in Christchurch. In mid 1967, Lewin, at a town planning meeting of the Christchurch City Council, outlined the Department of Maori Affairs' plans to introduce, in conjunction with the Christchurch Technical Institute, a further two courses for Maori trainees in 1968.<sup>240</sup> In order to house the North Island Maori boys taking the new motor mechanics and bricklaying course, the Board of Governors of the Christchurch Technical Institute acquired a building that had previously housed Miss Gardiner's School for Domestic Skills, and later served as a nurses' hostel.<sup>241</sup> Spaces that had previously trained and housed young women gave way to spaces for the creation of ideal Maori male citizens. At this date, Rehua and Te Kaihanga were capable of housing 144 Maori youth. The new hostel with a capacity of 41 brought the total to 185. The Department of Maori Affairs provided hostel accommodation for only around 30 Maori girls at this date.<sup>242</sup>

In late 1967, the Christchurch Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church accepted responsibility for the administration of the new Maori boys' hostel in Ensors Road, named Te Aranga. At the opening of the hostel on 21 May 1968, Ralph Hanan emphasised the national expansion of the scheme during the past year.<sup>243</sup> The involvement of the Catholic Church in the trade training scheme was in many ways a logical extension of the work it was carrying out in the Christchurch Diocese in the post-war period. In 1957, the Christchurch Bishop appointed Father Tom Cahill as Director of Maori Affairs for the diocese. This appointment both symbolised and stimulated increased activity on the part of the Catholic Church with

<sup>238</sup> *Press*, 15 February 1967, p.16.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>240</sup> *Press*, 1 July 1967, p.14.

<sup>241</sup> *Press*, 12 April 1967, p.18; Michael O'Meeghan, *Held Firm by Faith: A History of the Catholic Diocese of Christchurch*, Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, Christchurch, 1988, p.336.

<sup>242</sup> *Press*, 1 July 1967, p.14.

<sup>243</sup> “Third Christchurch Hostel Opened”, *Te Ao Hou*, June 1968, No.63, pp.32-33.

Maori communities in the area. In 1959, a Catholic Academy of Maori Culture was formed in the city, and out of this organisation grew a Catholic Maori Club. The appointment of Father Clen Horgan as Maori Missioner for the diocese in 1962 further stimulated involvement with the Christchurch Maori community. Soon after his arrival in 1962, Horgan began plans for a Catholic Marae in the city. In 1969, this dream was realised with the opening of Te Rangimarie Centre.<sup>244</sup>

Where did Rehua fit in the new policy environment that now favoured trade training schools, and courses at technical colleges, over conventional apprenticeships? Rehua and the Christchurch Central Mission missed the opportunity to house the carpentry school trainees, but it was not excluded from the technical training scheme altogether. Aware that local industry could not absorb an infinite number of Maori carpentry apprentices, but desiring to relocate an even greater number of Maori youth to Christchurch, the Department of Maori Affairs expanded the number of formal training schemes on offer in the city. In 1963, the Department of Maori Affairs announced that the Christchurch Technical College would begin one-year apprenticeship courses in panel beating and in painting and decorating for Maori boys in 1964.<sup>245</sup> In February 1964, twenty four young Maori men from the North Island migrated south in order to begin their training in Christchurch.<sup>246</sup>

When this contingent of trainees arrived in the city, however, both Rehua and Hansons Lane hostels were filled to their capacities. Unlike their female counterparts, the Department of Maori Affairs regarded the provision of hotel accommodation as being “essential” to the young Maori men coming to the city.<sup>247</sup> The Christchurch Central Mission provided emergency accommodation for the young men through the placement of ten two man workers’ huts in the hostel grounds.<sup>248</sup> Despite the standard of the accommodation, the young North Island trainees were still provided with the care and restrictions of a hostel environment. The local authority and the Christchurch Central Mission only consented to this measure on the understanding that it would be a strictly short-term one, and that the Crown would provide permanent accommodation at “a reasonably early date”.<sup>249</sup>

After the establishment of the dormitory block at Rehua in 1960, having already contributed greatly to the capital expenditure on Rehua hostel, the Methodist Church was unwilling and unable to continue this practice. This was a point that the Reverend

<sup>244</sup> O’Meeghan, *Held Firm by Faith*, pp.332-336. The establishment of Te Rangimarie met with some opposition from local residents, see: *Press*, 1 July 1967, p.14; 18 July 1967, p.14.

<sup>245</sup> *Press*, 18 September 1963, p.17.

<sup>246</sup> *Press*, 7 February 1964, p.3.

<sup>247</sup> Cabinet Works Committee, 16 March 1965, MA 1, W2490, 37/48 Vol.6, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>248</sup> *Enterprise*, May 1965, Vol.3, No.3,

<sup>249</sup> Cabinet Works Committee, 16 March 1965, MA 1, W2490, 37/48 Vol.6, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

Falkingham had made clear in his 1962 negotiations with the Department of Maori Affairs.<sup>250</sup> Eager to evade Government expenditure, but equally eager to expand the number of hostel beds for Maori youth, Ralph Hanan had suggested applying for money from the Art Union. Falkingham had been adamant that such a funding source would be unacceptable to many in the Methodist Church. Instead, he argued for the Department of Labour to build the new accommodation, and for the Christchurch Central Mission to administer the hostel.<sup>251</sup> If the Department's of Labour and of Maori Affairs were to expand the trade training scheme and therefore to increase the hostel accommodation available for Maori boys in the city, then the State would have to increase its financial expenditure.

It was on these grounds that the Christchurch Central Mission and the Crown proceeded to arrange for increased accommodation for the new trade trainees. In June 1964, Cabinet approved in principle the building of a further wing at Rehua, to be financed from Vote: Maori Affairs.<sup>252</sup> The Mission gifted to the Crown the land on the Rehua property, on which the Department of Maori Affairs erected a 33-bed wing, administered by the Christchurch Central Mission. With the opening of the new wing, Te Koti Te Rato,<sup>253</sup> in October 1966, the hostel could house 66 Maori youths.

The Department of Maori Affairs used the 1966 opening of the new block at Rehua as an opportunity to trumpet the success of its policies and, more specifically of the Christchurch example. For a number of years, the fact that many of the North Island Maori apprentices had settled in Christchurch following their training had been a source of satisfaction for the Department of Maori Affairs. To many within the Department, the settling of North Island Maori boys in Christchurch meant they had achieved success in their efforts to create ideal Maori citizens. Doug Clark had highlighted the permanence of the migrations to Christchurch employers in 1962, and in 1964 the Christchurch *Press* reported, with some satisfaction, that many of the Rehua old boys had married and settled in Christchurch.<sup>254</sup> On a visit to the trade trainees at Weedons in July 1964, Ralph Hanan expressed to the boys that it was his hope that many of them would stay in Christchurch following their training.<sup>255</sup> In his speech at the opening of Rehua's new block in 1966, the Minister of Maori Affairs heralded the Christchurch scheme as a resounding success. Not only had labour been supplied to New

---

<sup>250</sup> Notes of Deputation Held in Hon. Mr Hanan's Rooms, 11 July 1962, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.5, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Cabinet Works Committee, 16 March 1965, MA 1, W2490, 37/48 Vol.6, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>253</sup> The building was named after the first Methodist Maori ordained minister to serve in the South Island (1865-1892). He was based at Rapaki on Banks Peninsular, Canterbury. *Press*, 28 October 1966, p.14.

<sup>254</sup> *Press*, 22 February 1964, p.15.

<sup>255</sup> *Press*, 23 July 1964, p.3.

Zealand industry, but the scheme had also produced integrated Maori citizens. At the core of the success, in Hanan's thinking, stood hostels:

From the point of view of settling down in the towns and cities, I find in Christchurch an example of integration at its best. The progress of trade training, especially in the last six years, has shown what could be achieved from the great untapped reservoir of labour in New Zealand by changing the Maori workman into a tradesman or qualified person. The trainees were selected from rural or semi-rural areas and placed in suitable hostels ...where they could adapt themselves to the ways of city life.<sup>256</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The private and domestic spaces afforded to young urbanising Maori within urban hostels were crucial to the creation of integrated citizens and the integrated nation. Hostels provided means to quell Maori parents' and leaders anxieties about the presence of young unsupervised Maori in the cities, and therefore were a crucial mechanism in the mobilisation of young Maori labour from the 'uneconomic' areas of the country, as well as a potent means and space for the integration of their young residents. Urban Maori hostels occupy a central position in the story of the urbanisation of thousands of young Maori in the period 1942-1969.

This chapter has provided detailed evidence to support one of the central arguments of this thesis, namely that the reasons for the integration and urbanisation of Maori in the period 1942-1969 were a complex tangle of sometimes overlapping Maori desires, economic imperatives, and race relations aspirations. While many young Maori were more than eager to make their way to the cities, the New Zealand State also badly needed them in order to provide labour for a growing and prospering economy, and to make them into integrated and ideal citizens for the integrated nation. Furthermore, this chapter has shown that in order to achieve this, the State required the co-operation and collaboration of the voluntary sector. The provision of hostel accommodation was an expensive business, and not one that the State was prepared to shoulder the costs of alone. Many voluntary organisations, and particularly Churches, happily entered into a collaborative relationship with the State. For many of the organisations, aiding in the provision of hostels was an ideal way to continue their nineteenth century missionary work amongst the indigenous population.

Fundamentally, however, labour policies and the provision of hostel accommodation for young Maori, were underwritten by powerful gender ideologies and beliefs. Within the relatively short period of time between 1942 and 1969, the New Zealand State, and the collaborating voluntary bodies, moved from a primary focus of protecting young Maori women, to one of supplying and integrating young male workers and citizens. With the protection of workers and integrated citizens the ultimate aim of the hostels, the Department of Maori Affairs found that it could assume less responsibility for young Maori women, who

---

<sup>256</sup> *Press*, 31 October 1966, p.16.

were urbanising and integrating without their assistance. Entwining with these gender ideologies and beliefs were equally embedded notions of race. Young Maori women, it was believed, were most suited for employment revolving around domesticity. Even when they, unlike their male counterparts, gained entry to the professions, their essentialised womanly qualities were emphasised. Conversely, young Maori men were believed to be best suited for employment as manual labourers.



## chapter seven:

---

# Making Homes and Homeplaces

This chapter enters the hostels explored in the previous chapter, and investigates the ways in which the hostels produced integrated and ideal Maori citizens. It argues that the process of creating ideal Maori citizens, who would take their place within the integrated nation was a gendered task. It shows that in order to be both a means and space for the production of integrated Maori, hostels were required to mimic the family home. As in the family homes located in the suburbs explored earlier in the thesis, it fell upon women, in traditionally defined feminine roles, to create these interior spaces. Through matrons, the responsibility fell upon women, and usually Maori women, to transform the dormitories into homes in which their young charges felt a sense of belonging in their new urban environments. Again using the examples of Christchurch's hostels, and in particular Rehua hostel, it is shown how female matrons were required to be surrogate 'mums' to their young charges. Furthermore, just as Maori women through the Maori Women's Welfare League displaced Pakeha women in their cultural mission to housewives, it is shown how Maori women as matrons displaced Pakeha women's attempts to continue their missionary role to young Maori in the hostels.

Complicating the integrationist function of the hostels, it is additionally shown how hostels became important sites for the perpetuation of Maori culture in the cities. Just as the Maori Women's Welfare League had taken a wide interpretation of the policy of integration, and in many ways exploited the aspect of the policy that allowed for the retention of Maori culture, so too did many of the matrons of the hostels. Rehua hostel, in its incarnations as a hostel for both young Maori men and women, was crucial to establishment of Maori spaces, places, and identities within the overwhelmingly Pakeha city. From the base of Maori culture largely established by the matrons of Rehua, in 1960 a fully carved wharehau was opened at the Springfield Road site of the hostel.

In examining the Maori culture that flourished in and around the hostels, this chapter also explores the relationship between Ngai Tahu and the flow of urban migrants from other iwi in the North Island. The urbanisation of Maori from their rural communities in many cases disrupted traditional Maori notions of homeplace, which were drawn along tribal lines. Although supported by, and indeed conceived of by, individual members of Ngai Tahu, the hostel and its largely North Island inhabitants served to further complicate and disrupt

traditional notions of iwi-based identities and *turangawaewae*. Urbanisation of Maori to Christchurch fundamentally altered conceptions of Maoriness within the city. It was in the pan-Maori community of Rehua hostel that a Maori space within the city was created in the 1950s and maintained through the 1960s. Through an examination of the relationship between Ngai Tahu and Rehua Hostel, this chapter demonstrates the ways in which urbanisation disrupted and altered the traditional notion of *turangawaewae*, and asks whose *turangawaewae* the city became.

## HOSTELS AS HOMES

Rehua hostel was widely regarded as a successful space for the integration of young Maori.<sup>1</sup> To Doug Clarke, Rehua Hostel was “a good force for integration and another means of attracting Maori people to the South Island where work and housing is normally in reasonable supply”.<sup>2</sup> In bureaucratic thinking, Maori hostels served as more than mere accommodation blocks for young Maori coming to the city. When, in the early 1960s, the Department of Maori Affairs had begun to explore ways in which they could accommodate the greater number of young Maori men coming to the cities for trade training, the simple expansion of existing hostels was not necessarily the solution that found favour. Excited by the news that a trade training centre was to be established in Christchurch, Reverend Falkingham in 1960 approached the Department of Maori Affairs to finance extensions to Rehua hostel to accommodate the extra recruits. The Department concurred with the Superintendent of the Christchurch Central Mission that increasing Rehua’s capacity to 70 residents “would be something like the best figure for the economic operation of the hostel”. Demonstrating their understanding of the wider functions of Maori hostels, however, the Department of Maori Affairs was reluctant to take the most economically expedient route. Instead, Jack Hunn argued: “There is room for doubt whether an establishment of this size [70 residents] could provide residents with the degree of guidance, supervision and control that these Maori lads, fresh to city life, need. The trend of today from the welfare point of view is towards small institutions with a more intimate “family atmosphere”.<sup>3</sup>

Instead of large institutions, the Department of Maori Affairs expressed a clear desire for hostels that provided home spaces for young Maori coming to the cities, alternative home spaces for the young people who had left their traditional homes. The homes the hostels provided, however, differed in an important way from the rural Maori homes from which the

<sup>1</sup> For the Department of Maori Affairs opinion see for example: D.G.Clarke, “Apprentices Christchurch”, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.5, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Hunn to the Minister of Maori Affairs, 3 August 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

residents came. Hostels provided homes that provided a “stepping stone between the home and the European way of life”.<sup>4</sup> In making appeals for donations towards the running of the hostel, the Christchurch Central Mission emphasised the role of the hostel in achieving the race relations objective of an integrated society. Fundraising appeals frequently referred to “The Mission and The Two Races” and to Rehua as being “a story of the integration of the Maori people”.<sup>5</sup> In one appeal, the Christchurch Central Mission informed intending donors “most people know that there is a ‘Maori Problem’. The Christchurch ‘Press’ in a recent editorial said: ‘It is the gravest social problem in New Zealand’. It really is a matter of racial integration and that is what the Christchurch Central Mission is trying to achieve”.<sup>6</sup>

Central to the hostel’s success as a site for integration was the creation of a ‘home like’ atmosphere. Throughout the 1950s, both the Christchurch *Press* and the Christchurch Central Mission itself constructed the hostel as being a ‘home away from home’ for its young North Island Maori residents.<sup>7</sup> From the very beginnings of Rehua, as a hostel for Maori girls, Taka Moss had emphasised the “homelike atmosphere...not always found in larger hostels”.<sup>8</sup> In the mid-1950s, the Mission published a booklet highlighting its social service work. The opening paragraph of the section detailing Rehua posited the hostel as an alternative ‘home’ space for its residents. “Maori youths” leaving the “security of home in a small community...find the new life rather bewildering”, but in the hostel they found “a kindly environment” to help them adjust to their new lives. Here, as in archetypal family homes, the residents “assist with the housework and in the garden” and “join in family prayers”.<sup>9</sup> According to Emma Keenan, matron of the hostel from 1969-1978, the residents did not object to assisting with domestic duties in the hostel as “it’s just like being back home, in the warmth and security of their own families”.<sup>10</sup> Huia and Herb Rennie, after completing their tenure as matron and master of Rehua in late 1960, were eager to continue their work with young Maori migrating to Christchurch, and opened a private ‘guest house’ for young Maori men in Lincoln Road. As at Rehua, the 15 residents in the Rennie’s home were mainly from the North Island. Like the bureaucrats within the Department of Maori Affairs, the Rennies also saw the worth of limiting the size of their house in order to retain the illusion of a family home. In an interview with Moke Couch for *Te Ao Hou*, Huia Rennie, undoubtedly

<sup>4</sup> The Christchurch *Star*, 29 November 1971, n.p., MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.7, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>5</sup> “The Mission and the Two Races”; “Rehua Meeting House and Hostel: A Story of the Integration of the Maori People”, undated (c.1959-1960), MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> *Press*, 1 April 1954, p.8; Christchurch Central Mission, *Rehua Maori Hostel*, undated (c.1957), unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>8</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.49.

<sup>9</sup> Christchurch Central Mission, *Investment in Humanity*, undated (c.1954), unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>10</sup> *Star*, 29 November 1971, n.p., MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.7, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

aware that the parents of prospective residents would read the interview, evoked a decidedly homely image replete with allusions to hearth and home:

Apprentice wages do not allow for too much city entertainment, consequently most winter evenings are spent around the fire in the lounge singing until suppertime. "We are just one big happy family" says Mrs Rennie. "I wish we had more rooms, especially a larger lounge for the boys. However, a larger 'guest house' would mean employing staff and possibly losing that family atmosphere..."<sup>11</sup>

Likewise, Roseneath, although not a conventional hostel, was similarly promoted as providing a 'homeplace' for young Maori women coming to the city. In a report on the new hostel, the Christchurch *Press* informed its readership that Roseneath provided "a friendly and homely atmosphere for all who live there".<sup>12</sup>

## MATRONS

As matrons, women were called upon to fulfil the traditionally 'feminine' functions of protection, care, and nurture.<sup>13</sup> The women who served as matrons at the Christchurch hostels, and in particular at Rehua hostel, became 'mum' to their charges, who were geographically distant from their own mothers. Newspaper articles about the matrons of the hostel often emphasised the motherly role the women took with the residents. An article appearing in the Christchurch *Star*, announced that Mary Ellison, matron at the hostel from 1960-1963, was "affectionately known by the boys as Mum", the article also emphasised the "close bond of affection" between "her and the boys".<sup>14</sup> Another article appearing in a Christchurch paper was entitled "She's 'Mum' to 46 Apprentices" presented a similar construction of Mary Ellison.<sup>15</sup> The Christchurch *Star* portrayed Emma Keenan in a similar light. An article appearing two years after her appointment as matron, pronounced "Her 'family' is big – 64 Maori boys", and branded Keenan as an unofficial "mum" to the boys.<sup>16</sup> Such a view of the women was not a mere media construction. Ruku Wainohu, a carpentry apprentice who arrived at the hostel in 1954, recalled "because we were so far from home we became a close-knit family and each Matron tried hard to make Rehua a home away from home for us".<sup>17</sup> Some residents did not even know the names of the master and matron of the hostel, preferring instead to refer to them as "Mum" and "Pop".<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> "Guest House for Maori Youths in Christchurch", *Te Ao Hou*, December 1961, No.37, pp.30-31.

<sup>12</sup> *Press*, 31 July 1964, p.2.

<sup>13</sup> Pickles, ed, *Hall of Fame*, p.xiv.

<sup>14</sup> "Gaiety is the Keynote at Maori Hostel", *Star*, undated, n.p., MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>15</sup> "She's 'Mum' to 46 Apprentices", undated, unsourced, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>16</sup> *Star*, 29 November 1971, n.p., MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.7, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>17</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, pp.49-50.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with "Bill", 23 November 2000.

The appointment of husbands and wives as matrons and masters, in a simulation of the nuclear family, further entrenched the 'home' atmosphere of all the Christchurch hostels. Like the ideal housewife of the time, matrons were to remain in the house and provide a homely environment for the residents, while their husbands, and masters of the hostels, attended to 'odd jobs' around the hostel, and held full time employment positions outside of the hostels.<sup>19</sup> From the appointment of Joe and Taka Moss as the first master and matron of Rehua, the Methodist Church articulated an explicit preference for married couples to serve in this role.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, the Anglican Church sought to simulate the nuclear family in its hostels through the appointment of husband and wife teams. In agreeing to work with the Department of Maori Affairs in the provision of care for young Maori women in Roseneath House, the Social Service Council of the Christchurch Diocese expressed a desire that the Department would provide living quarters for a married couple to act as master and matron of the hostel. The Anglican Church body envisaged that the husband, in addition to going out to work, would aid in the care of the hostel grounds and assist with odd jobs.<sup>21</sup> While the husband fulfilled this stereotypical post-war masculine role, matrons were equally required to conform to idealised post-war femininity. It was the Social Service Council's desire that the wife, as matron of the hostel, would "guide the girls in cooking, dressmaking and a correct way of life",<sup>22</sup> in short to teach the young female residents the skills of ideal femininity.

In the role of 'mum', matrons at Rehua were charged with overseeing their young charges' transition to life in their new urban home. Matrons at the hostels encouraged thrift amongst the residents,<sup>23</sup> policed their behaviour and dress, and generally aided the residents with their adjustment to life in the cities.<sup>24</sup> In doing so, they aided in the construction of ideal and integrated citizens. As in any family home, the masters and matrons were also required to police and regulate the behaviour of their young charges. The Department of Maori Affairs was always aware that the residents of the Maori hostels in Christchurch were 'ambassadors'

---

<sup>19</sup> Taka Moss was appointed as first matron of Rehua, and in June 1952 the Christchurch Central Mission decided that Joe Moss and the couple's son would "help with work of the hostel", this was while Joe Moss continued to hold his position as a Welfare Officer for the South Island with the Department of Maori Affairs, 8 June 1952, Christchurch Central Mission Board of Management Minutes, 8011/651/1, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch. Likewise, the Anglican Church expressed a preference in considering a new matron for Roseneath Hostel that they would prefer a husband and wife team, with the wife serving as matron of the hostel and her husband as master "to go out to work during the day", 15 May 1963, Minutes of the Full Committee of the of the Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>20</sup> 8 July 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>21</sup> 28 June 1962, Minutes of the Full Committee of the of the Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> 5 October 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch; Interview with "Catherine" recorded 18 May 2000.

<sup>24</sup> For accounts on the activities carried out by matrons at Rehua see: Gill, *Mission Accomplished*.

for the 'race'. With the assistance of the masters and matrons, it sought to ensure that the behaviour of the residents observed by the largely Pakeha population of Christchurch was of a high standard. The main concern with the behaviour of Rehua's residents was consumption of alcohol. The policing of the boys' behaviour in this respect largely fell to masters and other male staff members of the hostel. Staff members would check the local pub to ensure that no residents were drinking there.<sup>25</sup> Herb Rennie, master of the hostel from 1954-1960, would check the dormitories to ensure the boys were home at the agreed curfew time. On Saturday evenings, he, along with his wife Huia, would "hunt in the garden" for the beer that many of the residents hid away for parties later in the evening. When the beer was found it was tipped down the sink,<sup>26</sup> although in the main, such antics on the part of the young male residents were regarded as the normal 'mischief' of young males.

The policing and regulation of the behaviour of the female residents of Roseneath House, however, was a matter approached with far greater seriousness. Although the consumption of alcohol was prohibited for the young Maori women, of far greater concern to the Department of Maori Affairs and to the matrons of Roseneath was the policing and regulation of the residents' sexuality. Although granted a degree of autonomy in their flats, upon entering Roseneath, residents were issued with a set of rules prescribing the accepted modes of living. The House rules prohibited drinking on House premises, along with "disorderly behaviour in or near the House as a result of drinking". In an attempt to both be 'good neighbours' and to inculcate in the young women the canons of respectable suburban behaviour, it was also stipulated that "all noise, radios, and musical instruments" were to "stop when television closes down". Of primary concern, and first on the list of house rules, however, was the issue of "male guests". Male guests were to be "entertained in the TV lounge only", with the residents being explicitly instructed, "under no circumstances are male guests allowed in any other part of the house". Not only were the young women residents not allowed to entertain their male guests in their flats, those guests had to leave the house when television transmission closed down. In order to ensure that the neighbours of the house perceived the presence of young men at the house as 'respectable', it was stipulated that "male friends will use the front door", and residents were to instruct their male friends that "they could not use the fire escapes".<sup>27</sup> Moreover, young men calling to take a resident on a

---

<sup>25</sup> Interview with "Peter" recorded 24 May 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.55.

<sup>27</sup> Morgan to Lewis, 10 December 1965, attached sheet dated November 1965, Social Services Council of Christchurch Diocese, General Correspondence 1963-1970, SSC, 4/8/1, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch

date had to meet her in the communal lounge, and not at her “flat”.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, the agreement between the residents of Roseneath House and the Department of Maori Affairs sought to regulate the moral conduct of the young women. In taking up residence at Roseneath, the young Maori women not only agreed to not cause or permit damage to the house, to keep their flats in “a neat and tidy state”, but also to be of “sober and temperate habits”, and to “maintain an acceptable standard of moral conduct”. Failure to conform to these conditions would result in the termination of the resident’s right to board in the House.<sup>29</sup>

Matrons who sought solely to police and regulate the behaviour of their charges, without the coexistence of a motherly relationship failed in their task. To be a successful matron, requisite amounts of feminine and maternal attributes of care and nurture needed to be displayed. In June 1954, Kia Riwai was called to Rehua to meet with the residents of the hostel as it became increasingly apparent that there was a problem with Mrs Vuletich as matron. On interviewing the residents, Riwai found the residents and staff of the hostel to be fearful of the matron. The young men claimed that the woman charged with being their ‘surrogate mother’ was not feeding them properly. With Dickensian undertones, it was claimed that it was not uncommon for the matron to serve dried bread and jam for the evening meal, and that the minimal allotment of food for the residents’ lunches meant that many of the young men were always hungry. Riwai also heard how the matron had created an impossibly strict environment in the hostel, with residents who missed the curfew by only a few minutes being locked out for the night, and clothes being burnt when found lying about.<sup>30</sup> Despite it also being revealed that several of the residents were drinking heavily, it was the complaints of the residents that were the major concern to the Department of Maori Affairs, which considered that it had “a definite responsibility towards these boys”.<sup>31</sup> Aware that the success of apprenticeship scheme rested on the hostel gaining a positive reputation amongst prospective recruits, the Department was especially concerned about the presence of a matron who appeared “to be something of a tartar”.<sup>32</sup> Cognisant that the hostel had failed in its incarnation as a Maori girls’ hostel, bureaucrats within the Department of Maori Affairs were adamant that Rehua could not afford any tainting of its reputation “now that it is tied up with the apprenticeship scheme”.<sup>33</sup> Further investigations into the matter were undertaken by the

<sup>28</sup> Interview with “Catherine” recorded 18 May 2000.

<sup>29</sup> Agreement for Sharing of Flat between the Tenant and the Department of Maori Affairs, paragraph 20, undated, Correspondence re maintenance 1963–1970, SSC, 4/8/2, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch

<sup>30</sup> Riwai to the Secretary of Maori Affairs, 1 June 1954, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1, Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>31</sup> Marginal handwritten note on Riwai to the Secretary of Maori Affairs, 1 June 1954, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1, Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Department of Maori Affairs, which largely corroborated the initial complaints.<sup>34</sup> In early June 1954 the Social Services Committee of the Christchurch Central Mission resolved that Mrs Vuletich be given the opportunity to resign her position as matron of the hostel.<sup>35</sup> On the 20<sup>th</sup> August 1954, Mrs Vuletich, the woman who failed to fulfil the traditionally feminine maternal role of ‘mum’, departed the hostel.<sup>36</sup>

Hostels and guesthouses were not the only spaces in the city however where women were given the opportunity to play ‘mum’ to young Maori migrants to the city. In an effort to counter the temptations of the urban environment and to provide space for the urban migrants, several clubs for young Maori were formed in Christchurch. It was women, in essentialised roles of the caring maternal figure, who were central to the provision of these spaces that sought to ease the transition of young Maori from their own communities and mothers to Christchurch. Ex-residents of Rehua recall a club started by a Ngai Tahu woman affectionately known as Auntie Lou, in Chancery Lane in the central city. In this club, the young Maori men of Rehua mixed with other Maori in Christchurch, and members of the Pakeha population who were also encouraged to the club. Inside the club, attendees would be treated to “boil-ups” of potatoes, would mingle, and chat, dance, sing, and play guitars.<sup>37</sup> In 1963, another club for Maori youth, the Arohanui Teen-Age Club, which met on Sunday afternoons, was opened at Papanui. The founder of this club was Mrs E. T. Pahi, a member of the Maori Women’s Welfare League, who was “concerned about young Maoris who wander aimlessly round the city streets at the weekends”. In her club she sought to provide “a homelike environment” and to “foster friendship” through the weekly meetings.<sup>38</sup> Like the club in Chancery Lane, the Arohanui Club sought to promote an integrated nation by encouraging Pakeha as well as Maori attendance.<sup>39</sup>

Like other Maori hostels throughout the country, it was largely Maori women who served in the role of matron. Following the departure of Taka Moss as matron of the hostel, both her immediate successor, Mrs Vuletich, and the matron following her, Huia Rennie, were Maori women. Unlike Moss, but like their young charges, these women were not local Ngai Tahu women, but were themselves Maori migrants from the North Island. Mary Ellison, appointed as matron in 1960, was the first Pakeha woman to serve as matron of the hostel.

<sup>34</sup> Riwai to the Secretary of Maori Affairs, 29 June 1954, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.1, Box 167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>35</sup> 10 June 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>36</sup> 12 August 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with “Ian” recorded 18 April 2000.

<sup>38</sup> *Press*, 15 May 1963, p.2.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*



Name of matron and/or master	Where master and matron from/ iwi affiliation	Appointment
Taka & Joe Moss	Ngai Tahu	1952-1953
Mrs Vuletich	North Auckland	1953
Huia & Herb Rennie	Wanganui	1954-1960
Mary & Rangi Ellison	Ngai Tahu [Rangi Ellison] Pakeha [Mary Ellison]	1960-1963
Wera Couch	Ngai Tahu	1963 (interim position)
Mrs & Mr Garth Moody	London (Jamaican ancestry)	1963-1967
Miss Olive Duder	Origin unknown	1968-1969 (interim position)
Emma & Arch Keenan	Taranaki – Te Atiawa	1969-1978

**Table 8: With the exceptions of Mary Ellison and the Moodys, the masters and matrons of Rehua, in its incarnations as both a hostel for Maori girls and boys, were Maori. After the departure of Joe and Taka Moss from the hostel in 1953, it was not until the 1960 appointment of Rangi Ellison as master, and his sister Mori Ellison as cook, that there was again a Ngai Tahu presence on the staff of the hostel.**

Importantly, however, the appointment of Rangi and Mary Ellison, along with Mori Ellison as cook, marked the return of a Ngai Tahu influence within the hostel. The appointment of Wera Couch and his wife as interim master and matron following the Ellison's departure, preserved this Ngai Tahu link. The appointment of the Moody's in 1963, however, marked a shift from a Maori focus to a missionary focus in the leadership of the hostel. The Moodys had arrived in New Zealand in 1958 from London. Both were of Jamaican ancestry. Garth Moody's father had migrated to London from Jamaica where he practised as a doctor, and was heavily involved in the missionary movement, serving at various times as the chairman of the London Missionary Society, chairman of the Colonial Missionary Society, president of the Christian Endeavour Union of England and Wales, and vice-president of the British and Foreign Bible Society.<sup>40</sup> The next permanent appointment to follow the Moody's was that of Emma and Arch Keenan in 1969. The Keenan's were a Te Atiawa couple from Taranaki who had previously worked as caretakers of Rangiatea Maori Girls' Hostel in New Plymouth.<sup>41</sup> Although this appointment marked a shift back to North Island Maori running the hostel, the Christchurch Central Mission was eager to stress the continuation of the missionary influence in the new master and matron. In an article introducing the couple, the Mission emphasised that Arch Keenan's surname came from "a European ancestor, William Keenan, who was the first to bring the Bible to the Atiawa".<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Enterprise*, November 1963, Vol.2, No.2.

<sup>41</sup> *Enterprise*, November 1968, Vol.7, No.2; *Star*, 29 November 1971, n.p., MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.7, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>42</sup> *Enterprise*, November 1968, Vol.7, No.2.

## MISSIONARY WOMEN

As soon as the Christchurch Central Mission made the decision to run a hostel for young Maori women in Christchurch, it called upon the services of the Methodist Women's Missionary Union (MWMU) "to assist with the management of the hostel".<sup>43</sup> As in other parts of the former British Empire, in the post-war period, white women's voluntary organisations increasingly became involved in the extension of welfare to indigenous people, with a view to aiding in their 'modernisation'.<sup>44</sup> The involvement of the Missionary Organisation also built upon the long tradition of Methodist women's missionary work among Maori in New Zealand. As in other parts of the Imperial world, women's missionary work was divided into two types. There were those who worked 'at home' to raise funds, and there were women who worked in the field as missionaries themselves. In the early and mid-nineteenth century, women in the mission were invariably present as either the wife or daughter of a male missionary. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, even the most conservative missionary societies realised the need for missionary wives to be supplemented by single women to work in mission schools and hospitals, as well as for evangelical work amongst indigenous women.<sup>45</sup> New Zealand followed this pattern, with the New Zealand's Wesleyan Methodist Church formally endorsing the establishment of an English-speaking women's mission to Maori women in March 1893. In 1908, the first deaconesses were dedicated and embarked on missionary work in the Church's Maori Mission Department. In the period up until the ending of the New Zealand Methodist Church's deaconess order in 1979, 60 women served in Maori communities.<sup>46</sup>

As with all mainstream Protestant missionary organisations of the nineteenth century, however, for the majority of women, participation in missionary work was primarily in mission auxiliaries at 'home', raising funds for those in the field.<sup>47</sup> Following the example of the Methodist Women's Missionary Auxiliary (MWMA), formed in England in 1857 to direct attention to female education and to improve the conditions of women in 'heathen countries', a New Zealand branch of the MWMA was formed in Dunedin in 1902.<sup>48</sup> By 1908, Methodist women had formed Auxiliaries in most New Zealand towns and cities, and in 1915, the

<sup>43</sup> 28 April 1952, Christchurch Central Mission Board of Management Minutes, 8011/651/1, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>44</sup> For an example from the Canadian experience, see: Pickles, "Forgotten Colonizers", pp.196-203.

<sup>45</sup> Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, "Introduction: Gendered Missions at Home and Abroad", in Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds, *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1999, pp.1-38, p.13.

<sup>46</sup> Margaret Tennant, "Pakeha Deaconesses and the New Zealand Methodist Mission to Maori, 1893-1940", *The Journal of Religious History*, 23, 3 (1999), pp.309-326, pp.309-310.

<sup>47</sup> Huber and Lutkehaus, "Gendered Missions", p.13.

<sup>48</sup> Fry, *Out of the Silence*, p.114.

various groups united to form the Methodist Women's Missionary Union. The stated object of the MWMU was 'Women's Work for Women', and in order to be affiliated, auxiliaries had to demonstrate that they were supporting both home and foreign missions. There was, however, a serious concern among the women that not enough work was being done on the home mission field, and in 1919, the annual meeting of the MWMU passed a "strong resolution" concerning the "imperative need for a more vigorous policy in the work among Maori women and girls".<sup>49</sup> By 1931, the women's missionary organisation had succeeded in opening Kurahuna School of Domestic Science and Hygiene for Maori Girls. To the members of the MWMU, the school represented "a wonderful opportunity ...to reach some of these potential [Maori] mothers".<sup>50</sup>

Although in the post-war period, the MWMU began to devote an increasing amount of its energies to foreign missions, particularly in the Pacific,<sup>51</sup> work on the home mission field among Maori also continued as an important focus. The increasing urbanisation of Maori, however, served to dissolve the boundaries between those at 'home' and those in the field. Women members of the MWMU, in the context of urbanisation, no longer lived removed from the recipients of their fundraising. For the North Canterbury Branch of the MWMU, the establishment of Rehua as a hostel for Maori girls provided an opportunity to expand their home mission work among Maori women and girls. Upon receipt of a request to assist in the running of the proposed Maori girls' hostel, the MWMU responded enthusiastically, with several members volunteering for the work.<sup>52</sup> Under the auspices of assisting the Christchurch Central Mission with the management of Rehua, members of the MWMU were appointed to the Social Services Committee, and in November 1952 formed the core of a sub-committee formed to deal with the day-to-day running of the hostel.<sup>53</sup> As well as contributing to the daily running of the hostel, the MWMU also fundraised for the provision of 'home comforts' for the young Maori women resident in the hostel. Running 'At Homes' at the hostel, the missionary women encouraged Christchurch's population to view the Maori hostel, to be served tea and home baking by members of the MWMU, and increasingly, to view 'traditional' entertainment provided by the hostel's residents.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, pp.116-117.

<sup>50</sup> MWMU, *A Venture In Faith*, p.5.

<sup>51</sup> Daphne Beniston, *The Call of the Solomons: The New Zealand Methodist Women's Response*, Wesley Historical Association, Auckland, 1994, Fry, *Out of the Silence*, p.120.

<sup>52</sup> 14 May 1952 and 13 August 1952, MWMU North Canterbury District Minute Book, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>53</sup> 13 August 1952, MWMU North Canterbury District Minute Book; 3 November 1952, Christchurch Central Mission Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>54</sup> 10 February 1954, MWMU North Canterbury District Minute Book; 10 December 1953, 10 February 1954, 11 March 1954, Christchurch Central Mission Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist



**Illustration 19:** Mrs R. Jamieson, Secretary of the Women's Guild Fellowship, hands over the North Canterbury Methodist Guilds' fundraising contribution to the running of Rehua hostel to the Mission Treasurer in the newly built meeting house at Rehua. Source: *Enterprise*, July 1963, Vol.2, No.1.

Although the women's organisation continued its traditional function of fundraising to support the mission work, the location of the hostel in the city also meant that the members became involved with the young Maori female residents. In a role reminiscent of the Pakeha women's organisations seeking to school Maori housewives in the skills of domesticity, the Christchurch members of the MWMU also sought to establish a 'cultural

mission' with the residents. Through the establishment of Kurahuna, the organisation had demonstrated its commitment to the schooling of young Maori women in skills of Pakeha femininity and domesticity. The Christchurch branch of the MWMU initially sought to implement similar domestic instruction for the residents of Rehua. Within months of the first intake of young women taking up residence in the hostel, members volunteered to instruct the young Maori women in dressmaking, patching, and mending.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, the MWMU sought to protect the modesty of young Maori women, and instruct them in the standards of respectability required in the urban environments. In response to neighbour's complaints concerning the bare windows on the northern side of the Stanmore Road hostel, it was the MWMU who arranged for the frosting of the bathroom window, and who procured curtains for the sun porch.<sup>56</sup>

Given the MWMU's commitment to working among Maori women and girls, the transformation of Rehua from a hostel for Maori girls to boys in 1954 saw the MWMU withdraw from their management role in the hostel.<sup>57</sup> Demonstrating its belief that the day-to-day management of the hostel was a role best suited to women, the Social Services

Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>55</sup> 3 November 1952, Christchurch Central Mission Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>56</sup> 12 November 1953 and 10 December 1953, Christchurch Central Mission Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>57</sup> 11 August 1954, MWMU North Canterbury District Minute Book, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Committee of the Christchurch Central Mission requested that the Women's Guild take over this work.<sup>58</sup> With some common membership between the two Methodist women's organisations, the change in organisation meant that some members of the House Committee remained when the change of organisation occurred.<sup>59</sup> The Guild differed from the MWMU, however, in that it did not attempt 'cultural missionary' work amongst the male residents of Rehua hostel. Instead, they devoted their energies solely to the business of assisting in the running of the hostel, and fundraising for the hostel. Through their fundraising, like the MWMU, the Women's Guild sought to provide the male residents with comforts to make their lives in the hostel more pleasurable and homelike. Eager to keep the young male residents of the hostel within the hostel and away from the temptations of the city, the women's organisation provided the residents with billiards and table tennis tables.<sup>60</sup> To achieve this, the Guild ran garden parties at the new Springfield Road site, with 'Maori entertainment' by the hostel residents a popular feature.<sup>61</sup> Importantly, however, the hostel's transition from being a home for young Maori women to one for young Maori men, in concert with the central role which Maori women took inside the hostels as matrons, gave the Pakeha women less opportunity to continue their 'mission' with young Maori.

## MAKING MAORI SPACES

Inside the spaces of the hostels, the Maori women who served as 'mum' were intent upon not only creating ideal Maori citizens schooled in the ways of the Pakeha world, but also fostering Maori culture. These women, with the support of their husbands and of the Reverend Falkingham, understood integration as being fundamentally different from assimilation. Inside the hostel, the matrons widely interpreted and negotiated the race relations policy, and made the hostel a crucial site for the creation of Maori spaces within Christchurch. On opening Rehua Maori Girls' Hostel, the President of the Methodist Church in New Zealand, the Reverend Laurenson expressed his wish that "Maori culture and tradition [would] be fostered".<sup>62</sup> Only two and a half months after the first young Maori women took up residence at the Stanmore Road Hostel, Taka Moss had organised her charges into a

---

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> 28 July 1954, Christchurch Women's Guild Minutes, North Canterbury District Guild Fellowship Records, 8005; 14 October 1954, Christchurch Central Mission Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch. In 1964, the various Methodist Women's Organisations, including the MWMU and the Women's Guilds, formally amalgamated to form one organisation known as the Methodist Women's Fellowship (MWF), Fry, *Out of the Silence*, p.126.

<sup>60</sup> J. McEwen, Speech Notes – Opening of Recreation Hall Rehua Hostel – Springfield Road, Christchurch, Wednesday, 2 February 1972 at 7.30pm, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.7, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>61</sup> 17 October 1957, Christchurch Central Mission Board of Management Minutes, 8011/651/1, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch; *Press*, 25 November 1957, *Press*, 1 April 1963, p.2.

<sup>62</sup> *Press*, 18 August 1952, p.2.

concert party and “had entertained with action songs”.<sup>63</sup> The emphasis on Maori culture within the hostel was continued with the arrival of Mrs Vuletich as matron. Described as an “expert in Maori culture”,<sup>64</sup> Mrs Vuletich, from North Auckland, held a diploma in Maori arts and culture, which had been presented by Sir Apirana Ngata.<sup>65</sup> Soon after her appointment as Matron, Vuletich requested permission from the church authority to purchase piupiu for the residents, stating that she planned to teach Maori “arts and crafts” and to train the residents for “a Maori concert to reduce the debt on the hostel”.<sup>66</sup> Reverend Falkingham and the House Committee eagerly granted the matron permission to purchase piupiu for the young women, and on the 25<sup>th</sup> August 1953, the concert party, made up of 18 young women from the hostel dressed in piupiu sent from Rotorua, gave its first public performance at the Methodist Central Mission Hall. An article appearing in the *Christchurch Press* reported that the residents of the hostel, led by their matron, entertained with a programme that included poi dances and Maori songs.<sup>67</sup> To the members of the Social Services Committee of the Christchurch Central Mission, the concert party provided a display of the good work they were doing in serving the Maori people in Christchurch. Aware of this, the Committee requested that Mrs Vuletich and her party perform at the Durham Street Methodist Church, at a meeting where they planned to approach the Home Mission Board for a grant for the hostel.<sup>68</sup> The matron readily agreed, and the Committee found tickets to the concert sold well.<sup>69</sup>

Maori culture continued to be an important aspect of hostel life with the arrival of the first draft of male residents in 1954. Within only a few weeks of their arrival at the hostel, the Social Services Committee organised for the male residents to provide “entertainment” at an upcoming hostel open day.<sup>70</sup> As with the girls’ hostel, it was the matrons who were charged with “set[ting] the basis” for Maori culture within the hostel.<sup>71</sup> One of the first male residents of the hostel recalls Mrs Vuletich emphasising Maori culture to her young charges.<sup>72</sup> Within the hostel, Maori culture continued to flourish with the arrival of Huia and Herb Rennie in

---

<sup>63</sup> 3 November 1952, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>64</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.50.

<sup>65</sup> *Press*, 18 September 1953, p.11.

<sup>66</sup> 13 August 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>67</sup> *Press*, 26 August 1953.

<sup>68</sup> 13 August 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>69</sup> 10 September 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>70</sup> 10 February 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>71</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.50.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*



**Illustration 20: The Rehua Maori Concert Party c.1954.** This party, organised by the matron of the hostel, was comprised of male hostel residents and young women working and studying in Christchurch. Source: Christchurch Central Mission, *Investment in Humanity*, undated (c.1955), unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

1954. Only a short time after taking charge of the hostel, Huia Rennie organised a Maori concert to raise funds for the hostel.<sup>73</sup>

Although now exclusively a male hostel, young Maori women in Christchurch also benefited from the actions of the new matron of Rehua. Using the male residents of Rehua as the nucleus, Huia Rennie eager to “foster interest in Maori art and culture”, formed a Maori club that met weekly at the Durham Street Methodist Hall. Young Maori women working and studying in the city were invited to join this club (see Illustration 20).<sup>74</sup> Together, these young women and the residents of the hostel formed a concert party “with the boys ‘tattooed’ and the girls suitably made up” that regularly entertained not only throughout the city of Christchurch, but throughout the South Island.<sup>75</sup> The concert party, largely made up of North Island migrants to the city served to strengthen the increased Maori presence in Christchurch begun by Ngai Tahu in the 1930s. On the 28<sup>th</sup> July 1955 the first of a series of concerts was held in the Durham Street Methodist Church Hall, with further concerts performed throughout the city in various Methodist church halls.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> 14 October 1954, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>74</sup> Christchurch Central Mission, *Investment in Humanity*, undated (c.1955), unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch. See also: Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.50.

<sup>75</sup> 17 March 1955; 14 April 1955; 12 May 1955, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch; Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, pp.50,54.

<sup>76</sup> 14 July 1955; 15 September 1955; 13 October 1955, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

One of the biggest city concerts the group was involved in was a concert with Ari Pitama's Ngai Tahu-based Ngati Otautahi Club in the Civic Theatre in 1955. From the 1930s, largely under the leadership of Te Aritaua Pitama, Ngai Tahu began to reassert its identity within the urban space of Christchurch. On the occasion of the 1931 Centenary of the Kaiapohia pa, Pakeha flocked to the Maori settlement outside of the city to witness the welcome afforded to the Governor General, Lord Bledisloe, and his wife. Around this time, Ngai Tahu also began to "take the cultural platform" on civic occasions in the city.<sup>77</sup> By the time of the Canterbury Centennial in 1950, members of Ngai Tahu, in association with the Canterbury Centennial Association, presented a performance that narrated Ngai Tahu's historical connections to the region.<sup>78</sup> In the context of post-war urbanisations, as increasing numbers of Ngai Tahu began to migrate to the urban centre of Christchurch, there continued an assumption within Ngai Tahu that living in Christchurch was temporary, and that the traditional base of the tribe lay with the papatipu marae. The strong need to retain identity was catered for by continually returning to marae on weekends for tangi, hui, and sporting tournaments.<sup>79</sup> Despite this, in 1940, Pitama, and his sisters Hutika and Herewini and his cousin Rima formed the Ngati Otautahi Club, a city based Maori organisation.<sup>80</sup> The club, the first Christchurch based Maori association or club, with the aid of an annual grant of £75 from the Christchurch City Council, built up a community of Maori people living in the city and surrounding districts. The object of the organisation was "to maintain the unity of the Maori people and especially the younger ones" in an increasingly geographically fragmented context.<sup>81</sup> The tangata whenua, rather than seeing the group formed by the North Island migrants as being a rival, worked with the group to produce a popular concert that was described as a "tremendous success".<sup>82</sup> Such was the success and popularity of the Methodist based Maori Club's concerts that in 1956, the concert party travelled throughout the South Island to Ashburton, Timaru, Temuka, Methven, Blenheim, Picton, and Havelock giving concerts.<sup>83</sup> The proceeds from the concerts were given to the Mission. Fifty percent of the money went to hostel running expenses and the remaining money to the Maori club.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Tau, "Ngai Tahu", p.234.

<sup>78</sup> Canterbury (New Zealand) Centennial Association, *Souvenir Programme of Maori Celebrations and Centennial Concert Presented at the Civic Theatre, Christchurch, Friday, September 8th, 1950 at 8p.m.*, Christchurch, 1950.

<sup>79</sup> Tau, "Ngai Tahu", p.236.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> 10 June 1948, Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, MB 140, A1, Macmillan Brown Library.

<sup>82</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.50.

<sup>83</sup> 26 April 1956; 23 August 1956, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch, Ibid, pp.54-55.

<sup>84</sup> 14 July 1955, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.



Into the 1960s, hostel concert parties served not only to strengthen links between Maori migrants to the city, and between the migrants and Ngai Tahu. They also became a means to display the part that Rehua played in the production of the integrated nation. By 1966, *Enterprise*, under the headline “Maori and Pakeha Combine to Present Maori Culture”, reported with some satisfaction that most of the twelve young women who performed with the male residents of Rehua were Pakeha.<sup>85</sup> At a time when the rules of the South Island Maori cultural competition stipulated that each group include “at least one European”,<sup>86</sup> the co-presence of Maori and Pakeha in cultural groups became a potent means of demonstrating the high level of integration between Maori and Pakeha; they became a potent means of displaying the integrated nation.

The hostel, its residents, and the concert parties, organised and encouraged by the matrons of the hostel, fulfilled three important functions. Firstly, the money raised served to provide funds for both the day-to-day running of the hostel and for the running of the Maori club. From the first concert in July 1955 until December of that year, £305 were raised, with the hostel and the club each receiving fifty per cent of the money.<sup>87</sup> Secondly, the concert party and the club provided a means of fostering, preserving, and perpetuating Maori culture in the city. Huia Rennie considered that in instructing the young Maori men and women of the concert party she was able “to show them the cultural side”.<sup>88</sup> During her tenure as matron, Huia Rennie further sought to foster Maori culture within the hostel by her insistence that the residents speak the Maori language. Eager that the boys speak Maori, and in an inversion of the colonising and assimilating practices of punishing Maori children for speaking Maori, Rennie instituted a system whereby hostel residents would be fined for speaking English at the dining table.<sup>89</sup> Although not part of the formal job description of matrons at Rehua, it seems that many of the women regarded instruction in Maori culture as being vital to their role. In carrying out this task, the Maori matrons of Rehua were negotiating the policy of integration, and preventing the mid-twentieth century policy from being an all-encompassing process of assimilation. Within the spaces afforded by the hostel, as well as instructing the residents in the canons of ideal citizenship, the matrons were able to foster Maori culture simultaneously. Although not actively discouraged by the State, the perpetuation of culture had not been a policy aim in the establishment of urban Maori hostels. Maori women in the role of hostel matrons were, however, able to negotiate the initial State

<sup>85</sup> *Enterprise*, Vol.5, No.1, September 1966.

<sup>86</sup> *Press*, 24 October 1966, p.12.

<sup>87</sup> 23 February 1956, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>88</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.45.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, p.54.

intent of the function of urban hostels, and to expand the notion of integration. Thirdly, the hostel, its residents, and the concert party and their performances provided a visible Maori presence in the city of Christchurch. Huia Rennie considered that the concerts that the young Maori performed in the city “brought home to people the existence of the hostel and its need for support”.<sup>90</sup> Since its inception, Rehua hostel had been important in the creation of Maori spaces and a Maori presence within the city. For many of the predominantly Pakeha residents of Christchurch, Rehua hostel and its young Maori residents provided their first glimpses of Maori and of Maori culture, with both being the object of Pakeha curiosity. Early male residents of the Stanmore Road hostel recall their haka practices on the front lawn of the hostel becoming a spectacle for the local Pakeha population. Unused to overt ‘Maoriness’ in the city, Pakeha motorists would often stop their cars outside of the hostel to observe the cultural display, and on more than one occasion caused a traffic jam.<sup>91</sup> If ‘cultural displays’ were the object of Pakeha curiosity, so were the residents themselves. Residents of the hostel in the 1950s and early 1960s recall going into Cathedral Square and being objects of Pakeha curiosities.<sup>92</sup>

The efforts of the matrons in making Rehua Hostel a Maori space within the city further contributed to a broad interpretation of the policy of integration by providing a means



**Illustration 21: The Opening of Rehua Maori Apprentices' Hostel in Springfield Road, 13<sup>th</sup> April 1957. Source: Stan McKay photograph, Canterbury Museum, Ref: 16694. The photograph appeared in the *Christchurch Star-Sun*, 15<sup>th</sup> April 1957 with the following caption: “A Maori Greeting being preformed during the opening on Saturday of the Rehua Maori Apprentices' Hostel on Springfield. Although the man leading the haka is not identified, it is more than likely Herb Rennie, master of the hostel. The man in the background and wearing the cloak is Eruera Tirikatene, Member of Parliament for Southern Maori.**

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p.55.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, p.50.

<sup>92</sup> Interview with “Ian” recorded 18 April 2000.

to educate the Pakeha population in aspects of Maori life and culture. Although Ngai Tahu had been gaining an increased presence in the city since the 1930s, the hostel, and its North Island residents, provided further opportunities to increase the Maori presence in the city. It was at events such as the 1957 opening of the Springfield Road site of Rehua hostel, that the Pakeha population gained opportunities to participate in and to witness 'Maoriness' within their city (see Illustration 21). On 13<sup>th</sup> April 1957, not only did the 200 assembled guests and the residents of the middle-class residents of the predominantly Pakeha suburb of St Albans witness a Maori man, complete with moko and wearing a piupiu, lead a Maori welcome, they were also treated to a hangi of "wild pig, poultry, and various vegetables".<sup>93</sup>

In 1960, the Maori presence in the physical and cultural landscape of Christchurch received further inscription through the establishment of the fully carved wharehau, Te Whatumanawamaoritanga-O-Rehua, at Rehua marae. The opening of the meeting house on the 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1960 was an event of great significance to Christchurch, and served to underscore the increasing importance that Maoriness and Maori culture came to occupy in the city. The opening on the 3<sup>rd</sup> December was only one day in a three-day hui held between 2-4 December to celebrate the building and opening of the meeting house, the first to be built in the South Island in over one hundred years. The Saturday celebrations began amidst inclement weather at dawn, with Princess Piki (later Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu), daughter of King Koroki, lifting the tapu. The large party of Waikato accompanying her led tribal delegations of some 650 people from all over the North Island, who had come to support and witness the event.<sup>94</sup> Media covering the event noted that this was the first time a representative of the Kingitanga (King movement) had visited the South Island.<sup>95</sup> Following this, Eruera Tirikatene welcomed the over 3000 guests, Walter Nash performed the official opening, and lunch was served to 2500 people.<sup>96</sup>

If the presence of a Maori hostel and the cultural performances of its residents had served to announce a Maori presence in the city during the 1950s, the building and opening of a fully-carved wharehau in St Albans in 1960 surely trumpeted the demographic and cultural changes occurring in the city. Largely through the efforts of the matrons of the hostel, an

---

<sup>93</sup> *Press*, 15 April 1957, p.10. Present at the opening were a smattering of members of Parliament with Eruera Tirikatene, the MP for Southern Maori, I.T. Ratana, the member for Western Maori, and J.T. Watts, the Minister of Finance, all in attendance. In addition the Secretary of Maori Affairs, T.T. Ropiha and the deputy Mayor of Christchurch, George Manning were also present. According to the report of the event, there were also 'Maori' leaders present – but they were not named.

<sup>94</sup> Melvin Taylor, "Now the South Island Has a Fully Carved Meeting House", *Te Ao Hou*, No.34, March 1961, pp.48-49; Parsonson, "Ngai Tahu - The Whale That Awoke", pp.248-249. The largest North Island party was that of Waikato who numbered more than one hundred.

<sup>95</sup> *Press*, 6 December 1960.

<sup>96</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, No.34, March 1961, p.48.

environment that valued and fostered Maori culture had been developed, and by the late 1950s a meeting house seemed to be the next logical step in the evolution of the hostel. Its building was, however, by no means an inevitability. Rather, it was the result of the determination of individuals and of a group effort.

To Reverend Falkingham, the building of a meeting house at Rehua would complete the integration of the young male residents. Working within a widely defined notion of integration, Falkingham made it clear that he understood integration to mean both the teaching of 'modern' Pakeha skills, and the perpetuation of Maori culture. In late 1958 and 1959, it became apparent to the hostel's administrating committee that provision needed to be made for the "physical activity" of the hostel residents.<sup>97</sup> Although the original idea was for a recreation hall for the residents, by early 1959, Falkingham and the hostel committee were expressing a desire for a meeting house to "cater for the recreational and social interests of the boys". In presenting their case to the Secretary of Maori Affairs, Falkingham argued that such a facility at the hostel would be "a big factor in overcoming the tendency for some of the lads to seek companionship outside the Hostel which is not always in their best interests".<sup>98</sup> Additionally, members of the Christchurch Central Mission considered the construction of a carved meeting house on the hostel grounds would keep the "boys in touch with the artistry achievements of their race", and in the context of a large North Island Maori population "serve as an admirable centre for Christian work among the Maoris of the South Island".<sup>99</sup> Falkingham believed "it is important that Maori boys who come into a predominantly Pakeha environment to learn various trades should have something incorporated into the life of the hostel to remind them of all that is good and wise in their Maori traditions...The recreation room built in the style of a meeting house will serve just that purpose".<sup>100</sup> He saw "the most important purpose of the traditional meeting house" as "the integration of the Maori boys and their familiarisation with their own arts".<sup>101</sup> To the Superintendent of the Mission, the State and the Church were "not doing our best by simply teaching them the trades and skills of the Pakeha ...They come from a Maori heritage and must be encouraged in what is good and worthwhile in their own tradition".<sup>102</sup>

The building of a fully carved meeting house was, however, no small undertaking: it required large amounts of funding, materials, and labour. An amalgam of the State, the

<sup>97</sup> Methodist Church Annual Conference 1959, p.165, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

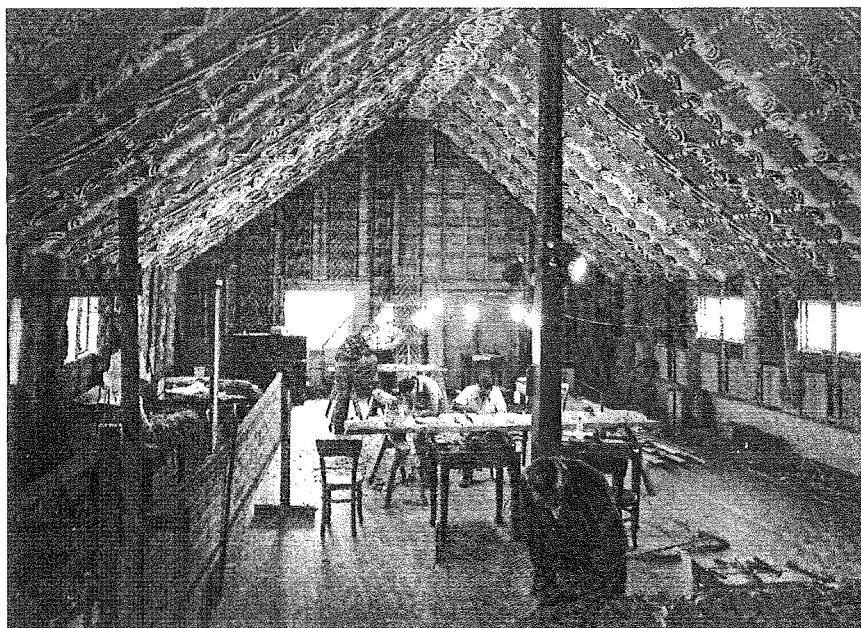
<sup>98</sup> Falkingham to Sullivan, 23 March 1959, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.2, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>99</sup> Methodist Church Annual Conference 1959, p.165, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>100</sup> *Press*, 7 July 1959, p.14.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Press*, 19 August 1959, p.6.



**Illustration 22: Carvers at work on the meeting house, 1960. Source: Rehua: Te Whatu Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua – Souvenir and Programme of the Opening Ceremonies, Saturday 3 December 1960, unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.**

Methodist Church, the residents themselves, Maori communities, and local businesses and clubs, combined to contribute to the eventual cost of the meeting house.<sup>103</sup> The residents of the hostel provided much voluntary labour. In mid-1959, the project began, with the residents levelling the ground for the house.<sup>104</sup>

Under the supervision of qualified builders, an architect, and master carvers Henare Toka and Joe King,<sup>105</sup> the residents themselves, many of them carpentry apprentices, aided in the building of the meeting house. Local Christchurch businesses, particularly those who employed apprentices from Rehua, donated building materials.<sup>106</sup> Sourcing timber for the house was, however, a major obstacle, with the most suitable timbers for carving being either kauri, which was virtually unprocureable, or totara, which was rare and expensive. In the initial stages of the project, Reverend Falkingham travelled to the North Island to find a suitable tree, but the cost of transporting the tree to Christchurch was prohibitive at £200.<sup>107</sup> Gifts of timber from individuals, and assistance from the State Forest Service, eventually ensured that the timber needed for the project became available.<sup>108</sup> Donations of a carved

<sup>103</sup> Falkingham to Hanan, 25 May 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington. The final total cost of the meeting house including goods and services donated was £12891.11.10.

<sup>104</sup> *Press*, 20 July 1959, p.13.

<sup>105</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> April 1960, Report of the Rehua Hostel Committee, 8011/655/2.; Rehua: Te Whatu Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua – Souvenir and Programme of the Opening Ceremonies, Saturday 3 December 1960, unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch. Henare Toka (he is referred to by his anglicised name of Henry in some reports) was also the carver of the urban marae in Auckland, Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1959, 1396-003, ATL.

<sup>106</sup> Rehua: Te Whatu Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua – Souvenir and Programme of the Opening Ceremonies, Saturday 3 December 1960, unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>107</sup> *Press*, 20 July 1959, p.13.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, After reading a report of the prohibitive costs of transporting timber to the South Island, Mr M. Thacker made a gift of a large totara tree from his farm in Okains Bay, Banks Peninsula; on the involvement of the State see: Secretary of Treasury to Secretary of Maori Affairs, 29 September 1960, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington; Rehua: Te Whatu Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua – Souvenir and Programme of the Opening Ceremonies, Saturday 3 December 1960, unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

palisade from the Christchurch Rotary Club,<sup>109</sup> and native trees from a local nursery, served to ensure that the “meeting house be placed in something like an old time setting”.<sup>110</sup>

From the outset of the meeting house project, the Mission had envisaged the Department of Maori Affairs contributing greatly to the building of the house. Reverend Falkingham applied for a 50 per cent subsidy for the house under the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, 1945. The wharenuī at Rehua was being built on private land and was not being tribally based. It was therefore excluded from the subsidies available under the legislation, which provided only for meeting houses built on Maori land, vested in trustees for a tribe.<sup>111</sup> Although excluded from this subsidy, Falkingham applied to the Department of Maori Affairs for a contribution to the house. From early 1959, however, it was apparent that there was bureaucratic resistance to financially contributing to the building of a fully carved meeting house in Christchurch. While the Department indicated it would be willing to contribute money towards a recreational or community hall at the hostel, they were adamant that they would not contribute towards a meeting house.<sup>112</sup> To the bureaucrats, a recreational or community hall “would serve more purpose” than a wharenuī.<sup>113</sup> On this basis, the Department of Maori Affairs approved a subsidy of £2075 for an “assembly and recreation hall with some Maori motifs” expected to cost £4150.<sup>114</sup> On completion of the fully carved house, the Department of Maori Affairs felt aggrieved and argued that it would not have approved the subsidy if it had known exactly what the money would be used for.<sup>115</sup> While the bureaucrats recognised the worth of recreational space for the hostel residents, they thought that the building of a carved meeting house was outside of the scope of the funding for Maori hostels.<sup>116</sup>

The Christchurch Central Mission, however, saw the carved meeting house as consistent with the role of the hostel. Specifically, Falkingham and the Mission cast the meeting house as being part of their contribution to the production of integrated citizens and the integrated nation. To the Christchurch Central Mission, Rehua hostel and its meeting house was “a story of the integration of the Maori people”.<sup>117</sup> In their thinking, not only

<sup>109</sup> *Press*, 21 December 1960, p.18.

<sup>110</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> April 1960, Report of the Rehua Hostel Committee, 8011/655/2, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch. Mr Humm of Nairns’ Nurseries donated the native trees.

<sup>111</sup> Acting Secretary of Maori Affairs to the Minister of Maori Affairs, 23 November 1960, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>112</sup> Sullivan to Falkingham, 11 June 1959, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.2, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>113</sup> Handwritten marginal note – MacKay, 29 April 1959, on Falkingham to Sullivan, 23 March 1959, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.2, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>114</sup> Hunn to Hanan, 3 August 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> “Rehua Meeting House and Hostel: A Story of the Integration of the Maori People”, undated (c.1959-1960),



**Illustration 23:** Like the *Christchurch Press*, the official brochure for the opening of the meeting house sought to emphasise the integrating role of the wharehau at Rehua by highlighting the role that the Pakeha population had played in its construction. The accompanying caption in the 1960 brochure stated “Two members of the W.E.A. Maori Class completing work on the last of the tukutuku panels. Mrs Henare Toka of Auckland, trained local classes in the ancient art of tukutuku”. Source: *Rehua: Te Whatu Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua – Souvenir and Programme of the Opening Ceremonies, Saturday 3 December 1960, unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.*

would the house serve to keep the residents close to the hostel, and therefore out of trouble, the meeting house, like the hostel itself, would be both a force for, and a symbol of the level of the racial integration being achieved in the city. Throughout its construction, the *Christchurch Press* emphasised the integrating force of the house. Mrs Mary Toka, assisted by Ngai Tahu women from Rapaki, Taumutu, Little River, Tuahiwi, and Christchurch, led the tukutuku work necessary for the interior walls of the house. Reports appearing in the “Women’s

News and Views” pages of the local newspaper cast the work of the women as aiding “young Maori men adapting themselves to modern industrial conditions” while allowing them “to retain a knowledge of their own ancient culture”.<sup>118</sup>

It was not only the integrating potential that the marae held for the hostel residents that was highlighted. The Christchurch Central Mission, politicians, and the *Christchurch Press*, emphasised the potent force and symbol of integration that the meeting house was for the wider Christchurch community. Pakeha involvement in the tukutuku work was emphasised through reports such as that appearing only days after the opening, headlined “Tuku Tuku Weaving: Maori and Pakeha Work Together”.<sup>119</sup> In this article, the Christchurch newspaper informed readers that “Maori and Pakeha women have worked side by side in the tukutuku work in the Rehua meeting house”. Likewise, the Mission also highlighted this element of the wharehau’s construction. The official brochure for the opening of the house featured an image of Pakeha members of the WEA working on the tukutuku panels (Illustration 23).<sup>120</sup>

MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>118</sup> *Press*, 2 December 1959, p.2.

<sup>119</sup> *Press*, 6 December 1960, p.2. This article is also discussed in Parsonson, “Ngai Tahu - The Whale That Awoke”, p.249.

<sup>120</sup> *Rehua: Te Whatu Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua – Souvenir and Programme of the Opening Ceremonies*,



The Reverend Falkingham was able to secure some Government funding for the hostel by constructing it as a space crucial to the evolving integrated nation. In dealing with politicians, Falkingham argued that the “‘Te Whatua-Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua’ will be a meeting place of both Maori and Pakeha and so make a distinctive contribution to the integration of our races”.<sup>121</sup> At the opening ceremony of the meeting house, Walter Nash relayed this version of the house. He emphasised that Pakeha as well as Maori had laboured on the project, both in building the meeting house and in organising the opening ceremony. In this way the meeting house, he argued, had already brought Maori and Pakeha closer together. This was especially important to the Prime Minister and Minister Maori Affairs, as Pakeha, along with Maori were interested in learning about Maori culture “and in sharing its riches with the Maori people”. According to Nash “the building of a Maori meeting-house can perhaps be the strongest peace-time force I know of for bringing Maori and Pakeha together on terms of mutual respect, goodwill, co-operation, and friendship”.<sup>122</sup> Roger Duff, of the Canterbury Museum, endorsed this view when he congratulated the Mission on the successful building of the meeting house that would “serve as a symbol and focus of the integration of Maori and Pakeha into one New Zealand people and culture”.<sup>123</sup>

Not only was the meeting house a force in, and symbol of, the integration of Maori and Pakeha, to many it stood as a symbol of the integration of various individual iwi into ‘Maori’. At the time of the opening and building of the house, much was made in the media that this was the first fully carved house to built in the South Island in over one hundred years.<sup>124</sup> While Ngai Tahu, like many iwi over the period, had simply been unable to meet the immense costs associated with the building of a wharenui, the cost of the meeting house at Rehua did not fall on any one group. From the outset of the proposed project, the Christchurch Central Mission secured the financial support of iwi outside the rohe in which the house was built. Along with the State, the mission, and local businesses, the Wairoa and Gisborne Maori Trusts also financially contributed.<sup>125</sup> Not only did the Maori communities where the majority of the hostel residents came from financially contribute to the building of the house, their carving traditions and designs also featured prominently in the house.<sup>126</sup> The North Island parents of the hostel residents, along with Ngai Tahu and members of the

---

Saturday 3 December 1960, unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>121</sup> Falkingham to Nash, 12 December 1960, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>122</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, March 1961, No.34, p.49.

<sup>123</sup> Duff to Falkingham, undated, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>124</sup> See for example: “Now the South Island Has A Fully Carved Meeting House”, *Te Ao Hou*, March 1961, No.34, pp.49; and *Press*, 13 October 1959, p.11.

<sup>125</sup> *Press*, 7 July 1959, p.14; and 20 July 1959, p.13.

<sup>126</sup> *Press*, 20 July 1959, p.13.



Christchurch Pakeha community, also contributed to the tukutuku panels required for the interior of the wharenuī.<sup>127</sup>

How then did Ngai Tahu, the tangata whenua of the area where the house and hostel stood, feel about their presence, and, more generally, the changing Christchurch Maori population? While the State sought to erode tribal divisions and to arrive at a pan-Maori identity, for many Maori, distinct and separate iwi identities remained crucial.<sup>128</sup> Occurring parallel to, and sometimes entwined with the establishment and growth of Rehua hostel and the meeting house were Ngai Tahu efforts to secure space within the city. As outlined in the previous chapter, individual members of Ngai Tahu were central to the establishment of Rehua hostel. The Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board also initially made an annual grant to the hostel of £100.<sup>129</sup> For many of the young men resident in the hostel, far away from their homes and families, at a time when both toll calls and travel home was rare and expensive, homesickness was a major hurdle to their adjustment to lives in Christchurch.<sup>130</sup> It was the support and welcome of Ngai Tahu elders and communities that provided an antidote to the homesickness for many of the young men at the hostel. Elders such as Riki Ellison would gather up the residents in a bus and take them eeling at Taumutu; likewise, trips to Tuahiwi and Rapaki were not uncommon.<sup>131</sup> Marriages between the young North Island men and Ngai Tahu women served to further strengthen ties between the young men and the local iwi.<sup>132</sup> To many members of Ngai Tahu, the young male residents of the hostel served to bolster the Christchurch Maori population, and therefore the efforts to gained an increased presence in Christchurch city.

---

<sup>127</sup> *Press*, 7 July, 1959, p.14.

<sup>128</sup> For a discussion of the politics of pan-Maori versus tribal identity see: Hana O'Regan, *Ko Tahu, Ko Au: Kai Tahu Tribal Identity*, Horomaka Publishing, Christchurch, 2001, pp.103-119. Roger C.A. Maaka, 'The New Tribe: Conflicts and Continuities in the Social Organisation of Urban Maori,' *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6, 2 (1994), pp.311-336 argues that the tribe is no longer a valid organisation for Maori cultural identity in Maori society in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. He suggests that the deconstruction of the Maori cultural world-view based on the iwi is an inevitability. He proposes the re-definition and construction of a new 'tribe' whose membership is determined by factors such as location, association, and commitment, while traditional tribal structures, whose membership is defined by descent, should be confined to the functions of managing and receiving communally owned assets.

<sup>129</sup> 31 July 1952, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch. The Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board was formed in 1946 to administer the annual payment from the Crown to the iwi of £10 000. This money was granted to Ngai Tahu in 1944, and was to be paid for 30 years in settlement for claims arising from the Kemp Purchase. On the history of the Ngai Tahu claim see: Tau, "Ngai Tahu".

<sup>130</sup> Interview with "Ian", 18 April 2000. This ex-resident of the hostel recalls new recruits to the hostel, many as young as 15, crying themselves to sleep for their first few weeks at the hostel.

<sup>131</sup> Interview with "Ian", 18 April 2000; Interview with "Bill", 23 November 2000; Interview with "Rose", 22 March 2000; Parsonson, "Ngai Tahu - The Whale That Awoke", p.250.

<sup>132</sup> Interview with "Bill", 23 November 2000.

From an early date, Ngai Tahu began to consider ways in which it could enlist the experience of immigrants from the North Island.<sup>133</sup> As outlined earlier in the chapter, the concert parties of the hostel were seen as complementing, rather than rivalling, Ngai Tahu's own efforts to raise the profile of Maori in the city. At the opening of the meeting house, Eruera Tirikatene, himself a Ngai Tahu man, informed the hostel residents and their parents that it was "from your store of Maoritanga, that of Te Waipounamu can be replenished".<sup>134</sup> Embedded within this rhetoric was, however, a feeling of inferiority felt by many South Island Maori. Many North Island Maori viewed South Island Maori as having "lost the blood, lost the land, and lost the language"; the fundamentals of a Maori identity.<sup>135</sup> According to Jocelyn Armstrong, South Island Maori were regarded by some North Islanders not as just "less Maori", but as "not Maoris at all". She argues:

Particular disappointment, disapproval, and sometimes disdain was given the non-use of the Maori language in the South Island. Maori-speaking North Island Maori often singled out discovery that South Island Maori did not speak 'their own language', as, putting it politely, 'hard to understand', but, speaking more bluntly, as the 'biggest shock' of their migration experience.<sup>136</sup>

This attitude had a strong effect on many Ngai Tahu: "For South Island Maori, being made aware that they no longer spoke their 'own tongue' caused regret, embarrassment, and even self-descriptions as 'backward'".<sup>137</sup> The State, and indeed some members of Ngai Tahu, however, read the situation as Ngai Tahu not being 'less Maori', but 'more Europeanised', 'more modern', and importantly, 'more integrated'.<sup>138</sup>

Although individual members of Ngai Tahu continued to support and to be involved with the running of the hostel, within only seventeen months of the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board granting the hostel an annual contribution, it reviewed this decision. In December 1953, Reverend Falkingham and Sir Ernest Andrews attended a meeting of the Trust Board to answer claims that girls of the Roman Catholic faith had been asked to leave the hostel. The duo denied the rumours, but informed the Board that the hostel was to be converted to house young male apprentices. On receipt of this news, the Board suspended its grant.<sup>139</sup> In February 1954, the Board made permanent their decision to suspend payments to the hostel,<sup>140</sup> and in August 1955 made it clear to the Mission that they "were very much against

<sup>133</sup> "How to Remain Maori", *Te Ao Hou*, No.16, October 1956, pp.35-37. This article was a report of a conference organised by the Canterbury Tribal Executive between 2-4 June 1956. This conference is discussed in Armstrong, "Maori Identity in the South Island", pp.205-206.

<sup>134</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, March 1961, No.34, pp.49.

<sup>135</sup> Armstrong, "Maori Identity in the South Island", p.207.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 17 December 1953, A14, MB 140.

<sup>140</sup> Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 28 February 1954, A14, MB 140. Although the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board minutes leave no doubt that the grant was not to be renewed, in May 1955 Falkingham reported to

the matter being brought up again”.<sup>141</sup> Driving the Trust Board’s firm position in regard to their funding of the hostel was the expansion of the hostel. The money that the Mission was seeking from the Board was not to pay off the deficit owing from the original hostel that Ngai Tahu had been involved in establishing, but to build its larger hostel in Springfield Road.<sup>142</sup> Instead of contributing to the costs of housing the North Island migrants, the Trust Board instead elected to use their settlement money to aid young members of their iwi in gaining apprenticeships. In July 1957, it was decided that a one off payment of £15 was to be paid to Ngai Tahu apprentices.<sup>143</sup> The ability of most of the apprentices to live with parents or relations during their apprenticeships made hostel accommodation less necessary for this South Island group. For those who did need hostel accommodation, the Board retained the discretion to make “special grants”.<sup>144</sup>

Coincidentally, the move of Rehua hostel to its new site in Springfield Road in 1957, held great significance for the iwi on whose mana whenua it stood. In the written historical record, St Albans, like many other parts of Christchurch, was said to have no real Maori history of note or significance. As late as 1989, a history of the suburb claimed that before 1850, there had been no permanent settlement in the area. The history of the area before European colonisation was summed up in only a few sentences. It was claimed that in pre-European times, St Albans had merely been a site through which Maori had walked.<sup>145</sup> This is far from the case, and in fact the 1957 opening of Rehua hostel re-established Maori linkages with the area that stretched back around a thousand years.

Between the years 1000 and 1500, the area of land from Victoria Square to present-day Bealey Avenue was a vibrant and flourishing pa site. For the Waitaha inhabitants of Puari Pa, Otakaro (the Avon River) was an important mahinga kai site. At its height, Puari Pa was home to some 800 people. Unlike the Waitaha before them, Ngai Tahu did not make a permanent home in Puari Pa, but rather assembled there from other settlements in order to gather kai. Although not a permanent settlement for Ngai Tahu, the site was of importance to them. The area was sufficiently important for Ngai Tahu to apply for the pa site to be

---

Bennett that the grant was to be renewed. Falkingham to Bennett, 18 May 1955, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, box167, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>141</sup> Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 13 August 1955, A14, MB 140.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 27 July 1957, A7, MB 140.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. In 1951, the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board made a similar decision about their funding of Te Waipounamu Maori Girls’ College. Instead of making a grant to the College, it was decided to fund individual girls attending the college who were Ngai Tahu. The reason for this was that in funding the College, the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board was funding non-beneficiaries from the settlement money. Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 24 February 1951, A13, MB 140.

<sup>145</sup> Canterbury Branch New Zealand Federation of University Women, *St Albans: from swamp to suburbs: an informal history*, New Zealand Federation of University Women, Canterbury Branch, Christchurch, 1989, p.4.

reserved at the 1868 sitting of the Native Land Court in Christchurch.<sup>146</sup> Very little is known about this pa site. Urupa, or burial grounds, have been discovered in various parts of the centre of present day Christchurch. It is also known that Springfield Road, the new site of the hostel, was an important water gathering area for the inhabitants of the pa. Prior to the colonisation, settlement, and ultimate drainage of the city of Christchurch, the area where the new Maori boys' hostel now stood had been an area rich in nga puna, or springs – thus earning the street the name of Springfield Road. This is a point of great significance to the present day Ngai Tahu custodians of the site.<sup>147</sup>

As with the hostel, individual members of Ngai Tahu were heavily involved in the establishing of the wharenuī. It was in fact a Ngai Tahu man, Wera Couch, who named the meeting house.<sup>148</sup> At the outset of the project to build the meeting house, the Christchurch Central Mission sought the endorsement of the various Ngai Tahu communities surrounding Christchurch. Before the carving of the house commenced in July 1959, Henare Toka and the Reverend Falkingham met at Rapaki with representatives from Little River, Rapaki, Taumutu, and Christchurch, with the Mission receiving the support and blessing of the tangata whenua. The Christchurch Central Mission was praised for taking the initiative in building the house. Following the meeting, Toka and Falkingham visited marae throughout the wider Christchurch area to explain the project and to seek the support of the people. As outlined earlier, this support was forthcoming, and members of Ngai Tahu, particularly women, aided in the construction of the house by assisting in the tukutuku work.<sup>149</sup> The Mission envisaged that the house would be for the use of “all Maori people” in the area, and would be a site for “tribal and other committee meetings”.<sup>150</sup> In a letter to the Canterbury Tribal Executive and to all the tribal committees, the Mission articulated its clear belief that the house belonged to the Ngai Tahu people as well as the hostel residents: “A Meeting House could never, in a real sense, belong to Pakehas. It is your Meeting House and all that we ask is for your help and guidance in determining a policy for its use that will be rewarding, not only for your people today, but also for the future generations yet to come”.<sup>151</sup> The Board recommended that a

<sup>146</sup> Harry Evison, *Te Wai Pounamu the Greenstone Island: A History of the Southern Maori during the European Colonisation of New Zealand*, Aoraki Press in association with the Ngai Tahu Trust Board and Te Runanganui O Tahu, Wellington, 1993, p.418, Tau, “Ngai Tahu”, p.223.

<sup>147</sup> Interview with “Ian”, 18 April 2000.

<sup>148</sup> *Press*, 21 September 1960, p.14.

<sup>149</sup> Statement on “Te Whatu-Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua” by Central Mission Board of Management, 30 September 1960, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington; Rehua: Te Whatu Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua – Souvenir and Programme of the Opening Ceremonies, Saturday 3 December 1960, unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>150</sup> Falkingham to Chairman of Canterbury Tribal Executive and Chairman of all Tribal Executives, 16 June 1960, reproduced in Statement on “Te Whatu-Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua” by Central Mission Board of Management, 30 September 1960, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, emphasis in the original.

“Council of Elders”, comprised of prominent members of Ngai Tahu, be appointed to “cooperate with the [Christchurch Central Mission] Board of Management in safeguarding the sacred traditions associated with such a building”.<sup>152</sup> The Mission viewed Ngai Tahu as having a strong connection with the meeting house, and as such a “number of ...Ngai Tahu elders...assumed responsibility for the organisation of the hui in connection with the opening ceremonies”.<sup>153</sup> To aid the “elders” in their contribution to the opening ceremonies and hui, the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board approved a grant of £50 to be paid to Wera Couch, as representative of the group.<sup>154</sup>

While both individuals and the Trust Board sought to aid and support the Mission in the building and opening of the meeting house, within Ngai Tahu there was a strong feeling that this meeting house did not fulfil their iwi’s desire for space and a meeting house in the city. While the Trust Board had been happy to approve a small grant to cover the expenses of the members of the iwi involved in the opening of the house, they explicitly rejected the Mission’s appeal for a grant toward the building of the wharenuī. Such a grant, the Board argued, was counter to its governing legislation and internal policies, and “it was not prepared to entertain applications for grants and assistance to non-beneficiaries”.<sup>155</sup> Although the building of the meeting house at Rehua was regarded by many within Ngai Tahu as a positive event in the city’s history, the meeting house was not perceived as being either a marae or a Ngai Tahu space. Speaking only a month before the official opening of the house, W. J. Karetai, Chairman of the Canterbury Tribal Committee Executive, who had been recommended by the Mission for inclusion on the Council of Elders,<sup>156</sup> stated that Rehua was not an “official marae”.<sup>157</sup> Karetai wanted to dispel any impressions that “the Maori meeting house at the Rehua Maori youth hostel in St. Albans [was] the official and permanent marae or courtyard of the Maori district of Otautahi”.<sup>158</sup> He justified this statement by giving two reasons. Firstly, the presence of thirty or forty young Maori apprentices in permanent residence meant “normal use of the grounds as a full-time courtyard” was impossible.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid. The Board recommended that the Council of Elders be: Sir Eruera Tirikatene, W. Stirling, W. Couch, J. Karetai, T. Robinson, P. Manahi, R. Ellison, T. Ryan, Rev. Rua Rakana.

<sup>153</sup> J.W Glynn, Ngai Tahu Secretary to Riwhi, 14 November 1960, Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 4 February 1961, A5, MB 140. The elders named in the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 5 November 1960, A5, MB 140, were: W. Couch, W. Stirling, G. Couch, T. Robinson, H. Karetai, R. Ellison, K. Hopa, A. Brown, W. Pitama, P. Manahi, N. Hutana.

<sup>154</sup> Glynn to Riwhi, 14 November 1960, Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 4 February 1961, A5, MB 140; Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 5 November 1960, A5, MB 140.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Falkingham to Chairman of Canterbury Tribal Executive and Chairman of all Tribal Executives, 16 June 1960, reproduced in Statement on “Te Whatu-Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua” by Central Mission Board of Management, 30 September 1960, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.3, Box 169, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>157</sup> *Press*, 1 November 1960, p.18.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

Secondly, the title to the land was vested in the Methodist Church, and it was only when land was vested in Maori trustees that an area could be used as a permanent marae.<sup>159</sup> Instead, Karetai pointed the public's attentions to the Otautahi National Marae Organisation, formed in Christchurch earlier in 1960.<sup>160</sup>

Although Ngai Tahu's mid-twentieth century attempts to secure a space for themselves within Christchurch entwined with the establishment of Rehua and of the meeting house, theirs was in fact a battle that had been underway for nearly one hundred years. Since 1857, eleven years prior to Judge Fenton's denial of reserves within the city boundaries, members of Ngai Tahu from Kaiapoi and Rapaki approached Thomas Cass, the Province's Chief Surveyor, requesting permission to be allowed to build a house as a resting place "somewhere near the river in the Christchurch [Hagley] Park".<sup>161</sup> While their application for a permanent space in the city failed in the Land Court, Ngai Tahu found a champion in Cass in their campaign for a temporary space in the city for use when travelling through from their various villages outside the city. In making the case to the Provincial Secretary, Cass argued that "similar indulgence is accorded to them [Maori] in all other towns in New Zealand, as objection is very probably taken to them camping in the streets". He advised that "under proper restriction it would be advisable to allow them to put up a small building near the river out of the thoroughfare".<sup>162</sup>

Although Cass supported the request to the Provincial Secretary, he demonstrated an understanding of the 'racial' spatial elements of the colonising process. Cass, while advocating a space for Ngai Tahu within the city, made it clear that they were to remain peripheral to the main settlement. The Provincial Council did not act on the initial request, and in 1858, Thomas Cass once again appealed to the Government of the Province, claiming that "the Maoris are at me again for a piece of land somewhere to squat on when travelling to and fro".<sup>163</sup> The land that Cass suggested as suitable was on the edge of the town belt, in Hagley Park near the bridge connecting Papanui Road and Riccarton.<sup>164</sup> This time there was some success, with the Provincial Council deciding on 21 September 1858 that "permission

---

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Cass to the Provincial Secretary, 23 November 1857, Papers of the Provincial Council, CH 287, CP 13, item 834, ANZ, Christchurch. At the same time hapu of Ngai Tahu were also seeking similar rights and facilities within Dunedin city. Unlike their Canterbury counterparts, Ngai Tahu in Otago did succeed in gaining their urban hostel. On this see: New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Report (Wai 27)*, vol. 2 New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 1991, pp.354-358. For more detail on the campaign to secure the space and the hostel see: Ann Parsonson, *Observations by the Claimants on the Report By Professor Alan Ward (#T1) With Respect to the Princess Street Reserve (Appendix D) with Additional Documents*, 1989, W2.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Cass to the Provincial Secretary, 14 September 1858, Papers of the Provincial Council, CH 287, CP 14, item 314, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

be given to the Maoris to squat on half an acre of land” at the location that Cass had recommended. This right to the land was granted on the undertaking that the Maori build a wood and shingle house on the site.<sup>165</sup>

Ngai Tahu did not, however, take the opportunity to build a house on the site allotted to them. Petitions from Ngai Tahu from Kaiapoi, Rapaki, and Port Levy presented to John Oliver, the Speaker of the Provincial Council, in December 1860, reveal a clue as to why this was the case. It seems that members of Ngai Tahu agitating for space within the city were aware of the practice of provincial Governments in other parts of New Zealand, which provided both land and hostelry. Ngai Tahu from Kaiapoi, Rapaki, and Port Levy saw the building of a house in Christchurch city as the financial responsibility of the Canterbury Provincial Council and not their own, as the Provincial Government were suggesting.<sup>166</sup> Following receipt of the petitions from Canterbury Ngai Tahu, the Provincial Council voted on the proposition “that in the opinion of the Council it is expedient that a hostelry be provided for the Maori population in the Reserve and set apart for their use in Hagley Park”.<sup>167</sup> The motion lost by nine votes to seven.<sup>168</sup>

The issue of ‘Maori’ space within Christchurch continued, however, to dog the Canterbury Provincial Government into the 1860s. Importantly, the debate also continued to proceed in language that demonstrated a clear understanding of the desirability of maintaining boundaries between the colonised and coloniser within the city. In mid-1861, Walter Buller, Native Officer for Canterbury, on the instructions of the Governor, wrote to the Provincial Secretary requesting information as what level of assistance, if any, which the Provincial Government was prepared to make towards the establishment of hostels in Lyttelton and

<sup>165</sup> ““Little Hagley” Yes, It Was Given to the Maoris to “Squat” On”, *Focus*, June 22 - July 5 1974, pp.12-13, CH 290, Department of Lands and Survey, 16/1b item 12d, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>166</sup> Maori Population: That a hostelry be provided for their use, CH 287 CP 598 4/4, Papers of the Provincial Council, ANZ, Christchurch. The Kaiapoi petition read: “This is our word to you about a house in Christchurch. For we have no resting place there. The evil of this is manifest, when we have to pass through, some of us are obliged to sleep under the hedges of the roadside others go to the public houses and spend their money to their hurt. The word of our meeting is that we should be treated as brethren, as one people, be fulfilled. We have lately shown that it is our wish to assist our European friends as far as we can. Let the same spirit be manifested by you towards us on this matter. Follow the example of Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, and Otago, where houses have been erected for the Maoris. This is the only town without a resting place”. While the Port Levy petitioners wrote: “Go then our letter to the Gentlemen of the Provincial Council of Canterbury. Salutations to you for good will towards the Maoris we believe. We have heard of your Council from our friend Mr J. W. Stack. This is our love, our skins are joined and our language too. You are the elder brother, we the younger. Let us be one, the Europeans and the Maori. Let us inquire what union means. It is this, let us have a dwelling place in Christchurch, Canterbury. This is our word to you about a house in Christchurch. The Governor has not yet fulfilled his promise to build us a house in Lyttelton. The Governor and Mr Hamilton will attend to that, but it is good for you to build at Christchurch”. Ngai Tahu from the Banks Peninsula settlement of Rapaki simply stated, “We have considered about the house in Christchurch. We shall be glad if Mr Moorhouse pays for its erection”.

<sup>167</sup> *Journal of the Provincial Council 1853-63*, Session 14, Thursday 13 December 1860, CPL.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

Christchurch. He suggested that the Provincial Government's assistance should take the form of a grant of land from the Town's reserves.<sup>169</sup> In this piece of correspondence, Buller retracted an earlier suggestion for the site of the hostel, on the grounds that it was too close to the centre of the budding city. Buller, like many of his counterparts throughout the nineteenth century British Empire, demonstrated in his retraction his perception of the 'contact zone', created by the presence of Ngai Tahu within the boundaries of Christchurch city, to be a sexualised space.<sup>170</sup> Central to the Native Officer's desire to keep the proposed space for Ngai Tahu away from the "public thoroughfare" was a fear that the hostel, if not placed "under proper regulations", was in danger of "becoming a brothel". It was, according to Buller, the "duty of the government to guard against even the possibility of so grievous of a nuisance".<sup>171</sup> To the mind of Buller, such protection to the city and its European settlers could best be afforded through the maintenance of adequate space between the colonised and colonisers. Furthermore, he considered that in the maintenance of this spatial boundary, "the interests of the natives" would not "in way suffer".<sup>172</sup>

The debate over the building of a Maori hostel also clearly revealed that the desires of the Canterbury colonial administration to grant Ngai Tahu a temporary space within the city boundaries, were firmly grounded in the city's growing demands for the fruits of Ngai Tahu labour. To Buller, it was imperative that any spaces allotted to Ngai Tahu, while removed from the centre of the growing city, had a "frontage to the Avon River". Access to the river that meandered through the city of Christchurch was crucial, in that it allowed Ngai Tahu to access the market square by canoe. While Ngai Tahu had not participated in the "business of the market" to that time, it was the Native Officer's hope that once the individualisation of titles had been completed at Tuahiwi (Kaiapoi), that "the industrial energies of the people will gain a new impetus, and they will in the course of time become large contributors of farm produce and firewood".<sup>173</sup> In allotting Ngai Tahu space within the city, it was hoped that members of the iwi would be encouraged to contribute 'productively' to the growing city and

<sup>169</sup> Walter Buller to the Provincial Secretary, 8 July 1861, CH 287, CP 24, item 1420, Papers of the Provincial Council, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>170</sup> On the wider imperial context of sexuality in the colonising process see: Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: the British experience*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990. Even before the production of Hyam's monograph on the Empire and sexuality, his general arguments were being critiqued. In particular, authors such as Berger took issue with Hyam's failure to see imperial and colonial sexual relations in the wider context of colonial power relations. See M. Berger, "Imperialism and Sexual Exploitation: a response to Ronald Hyam's 'Empire and Sexual Opportunity'", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 17, 1 (1988), pp.83-89. For a later critique of Hyam see: Mills, "Gender and Colonial Space", pp.138-141.

<sup>171</sup> Walter Buller to the Provincial Secretary, 15 July 1861, CH 287, CP 24, item 1420, Papers of the Provincial Council, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid. Tuahiwi (known as the Kaiapoi Maori Reserve) was the largest reserve granted to Ngai Tahu within the area of the Kemp Purchase. Located near Kaiapoi the reserve was occupied by Ngai Tuahuriri, the hapu of Ngai Tahu who had traditional authority over the space that became Christchurch city. See: Tau, "Ngai Tahu", p.224.



its economy. In Buller's mind, central to encouraging the industrial energies of the iwi, was affording them access to the city's market place.<sup>174</sup> In July 1862, the allotment of land near the bridge connecting Papanui Road and Riccarton was formalised, with the Provincial Secretary, Blakiston, requesting the Reverend Stack to "intimate to the Maoris [at Tuahiwi] that the Government had set apart that part of Hagley Park coloured red in the enclosed tracing"<sup>175</sup>

Although no house was ever built on the site, Ngai Tahu regarded the site as their space within the city of Christchurch. It was on this land that many Ngai Tahu camped during the 1868 Christchurch sitting of the Native Land Court. On this occasion, the presence of Maori within the city did not go unnoticed, with the local settler population displaying a certain amount of inquisitiveness towards the campers.<sup>176</sup> Even without a hostel, local Pakeha also continued to regard the site as Ngai Tahu's space within the city throughout the nineteenth century. When, in 1879, the site was mooted as a possible site for a residence for the Governor, several Christchurch City Councillors opposed the motion on the grounds that the land could not be used as it was a native reserve.<sup>177</sup>

Not having gained their hostel in the nineteenth century, in the mid-twentieth century Ngai Tahu renewed their campaign for a space within this city. This time it was a wharenuī that they desired. In 1939, Pitama began a campaign to get the Government to gift to the South Island a wharenuī built in Wellington as part of the Centennial Exhibition. Pitama looked to the historic struggle for his iwi to make space for themselves in the urban centre of Christchurch, and mooted the Little Hagley Park site as the best place for the whare and marae.<sup>178</sup> Post-war members of Ngai Tahu following on from their elders, and further

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> A.T.N. Blakiston for the Provincial Secretary to Rev. J.W.Stack, 25 July 1862, CH 287, CP 421, Provincial Secretary outward letterbook (letter number 856), Papers of the Provincial Council, ANZ, Christchurch. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century a degree of mystery and controversy has surrounded the formal status of the land. While the map tracing was reproduced in W.A. Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Bascands Limited, Christchurch, 1950, p.52. the map has not been located since. Taylor worked for the Christchurch office of the Lands and Survey Department during the depression of the 1930s, and it is likely he saw it there. Moreover, there is no record of the Provincial Council formally gazetting the land as a Native Reserve. Instead on the tracing the land was labelled as a "Maori reserve", leading some to believe that the land was not an official native reserve, but rather land reserved for the use of Maori. According to Ngai Tahu scholar, Te Marie Tau it is likely the land was not gazetted because the Provincial Council wanted the area of the park that became known as "little Hagley Park" and were willing to exchange land for it. See: Tau, "Ngai Tahu", p.237. See also: R.A.Innes, Chief Surveyor to the Editor Christchurch Press, 6 June 1974; Innes to Mr Whaitau, 19 August 1975; "Little Hagley" Yes, It Was Given to the Maoris to "Squat" On", *Focus*, June 22 - July 5 1974, pp.12-13; "No Maori Title to Park Found", *Star*, 29 May 1973; "Hagley Park: No Record of Maoris", *Press*, 8 June 1974, CH 290, Department of Lands and Survey, 16/1b item 12d, ANZ, Christchurch

<sup>176</sup> Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, p.52. The occasion also provided local Pakeha opportunities to view "Maori" culture with J E Coker organising "a cultural event" at Coker's Garden.

<sup>177</sup> "Little Hagley" Yes, It Was Given to the Maoris to "Squat" On", *Focus*, June 22 - July 5 1974, pp.12-13, CH 290, Department of Lands and Survey, 16/1b item 12d, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>178</sup> Tau, "Ngai Tahu", p.237.

inspired by Ngata and the focus on the meeting house as a symbol of Maori identity,<sup>179</sup> viewed the building of a house and the creation of Maori space within Christchurch as crucial in the radically changing post-war environment. The Christchurch City Council initially supported the plan of seeking the Centennial Meeting House as a gift from the New Zealand Government. Pressure from other local bodies and from the press, however, led the Council to rescind its decision. Many of the arguments expressed by those opposed to the placement of the wharenui in Little Hagley Park were grounded in a belief that its presence would disrupt the spatial colonisation of the area of Christchurch city. One Councillor argued that “we are putting down an ancient Maori house in one of our best suburbs. It will be quite out of keeping”. Instead, many believed such an obvious symbol of ‘Maoriness’ belonged in one of the Ngai Tahu kainga, peripheral to the city.<sup>180</sup>

By the end of the war, the house was still in storage in Rongotai, Wellington, and was a cause for concern to the President of the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board, Eruera Tirikatene. In 1948, Tirikatene attempted to revive the campaign to bring the house to the South Island. This time he sought to make a space for Ngai Tahu within the city, based on perceptions that Maori rights to citizenship had been bolstered by the recent war effort. He argued that situating the house in Christchurch would serve as a “worthy memorial to the elders of Ngai Tahu, and to the Maori boys who had served in both World Wars”.<sup>181</sup> The City Council, however, did not make the site of Little Hagley Park, now central to Christchurch city, available. Instead, it mooted sections of land more peripheral to the city centre, sites that Tirikatene did not consider appropriate for welcoming “distinguished visitors who may arrive from time to time”.<sup>182</sup> Tirikatene did not give up. Between August and November 1948, he petitioned the Minister of Lands, the Department of Maori Affairs, the Mayor of Christchurch, and the Christchurch City Council in his quest to locate a suitable site for Ngai Tahu to make their space in Christchurch city. In November 1948, a deflated Tirikatene reported to the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board that no suitable site had been found.<sup>183</sup> Instead, the Canterbury Museum seemed likely to become the home of the meeting house. Instead of providing a space for Ngai Tahu in the city, the house was to be relegated to an ethnographical exhibit, a symbol of an ‘ancient’ culture.<sup>184</sup> By 1948, Ngai Tahu had been

<sup>179</sup> On Ngata’s focus on the meeting house as a symbol of identity, see: Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, p.201.

<sup>180</sup> Tau, “Ngai Tahu”, p.238.

<sup>181</sup> 24 August 1948, Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, MB 140, A1, Macmillan Brown Library.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid, The two sections that Christchurch Mayor, Mr. Andrews offered the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board were on Andrews Avenue between Lincoln and Riccarton Roads and at the end of the Barbados Street Cemetery.

<sup>183</sup> 21 November 1948, Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, MB 140, A1, Macmillan Brown Library.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

seeking an urban space for a little under ninety years, but in the end, the Centennial Meeting House was not even displayed in the Museum.<sup>185</sup>

In the early 1950s, the Ngai Tahu desire for a meeting house in the city and the Little Hagley Park site once again came to prominence. This time it was the Maori Community Centre Committee, which Joe and Taka Moss were heavily involved in, that sought to use the site to establish a Maori space within the city. Although this was a Ngai Tahu initiative, the rising numbers of Maori in the city, due largely to urbanisations, provided the group with a solid argument when approaching the state for financial assistance.<sup>186</sup> In seeking a space for their proposed Maori community centre, Joe Moss, "on behalf of local Maoris", contacted the Lands and Survey Department to enquire about the status of the site.<sup>187</sup> Only a few weeks after his meeting with Moss, H. A. Adams, the Chief Surveyor, reported to Moss that there was no record of "any portion of Hagley Park being reserved and gazetted for the use of the Maoris".<sup>188</sup> Moss, with knowledge of the strong Ngai Tahu oral tradition of a Maori Reserve in Little Hagley Park, refused to concede the point, and in 1955 approached the Commissioner of Crown Lands with a view to clarifying the status of the land.<sup>189</sup> Moss informed the Commissioner "on numerous occasions among the Maori people of Christchurch, reference has been made to a Maori Reserve in Hagley Park, supposed situation of same being between road and river, directly over Carlton Mill Bridge, travelling from Bealey Ave".<sup>190</sup> The Commissioner, like Adams, informed Moss that there was "no record of any portion of the park ever being gazetted for use of Maoris".<sup>191</sup> Equally determined to realise the Ngai Tahu dream of a house in the city was Ari Pitama. In 1955, he too wrote to the Minister of Maori Affairs to have the Little Hagley Park site made available for a marae. He informed his fellow members of the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board that he was "prepared to drop all his investments but not his marae".<sup>192</sup> Although in 1956 T. T. Ropiha visited

<sup>185</sup> In December 1948, the Secretary of the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board wrote to Eruera Tirikatene cautioning him that he had received correspondence from Roger Duff at the Canterbury Museum saying "that the Maori meeting house proposals has become an urgent matter, as the museum are drafting their estimates and it is likely that if no finality toward the house can be advised them within the near future, it may be that the spacing provided for the house may be allocated to other means". Secretary Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board to Tirikatene, 9 December 1948, MB 140, B88, MBL.

<sup>186</sup> *Press*, 1 March 1952, p.8. There is evidence that the North Island women migrants that Joe and Taka Moss cared for in Rehua hostel were involved with the Maori Community Centre organisation, 13 August 1953, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>187</sup> Moss to Adams, Chief Surveyor, Lands and Survey Department, 26 February 1953; and handwritten file note, 26 February 1953, CH 290, 16/1b, item 4, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>188</sup> Adams to Moss, 2 March 1953, CH 290, 16/1b, item 4, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>189</sup> Moss to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 21 September 1955, CH 290, 16/1b, item 4, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> Commissioner of Crown Lands to Moss, 22 September 1955, CH 290, 16/1b, item 4, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>192</sup> Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, 13 August 1955, A14, MB 140.

Christchurch and discussed the establishment of a Maori community centre for the city,<sup>193</sup> the dream of a meeting house was not realised until the 1980s.<sup>194</sup>

The next phase of the agitation for Maori space within the city highlighted the increasing power that Maori women were gaining in their new urban homes. For many years, the Christchurch branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League, undoubtedly influenced by Taka Moss who served as the branch's first President, moved remits at the annual conference requesting that a community centre be provided in Christchurch.<sup>195</sup> In 1960, the Christchurch delegate brought to the National annual conference a remit requesting the Government to "make available a property similar to the Ngati Poneke Hall, Wellington, at a nominal rental to the people of Christchurch to enable them to enable them to cater for the needs of the

<sup>193</sup> Riwai to All Tribal Executives, 13 July 1956, MB 140, B92, Macmillan Brown Library.

<sup>194</sup> When the dream of a meeting house was finally realised in the 1980s, it was not a dream that all Ngai Tahu were happy with. In the mid 1970s, the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board attempted again to resuscitate the idea of a marae in the city. With this end in mind, the Minister of Maori Affairs, Matiu Rata, was invited to a meeting at Tuahiwi to discuss the prospect. At this meeting, members of the trust board once again raised the issue of the Little Hagley Park site, with the Minister promising to investigate the issue. No new initiatives arose from this meeting, but in 1976, Ngai Tahu leader Rongo Nihoniho raised the issue of the site again in relation to the establishment of a marae. Nihoniho formed a loose committee consisting of himself, a Pakeha friend Peter Heal, and a "number of prominent Christchurch Maori", aimed at establishing a marae in the city. In association with Hori Brennan, a King Country-born Maori resident in Christchurch since 1949, the project to establish a Maori space in the city continued with the support of individual members of Ngai Tahu, but not with the official sanction and support of the Trust Board. Significantly, the Little Hagley Park site remained central to the campaign to establish a space into the late 1970s. With negotiations over the City Council's provision of a site for the marae occurring in the midst of Ngati Whatua's occupation of Bastion Point in Auckland, it is alleged that some involved in the Christchurch campaign threatened to occupy the site first mooted as suitable for a Maori presence in 1858. With the threat of occupation, the Christchurch media growing increasingly interested in the issue of the status of the Little Hagley Park site in the mid 1970s, and the Chief Surveyor once again investigating the issue, the Christchurch City Council was given a great deal of incentive to find an alternative site for the proposed marae. The marae that eventuated in the 1980s was far removed from Ngai Tahu's dreams in the mid nineteenth century. Nga Hau E Wha, according to Ngai Tahu scholar, Te Maire Tau marked a new stage of relations between the iwi and Maata Waka. The tensions between the tangata whenua and the migrants from the North Island became more obvious. The marae was not under the direct control of Ngai Tahu, although individual members of Ngai Tahu were involved with the project, nor was it a meeting house that reflected Ngai Tahu's status as tangata whenua of the area. The marae, although in 1965 mooted as a place to welcome Maori from all over New Zealand, by the time of its opening in the 1980s was a multi-iwi marae; something that Te Marie Tau argues is simply a contradiction. Not only was the marae multi-iwi, it was also a multi-cultural marae. The marae was not only to provide a space in the city for Maori, it was also to provide space for an increasing number of migrants from the Pacific, and to an increasing number of Pakeha seeking a greater knowledge of Maori culture. Standing along with the poupou of the Maori world inside the house, stood the powerful symbols of colonisation, Abel Tasman and James Cook. Gazetted "for the common use and benefit of the people of New Zealand", Te Marie Tau argues that Ngai Tahu's dream for a space in the city had morphed into a public community centre. The Pages Road site itself was also far from satisfactory to many within Ngai Tahu. Instead of the central Little Hagley Park site, the marae was situated in Aranui, a State housing, low-income suburb, on sandy reclaimed sewage land peripheral to the city centre. Expressing the sentiment felt within many quarters of the iwi, several Ngai Tahu kuia stated "no way are you going to put us in that shit can alley". Furthermore, within the iwi there was a feeling that in accepting the Pages Road site from the City Council, Ngai Tahu's claim on the Little Hagley Park had been weakened. On this issue see: Ashton to Nihoniho, 19 August 1976, MB 140, A9a, MBL; Notes of Meeting with Minister of Maori Affairs at Tuahiwi, 31 March 1974, MB 140, A9a, MBL; R.A. Innes, Chief Surveyor to Whaitu, 19 August 1975, CH 290, Department of Lands and Survey, 16/1b item 12d, ANZ, Christchurch; Emma Davies, "The History of Nga Hau E Wha National Marae" Honours essay, University of Canterbury, 1999; Brett Riley, "Gone With the Four Winds," *New Zealand Listener*, 5 March 1988; Tau, "Ngai Tahu", p.240.

<sup>195</sup> Bottomley to Bell, 9 February 1965, MS-Papers-1396-85, ATL.

Maori people there”.<sup>196</sup> Following discussions with the Minister of Maori Affairs on the possibility, the Christchurch branch of the League approached the Otautahi Tribal Committee with a view of amalgamating the various groups within Christchurch seeking space for Maori.<sup>197</sup> As a result of this consultation, a public meeting of the Maori people in Canterbury was held. This meeting concluded that a centre was needed to provide “social, sporting, cultural, and educational amenities” to Christchurch’s growing Maori population.<sup>198</sup>

Although the desire for a Maori space within the city had been “dear to the hearts of the Maori people ...[of] the area” for some time, members of the Christchurch branch of the Maori Women’s Welfare League recognised that the energies devoted to this goal were disparate and factionalised.<sup>199</sup> Throughout the city, various groups, such as the tribal committee, the League, and youth clubs, had been working in uncoordinated and unconnected ways to raise the funds needed for the establishment of a centre. The League branch saw its greatest contribution to the organisation as “amalgamating the efforts of all these separate bodies into one forceful whole so that any funds raised would go immediately into a building fund and not be in the accounts of many separate organisations towards a vague goal in the distant future”.<sup>200</sup> A more amalgamated effort was achieved at the 1960 meeting, with the formation of a committee comprised of representatives from “each Maori organisation of note active in the city”. Additionally the meeting appointed trustees to centrally administer any funds raised towards the goal of establishing a centre. The initial influence of the League was maintained within the amalgamated organisation, with the women’s organisation having two representatives on the committee, and its President serving as a trustee appointed by the Maori Land Court. Aware that much of the work that the League undertook became rewritten as being masculine achievements, the national body urged the Christchurch branch of the League to publicise its role in the formation of the organisation to the local media. According to the Jane Bell, the Dominion Secretary, while the League did not wish to “over-publicise” itself, she did believe that the League “had too often hidden its light under a bushel”, with the result “that many people do not know about us or what we do”.<sup>201</sup>

This group grew in strength, and in 1961, under the auspices of the 1945 Maori Economic and Social Advancement Act, a National Marae Organisation was formed, with Moke Couch in its chair. The organisation emphasised the fact that Christchurch was the only

<sup>196</sup> Bryan to Stone, 10 February 1960; Ngarimu to Bottomley, 23 February 1961, MS-Papers-1396-85, ATL.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> *Press*, 18 April 1960, p.13.

<sup>199</sup> Bottomley to Bell, 9 February 1965, MS-Papers-1396-85, ATL.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Bell to Bottomley, 4 January 1965, MS-Papers-1396-85, ATL.

large city in New Zealand to lack a Maori community centre.<sup>202</sup> The Department of Maori Affairs, however, noting the success of the organisation in the newspapers took the pre-emptive move of ruling that if and when the organisation applied for a subsidy, it must be considered that a “substantial sum” had already been granted for the Rehua meeting house. To the Department, the Christchurch Central Mission’s policy of making the Rehua house available for the Maori community of Christchurch weakened any application Ngai Tahu might make for a house of their own.<sup>203</sup> In April 1965, one hundred and eight years after Ngai Tahu first began the struggle for space within Christchurch, the Berry Street property was gazetted under section 439 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 as a Maori Reservation for the “purpose of a meeting place and community centre for the common use and benefit of the Maori race”.<sup>204</sup> The National Marae Organisation announced its proposed marae was to be named Nga Hau E Wha. This name, meaning the “four winds” was chosen because it would welcome Maori “from all parts of New Zealand”.<sup>205</sup>

Not only was the proposed marae to symbolise the changes in the Maori world brought by urbanisation, it was also to stand as a symbol of integration. To Moke Couch, the proposed marae would be crucial to Christchurch Pakeha gaining understanding of Maori culture. The space provided by the marae, according to Couch, would provide a space within the city where Pakeha would be given the opportunity “to meet the Maori on his own ground”, and to gain an insight “into dome of the best of Maori culture”.<sup>206</sup> To Christchurch Maori, and particularly Ngai Tahu, the proposed marae would provide a space within the city that was ‘Maori’. It was to be part of the process of urbanising Maori transforming unknown urban spaces into known places. Although welcoming both Pakeha and members of other

<sup>202</sup> Souter, “Proposed Maori Community Centre, Christchurch”, 21 December 1961, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4, Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> Decision of Judge M.C. Smith delivered at Palmerston North, 27 June 1977, “Nga Hau E Wha Marae Purchase Monies”, Extract from Otaki Minute Book Vol.80, Folios 236-237, CH 460, 57/4/8, Box 79, ANZ, Christchurch. With the Hagley Park site no longer under consideration, by 1962 the National Marae Organisation identified a site at the back of Rehua hostel as suitable for the proposed centre. Members of the organisation petitioned the Methodist Central Mission to sell the land and proposed that a hall and dining room be built with Rehua’s meeting house being also utilised as the meeting house of the marae. Throughout 1963, the various groups affiliated to the organisation held concerts and various other fund raising events to raise the money to purchase the property in Berry Street, St Albans. In 1964, the property was purchased by the National Marae Organisation for £2 500, see: *Press*, 24 October 1961, p.9; 11 December 1962, p.9; 4 June 1963, p.14; *Press*, 5 August 1963, p.10; *Press*, 21 October 1963, p.15.

<sup>205</sup> “Maoris to Have Marae in City”, *Press*, 28 January 1965, p.12, MS-Papers-1396-85, ATL. Over the next five years however, the Berry Street property was found to be unsuitable, and by 1970, discussions were under way with the Christchurch City Council for the sale of the land. Instead, it was mooted that Rehua hostel’s meeting house be used as a national marae, see: *Press*, 18 December 1970, p.18; *Press*, 19 December 1970, p.23; Decision of Judge M.C. Smith delivered at Palmerston North, 27 June 1977, “Nga Hau E Wha Marae Purchase Monies”, Extract from Otaki Minute Book Vol.80, Folios 236-237, CH 460, 57/4/8, Box 79, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>206</sup> “Maoris to Have Marae in City”, *Press*, 28 January 1965, p.12, MS-Papers-1396-85, ATL.

iwi, Ngai Tahu imagined their space as their own, and not as either multi-iwi or multi-cultural.

## CONCLUSION

Within bureaucratic thinking, Maori hostels, in order to be effective sites for the integration of Maori youths, were required to simulate the modern suburban home. Just as housewives were charged with making private family homes, it was women, in the role of matrons, who were called upon to make the hostels into homes. In the Christchurch hostels, and in particular at Rehua, it was Maori women who fulfilled this role. In taking charge of these spaces, and in being “mum” to their young charges, Maori women adopted many of the “cultural missionary” roles formerly the domain of voluntary Pakeha women. Throughout the mid-twentieth century, Pakeha voluntary organisations remained connected to Rehua, but in a changed role. Instead of taking direct missionary roles to the residents, the Pakeha women increasingly fulfilled a purely philanthropic role.

Inside the hostels, and in particular Rehua, the matrons expanded upon the role that the State expected of them. Rehua Hostel provided an epicentre of “Maoriness” in Christchurch city throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Matrons of the hostels, aided by the liberal stance of the Reverend Falkingham and of the Christchurch Central Mission, interpreted integration in its broad sense. Instead of becoming a site where unintegrated North Island young Maori men were transformed into brown Pakeha, Rehua fostered, perpetuated, preserved, and aided in the resurrection, of Maori culture within the city. The interpretation of integration and of ideal Maori citizenship taken by the hostel administrators and matrons was far wider than many bureaucrats’ understanding of the policy. At Rehua, beginning with the work of the female matrons, it is possible to see the policy of integration being negotiated. It was because of the presence of the young North Island Maori apprentices in the city, and their enthusiasm for Maori culture, encouraged by the matrons, that Christchurch gained a fully carved wharenui in 1959-1960.

This chapter complicates understandings of the spatial history of New Zealand. Hostels, and in particular Rehua Hostel, are shown to have been crucial spaces in the Maori inversion of colonial spatial politics; Maori are shown to have transformed urban spaces (unknown) into places (known). In the context of mid-twentieth century urbanisations, however, this chapter demonstrates how the movement of Maori from their traditional iwi homeplaces into the homeplaces of other iwi disrupted traditional iwi-based notions of *turangawaewae* or homeplace. In mid-twentieth century Christchurch, Ngai Tahu are shown to have been simultaneously seeking to enlist the help of the North Island migrants to assert

an increased Maori presence in the city, and to have sought to resist the moves to erode separate and distinct iwi identities in favour of a “Maori” identity.

This chapter has shown how the need for an space in the city of Christchurch was first highlighted nearly one hundred years before the 1952 establishment of Rehua, when members of Ngai Tahu had approached Thomas Cass, the Provincial Surveyor. As the growing Christchurch economy needed the fruits of Ngai Tahu labour in the form of produce at market, land was granted but a house was never built. One hundred years later, when the fruits of the young North Island apprentices’ labour were needed by the burgeoning New Zealand economy a house was finally built in the city. Likewise, it has shown that while Ngai Tahu failed to have their dream of a wharenuī in the city fulfilled in the mid-twentieth century, the urban migrants did. In the interests of creating integrated and ideal Maori citizens, and an integrated nation, the State was prepared to financially aid, albeit reluctantly, the building of a house in the city. Ngai Tahu, the tangata whenua of the area, were not, however, successful. In some respects, it was the establishment of the multi-iwi house at Rehua that impeded their success. They had to wait until 1980 for their desire for a house to come to fruition, and even then, it was far removed from their original dream. Again, it was not a marae that reflected the status of Ngai Tahu as tangata whenua of the area. Many Ngai Tahu must have been left asking - whose turangawaewae had Christchurch become?



## chapter eight:

---

# Embodied Integration: bodies, beauty, and ideal Maori citizens

Beauty, fashion, and glamour were far from peripheral to official constructions and understandings of post-war modernity, and therefore to modern Maori citizens. In a speech delivered in 1962 to Maori high school pupils, Jack Hunn, impressed on his young Maori audiences that “the winds of change” were blowing through Maoridom. He came up with an inventory, which to him epitomised the modernity of the early 1960s. Included in his list, designed to appeal to his youthful audience, were coffee bars, juke-boxes, rock and roll, stiletto heels, and Peter Snell.<sup>1</sup> Here, the Secretary of Maori Affairs not only attempted to appeal to youth culture, but also defined fashion and glamour within official conceptions of modernity for Maori. The young women students of St. Joseph’s received the message from this most senior bureaucrat, that in wearing fashionable and ‘glamorous’ shoes, they were aiding in the modernisation and therefore the advancement of their people.

This chapter examines bodies and beauty in the context of the creation of ideal Maori citizens and the integrated nation. Firstly, it examines bodies as biological entities in the form of the miscegenated body. Within official rhetoric, hybrid or miscegenated bodies offered a positive future for New Zealand race relations. Miscegenation provided the most expedient route to an integrated nation, populated by integrated and therefore ideal Maori citizens. The chapter outlines the centrality of intermarriage and miscegenation within the policy of integration. It shows the mid-twentieth century State understood hybridity both physiologically and culturally, and explores the incidence and experiences of intermarriage during the period under investigation. It also demonstrates the ways in which relationships between Maori and Pakeha unsettled the “geographies of colonialism”.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, the chapter argues that bodies, and particularly Maori women’s bodies, became further entwined in the policies and processes of integration, as Maori were increasingly encouraged to adorn, dress, and decorate their bodies according to current Western fashions. In doing so Maori, and particularly Maori women, could demonstrate their

---

<sup>1</sup> J.K.Hunn, “The Winds of Change in Maoridom”, An address at St. Paul’s Maori Boys College, Feilding, 5 December 1962, and St. Joseph’s Maori Girls’ College, Greenmeadows, 6 Deember 1962, Pei Te Hurinui Jones papers, MS-Papers 5220-127, ATL.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, p.103. In this work, Jacobs discusses the “geographies of colonialism” in relation to Australia.

belonging in the cities and towns, and ultimately the nation. Guiding Maori women in the attainment of beauty was a similar amalgam of interests that guided Maori women in attaining domestic respectability. Added to the State and Pakeha women's voluntary organisations, cosmetic companies joined the campaign. Together this triumvirate targeted young Maori women with the message that 'beauty' meant ideal citizenship. Rather than posit Maori women as simple victims of beauty and fashion culture, this chapter also explores why Maori women so readily embraced the emphasis on bodies, beauty, and fashion.

Over recent decades, the human body has undertaken a reconfiguration in many scholars thinking, and has emerged as an object that cannot be understood adequately as ahistorical, precultural, or as a natural object.<sup>3</sup> A view of the body as something natural that precedes the social has been the target of a challenge from many scholars, particularly anthropologists, sociologists and historians. Instead, there are now attempts to understand how the body and society fuse and interact with one another. Now many understand the human body to be a key site on which the process of creating culture and the attachment of meaning takes place. Examinations of the "symbolic investment" that humans place in and on bodies are revealing rich, complex, and extensive areas of inquiries.<sup>4</sup>

In the 1980s and 1990s, a number of feminist writings on the body emerged. From philosophical explorations that drew on post-structural psychoanalysis,<sup>5</sup> to political theory,<sup>6</sup> to "popular" feminisms,<sup>7</sup> a repositioning of the human, and particularly the female, body as central to feminist inquiry took place. Feminists from a wide range of disciplines advanced an argument of gender and sexuality as two of the most important ways of encoding human bodies.<sup>8</sup> In addition, scholars began to examine conceptualisations, understandings, and representations of the body throughout history. Writing in the late 1980s, Denise Riley argued that from the seventeenth century onwards it has become increasingly difficult to speak of 'the body'. The reason for this, according to Riley, is that from this point in history bodies have been increasingly read by masculinist science through bipolar understandings of gender and sexual orientation.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1994, p.x.

<sup>4</sup> Annette Corrigan and Denise Meredyth, "The Body Politic", in Kate Pritchard Hughs, ed, *Contemporary Australian Feminism 2*, Longman, Melbourne, 1997, pp.52-75, p.64.

<sup>5</sup> See for example: Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*, Routledge, New York, 1993, Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*.

<sup>6</sup> See for example: Moira Gatens, *Imaginary Bodies: Ethics, Power and Corporeality*, Routledge, London, 1996, Anna Yeatman, *Postmodern Revisionings of the Political*, Routledge, London, 1994.

<sup>7</sup> See for example: Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty are Used Against Women*, Vintage Books, London, 1991.

<sup>8</sup> Rose, *Feminism and Geography*, p.31.

<sup>9</sup> Riley, 'Am I That Name?', pp.96-114.

It was in the 1990s that the body was centrally refigured into feminism with the emergence of corporeal feminism. Elizabeth Grosz, a major figure in the formulation of this feminist philosophy, challenged the Cartesian dualism of mind/body, and proposed new ways of understanding the body.<sup>10</sup> In challenging the mind/body dichotomy, subjects emerged as 'embodied', by this it was meant that there was a unity between mind and body.<sup>11</sup> Grosz contended that bodies were not only "inscribed, marked, engraved, by social pressures external to them but are the products...of the very social constitution of nature itself".<sup>12</sup> It was not merely that representations of the body were subject to historical, social, and cultural exigencies, while the body itself remained basically the same. Instead, Grosz argued that these factors actively produced the body as a body of a determinate type. The ideas of a 'real' body on one hand, and its various cultural and historical representations on the other were challenged, and replaced with the notion that representations and cultural inscriptions constitute bodies and help to produce them.<sup>13</sup> Grosz showed how an investigation of the body must be an investigation of the body as sexed and 'raced'.<sup>14</sup>

Just as women's bodies constitute the 'other' to male bodies, black bodies constitute the 'other' to white bodies. "Women, children and primitives", according to Anna Yeatman, have been identified with the irrational or the non-rational. They are constructed as instinctual, intuitive, and impulsive. In their inability to transcend the body, to become disembodied, "women, children and primitives" are the body.<sup>15</sup> Many Europeans arriving in the colonial world of the nineteenth century were interested in the sensual, physical, and bodily nature of indigenous cultures.<sup>16</sup> This is a point that Richard Dyer has also emphasised. He argued that in many white cultures, black people are reduced to their bodies and therefore to "race", but white people are not reducible to the corporeal or the racial.<sup>17</sup> Colour is a key signifier of difference, but only bodies that differ from the hegemonic white body earn the

<sup>10</sup> Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*.

<sup>11</sup> Robyn Longhurst and Lynda Johnston, "Embodying Places and Emplacing Bodies: Pregnant women and body builders", in Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice, eds, *Feminist Thought in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Connections and Differences*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998, pp.156-163, p.156.

<sup>12</sup> Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, p.x.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* directly concerns herself with the ways that bodies are "raced". Although her primary focus is on "normative heterosexuality", she also examines the "social regulation of race" (p.18).

<sup>15</sup> Yeatman, *Postmodern Revisionings of the Political*, p.85.

<sup>16</sup> Timothy Burke, "'Sunlight Soap Has Changed My Life': Hygiene, Commodification, and the Body in Colonial Zimbabwe", in Hidi Hendrickson, ed, *Clothing and Difference: Embodied identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1996, pp.189-212, p.193.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Dyer, *White*, Routledge, London, 1997, p.14. There is a growing body of literature that studies "whiteness" as something other than normal. In addition to Dyer's study see for example: Ruth Frankenburg, *white women, race matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1995, Catherine Hall, *White. Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, Routledge, New York, 1992.

title 'coloured'. For feminist geographer Gillian Rose, influenced by the writings of Dyer, whiteness retains its hegemonic position by denying its colour and so becoming transparent to the critical gaze.<sup>18</sup>

By focusing on young women and their bodies, this chapter extends understandings of integration and urbanisations in New Zealand. This chapter's focus on young women and their bodies extends understandings of the policies and processes seeking to produce modern and integrated, and therefore ideal, Maori citizens. It also continues the task of this thesis in shifting the focus beyond married women and their domestic skills. While Chapter Six explored young women in employment and residential contexts, this chapter further explores the urbanisations and integration of young single women through a consumerist body focus. Although some international revisionist histories of women in the mid-twentieth century, have self-avowedly avoided 'consumerism and glamour',<sup>19</sup> this and the following chapter re-cast the spotlight on these aspects of the lives of women in the period 1942-1969. Representations of bodies, beauty, consumerism, and glamour are reworked with the politics of race, and are shown to be highly political sites that to the State became integral to the urbanisation and integration of Maori.

## INTEGRATED BODIES

### *Miscegenation*

The post-war architects of 'integration' viewed the policy not only in cultural but also in biological terms. Policy makers, politicians, and social commentators regarded intermarriage and the ensuing miscegenation as a potent means of achieving the policy objective of an 'integrated' New Zealand. This attention to intermarriage and miscegenation had antecedents in imperial thought. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Europeans had observed with increasing interest the mingling of the races in their various colonies, and in 1864, the term 'miscegenation' was applied to the process. Drawing on biological and botanical meanings, the term 'hybrid' came into usage during the nineteenth century to describe the products of miscegenation.<sup>20</sup> To mid-nineteenth century imperial thinkers, miscegenation offered solutions to the difficulties encountered in the colonisation of lands that proved climatically inhospitable.<sup>21</sup> The fascination with miscegenation and hybridity was a powerful undercurrent in the creation and maintenance of colonial racial

<sup>18</sup> Rose, *Feminism and Geography*, p.33.

<sup>19</sup> Meyerowitz, "Introduction", p.11.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, Routledge, London, 1995, pp.4-6.

<sup>21</sup> Patricia Mohammed, "'But most of all mi love me browning': The Emergence in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Jamaica of the Mulatto Woman as the Desired", *Feminist Review*, 65 (2000), pp.22-48, p.28, Young, *Colonial Desire*, p.142.

hierarchies.<sup>22</sup> In New Zealand, the colonial state used the terms intermarriage, assimilation, and amalgamation interchangeably, with many believing that miscegenation offered the most expedient route to racial amalgamation.<sup>23</sup>

Internationally, however, by the close of the century, miscegenation was beginning to lose its gloss as it became associated with eugenic discourses.<sup>24</sup> Within European thought, by 1900 hybrid bodies came to be seen as embodying threatening forms of perversion and degeneration, and moral decay.<sup>25</sup> Hybrids were, to many, the living embodiment of the sexual transgression of racial boundaries; they were tangible evidence of their white parent's sexual weakness.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, many came to view hybrids as threatening the imperial divides of coloniser and colonised.<sup>27</sup> Miscegenation unsettled the criteria by which 'Europeanness' could be identified, citizenship could be accorded, and nationality assigned. Inter-ethnic relationships were a major concern to many colonial regimes, which established what Ann Stoler has termed the "interior frontiers" of colonial society.<sup>28</sup>

New Zealand, in the main, did not follow the pattern of other colonial societies.<sup>29</sup> Rather, a more positive view of the process prevailed in Britain's farthest colony. While miscegenation between Pakeha and 'Asiatics' was increasingly cast as undesirable,<sup>30</sup> society never perceived miscegenation between Maori and Pakeha as particularly undesirable. In contrast to the view that he would rather see his daughter dead than wed to a Chinese, Premier Seddon held up James Carroll, prominent Liberal Maori politician, as a model of miscegenation between Maori and Pakeha:

<sup>22</sup> Paul Spickard, "The Subject is Mixed Race: The Boom in Biracial Biography", in David Parker and Mira Song, eds, *Rethinking 'Mixed Race'*, Pluto Press, London, 2001, pp.76-98, p.94, Young, *Colonial Desire*, pp.180-182.

<sup>23</sup> Kate Riddell, "'Improving' the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Intermarriage", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1 (2000), pp.80-97, p.82, Ward, *A Show of Justice*, p.310.

<sup>24</sup> Pamela Pattynama, "Secrets and Danger: Interracial Sexuality in Louis Couperus's *The Hidden Force* and Dutch Colonial Culture around 1900", in Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, eds, *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1998, pp.84-107, p.99, Ann L. Stoler, "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia", in Micaela di Leonardo, ed, *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991, pp.51-101.

<sup>25</sup> Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers", p.515.

<sup>26</sup> Jayne Ifekwunigwe, "Re-membering 'Race': On Gender, 'Mixed Race' and Family in the English-African Diaspora", in David Parker and Mira Song, eds, *Rethinking 'Mixed Race'*, Pluto Press, London, 2001, pp.42-64, p.45, Pattynama, "Secrets and Danger", p.99, Young, *Colonial Desire*, p.5.

<sup>27</sup> Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers", pp.514-516.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p.516.

<sup>29</sup> Inevitably, there were those who did not view miscegenation between Maori and Pakeha in positive terms. See Ballara, *Proud to be White?*, pp.51-52.

<sup>30</sup> There is a large and growing literature on perceived threat that 'asiatics' posed to white women throughout the empire. See for example: Kay Anderson, "Engendering Race Research: Unsettling the self-other dichotomy", in Nancy Duncan, ed, *Bodyspace*, Routledge, London, 1996, pp.197-211, p.207, Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, pp.104-105. On the New Zealand turn of the century fear of Asiatic racial pollution see: P.J. Gibbons, "The Climate of Opinion", in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.308-336, p.310.

When you look at his person you see a wholesome blend; the two races are there working in harmony together. It shows the European and the Native race can mix with satisfactory results, and the product of such union is apparently free of sickness of body or sickness of mind.<sup>31</sup>

Underpinning the more positive view of miscegenation that prevailed in New Zealand was a belief that Maori were racially 'superior' to most other indigenes. To the nineteenth century European mind, imbued as it was with the notion of racial hierarchies, Maori were the 'noblest' of the "coloured peoples".<sup>32</sup> Such a belief lent itself well to the myth of the Aryan Maori that began to develop in the late nineteenth century. Propagated by the 'father figures' of Polynesian Studies, S. Percy Smith, Elsdon Best, and Edward Tregear, the belief in the Caucasian origins of the Maori prevailed into the twentieth century.<sup>33</sup> Within this framework, contemporaries imagined Maori not as 'black' or even 'brown', but rather as dark white.<sup>34</sup> A belief in common ancestral origins between the Pakeha and Maori populations allowed contemporaries to believe that assimilation and amalgamation of Maori through miscegenation was possible.

The view of miscegenation that prevailed in twentieth century New Zealand was a view that elsewhere has been termed 'constructive miscegenation'. Nancy Stepan argues that the idea of "constructive miscegenation" had a long lineage in European racial thought, but became increasingly narrowly construed as European thought became more racist.<sup>35</sup> Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, but most acutely in the inter-war period, Latin American elites began to answer negative European racial mythologies with racial mythologies of their own. Instead of casting the hybrid citizen as the doom of the nation and the race, social thinkers in Mexico and Brazil began to cast the hybrid as the 'final stage of race development'. A fusing of all the races into racial unity in a tropical setting would result in a 'Cosmic Race'.<sup>36</sup> In Brazil the hybrid citizen was further idealised through the "whitening thesis".<sup>37</sup> The few "pure" Negroes and indigenous Indians who remained were disappearing, social thinkers argued, because both natural and social selection worked against lower types and because their high mortality rates and low reproductive rates diminished

---

<sup>31</sup> Philip Ferguson, "The Making of the White New Zealand Policy: Nationalism, Citizenship, and the Exclusion of the Chinese", PhD, University of Canterbury, 2002, [unpaginated draft].

<sup>32</sup> Ballara, *Proud to be White?*, p.54. Maori were believed to be higher in the racial hierarchy than other Polynesian people. As the governing power in Samoa, New Zealand heavily regulated interethnic relationships between Samoans and Europeans. See: Paul Shankman, "Interethnic Unions and the Regulation of Sex in Colonial Samoa, 1830-1945", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 110, 2 (2001), pp.119-148.

<sup>33</sup> Ballara, *Proud to be White?*, p.56, Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, p.300, M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Integration or Identity: Cultural Interaction in New Zealand since 1911*, Studies in 20th Century History, Heinemann Educational Books, Auckland, 1977, pp.18-29.

<sup>34</sup> Ballara, *Proud to be White?*, p.54.

<sup>35</sup> Nancy Leys Stepan, *"The Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1991, p.138.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, pp.145-147.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, p.155.

population. Meanwhile, white immigration was seen as rapidly increasing the proportion of whites, while miscegenation between whites and mulattos favoured a steady whitening, because of the whites' supposed biological superiority and because mulattos preferred partners whiter than themselves.<sup>38</sup>

Following World War I, as New Zealand became increasingly preoccupied with issues of racial fitness and eugenics, the hybrid, or 'half-caste' continued to be viewed in racially favourable terms.<sup>39</sup> Within New Zealand eugenic discourse, there was a linkage between racial fitness and Maori practices, such as 'Native Dance'.<sup>40</sup> It was a diluted form of 'Maoriness' however, that held the most appeal to policy makers. Instead, it was thought that Maori would leave a temporary and diminishing strain of native blood in the white race.<sup>41</sup> Half-castes were part of the 'natural' progression of the races; Maori were "progressively abandoning the ways of their ancestors, adopting Pakeha ones in their stead and with intermarriage hastening the process, becoming physically and culturally more and more like Pakeha until New Zealanders were literally one people, all brown-eyed and faintly copper-coloured."<sup>42</sup>

### INTERMARRIAGE AND MISCEGENATION IN POST-WAR NEW ZEALAND

In the post World War II period, the notion of 'constructive miscegenation' continued to powerfully underwrite New Zealand racial thinking. Bureaucrats acknowledged without anxiety that the racial boundaries in post-war New Zealand were crumbling, and that the increase in intermarriage would continue to erode these boundaries.<sup>43</sup> For some, miscegenation offered the best means of raising Maori to parity with Pakeha.<sup>44</sup> According to Robert Young, 'hybrid' in its nineteenth century formulations referred to a physiological phenomenon, but in its twentieth century formulations it was concerned with a cultural

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.155.

<sup>39</sup> Angela Wanhalla, "Gender, Race, and Colonial Identity: Women and Eugenics in New Zealand, 1918-1939", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 2001, pp.45-57.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> This was a view that was held not only by Pakeha thinkers, but also the prominent Maori anthropologist, politician, doctor, and thinker, Sir Peter Buck. See: Paul Meredith, *A Half-Caste on the Half-Caste in the Cultural Politics of New Zealand* [Te Matahauariki: Papers and Publications] (accessed October 2001); available from <http://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/Paul%20Meredith%20Mana%20Verlag%20Paper.pdf>.

<sup>42</sup> Joan Metge, *The Maoris of New Zealand: Rautahi*, Routledge and K. Paul, London, 1976, p.303. Successful and 'ideal' Maori, such as the men of the famed New Zealand (Maori) Pioneer Battalion stood as examples of what hybrid citizens could achieve. Like their successors in World War II, the men of the Pioneer Battalion were said to have fought with bravery and skill. The rhetoric of Maori leaders following the war, credited their efforts as forging a racially united country. In a variety of ways, these Maori men were cast as ideal citizens. In 1924, Peter Buck showed that whereas 'half-castes' constituted only 12.7 per cent of the Maori population, 48 per cent of the members of the heroic Battalion were 'half-castes'. On this see: Wira Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi: The Story of the Maori Battalion*, Reed, Auckland, 1995, pp21-22; Meredith, *A Half-Caste on the Half-Caste*; Phillips, "War and National Identity", p.97.

<sup>43</sup> AJHR, 1958, G-9, p.7.

<sup>44</sup> Pay, "A Racist Medium?" p.95.

phenomenon.<sup>45</sup> This dichotomy does not hold true for post-war New Zealand. While it is clear that a cultural hybrid was emerging in policy thinking, within official thought the physiological hybrid continued to offer a solution to questions of race relations. Continuing the nineteenth century policy makers' conflation of amalgamation, assimilation, and intermarriage, the Hunn Report in 1960 cast miscegenation as inevitably producing integrated and ideal Maori citizens: "Miscegenation is inexorably integrating, even assimilating, the two races while philosophers soberly meditate what the policy should be – as though they could ordain it".<sup>46</sup> Hunn saw intermarriage and miscegenation as offering the surest and most expedient route to the creation of integrated, or 'ideal' Maori citizens. Bodies that were a fusion of both Pakeha and Maori biology, it was hoped, would result in citizens who would be "at home in either society";<sup>47</sup> they would be the 'category B' set out in the report.

At the time of the report's publication, ten different statutory definitions of 'Maori' were in use, and Hunn sought to arrive at a consensus on the definition.<sup>48</sup> These definitions divided into two camps, one a physiological and other a cultural definition. Under some legislation, a Maori was defined as someone of half blood or more, and under other legislation, as a descendant. It was the 'degrees of blood' biologically based definition that Hunn favoured. In this discussion, he again conflated integration with miscegenation:

As each generation of young people is more integrated and self-reliant than the last, the definition of a Maori entitled to privileges of special legislation, should become stricter and more exclusive. At first the "half-blood" formula should be made universal. Later it may be advisable to confine the special protection of the law to "three-quarter-blood", before finally removing it all together. Otherwise the host of eligible "Maoris" will rapidly become larger than is justified by the merits of their case.<sup>49</sup>

In this passage, Hunn uses the word 'integration' when what he is really referring to is miscegenation. Embedded in Hunn's discussion was the notion of the 'whitening thesis' and a belief in the biological supremacy of the white race that Stepan describes. Within the schema outlined in the report, Maori, as they became more hybrid, would become ineligible for special state assistance. To Hunn, miscegenation was the 'breeding out' of Maoriness. He believed that as more Pakeha blood mixed with Maori blood, citizens approaching the 'ideal' would be created and therefore they would become less in need of state aid. Ultimately, it would only be the 'primitive' and 'ancient' un-miscegenated Maori who would need state assistance with housing, welfare, and education. Maori with the benefit of mixed blood would be less 'Maori', and therefore more able to provide for themselves.

<sup>45</sup> Young, *Colonial Desire*, p.5.

<sup>46</sup> The Hunn Report, p.18.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p.16. See Chapter Three, p.85 for a discussion of the Hunn Report and the categories of 'Maoriness' outlined in the document.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p.19.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.



Despite attempts at scientific precision in defining ‘race’ in the post-war period, the categories remained fluid and imprecise. The question that vexed many agents of the state throughout the period was how to identify Maori. By the late 1950s, it was apparent to bureaucrats that there were many people who had no or inaccurate knowledge of the ‘degree of Maori blood’ they possessed.<sup>50</sup> Thus, they were unable to ascertain where they stood in relation to the arbitrary definition of Maori being someone of “half blood” or more.<sup>51</sup> Such imprecision complicated the state’s plan for the targeting of assistance only to Maori who did not have the ‘benefit’ of Pakeha blood.<sup>52</sup>

Many Maori strongly objected to the use of the physiological rather than the cultural definition of ‘Maoriness’. Both the Maori members of the National Council of Churches and the Maori Synod of the Presbyterian Church objected to the ‘degrees of blood’ formula on the grounds that it would result “in some grave injustices”.<sup>53</sup> Both of these religious groups feared that the definition would rule Maori in need of state assistance ineligible. They were especially concerned that this would be the case in the South Island, where generations of intermarriage had resulted in a large proportion of the Maori population being less than ‘half blood’. For the members of the Synod, Hunn’s physiologically based definition was “a policy of Europeanisation by legislation”.<sup>54</sup>

In 1966, the Maori Women’s Welfare League joined the chorus of Maori voices to object to the physiological definition. The Pukekohe branch brought to the annual conference a remit objecting to the need for students to be “half caste or more” to qualify for Maori Government Scholarships.<sup>55</sup> Like the church organisations earlier in the decade, the League based their objections on the injustice of a policy grounded in the ‘degrees of blood’ formula. The assembled delegates gave the remit “strong support”, and instead argued for a cultural

<sup>50</sup> For a personal discussion on the effect of a degrees of blood definition on a young Maori woman, see: Hana O’Regan, *Ko Tahu, Ko Au: Kai Tahu Tribal Identity*, Horomaka Publishing, Christchurch, 2001, pp.129-135.

<sup>51</sup> AJHR, 1958, G-9, p.7.

<sup>52</sup> With high numbers of Maori ex-nuptial births, bureaucrats were perplexed as to how to categorise the ‘degree of blood’ the child possessed in the absence of details concerning the father. In an attempt to retain ‘precision’ in the categories, the remedy concocted by the Department of Statistics was to define the child’s ‘race’ according to the ‘race’ of the mother. Therefore, if the mother was a ‘half blood’ or more Maori, then the child came within the definition of Maori. Following the same logic, if the mother was a less than ‘half blood’ then the child earned the label of non-Maori. Regardless of the lifestyle or upbringing of the child, their ‘race’ was determined by biology. A child born out of marriage to a Maori woman with less than half blood, if the father was not named was designated ‘non-Maori’, and was therefore ineligible for special State assistance for Maori. The ‘race’ of an ex-nuptial child was only considered to be disputed or problematic if born to a Maori women. Children born to Pakeha women where the particulars of the father were unknown or unspecified did not cause the statisticians alarm. Despite the fact that their fathers may have been Maori, they were recorded as ‘non-Maori’. See: “From the Report on the Vital Statistics of New Zealand for the Year 1968”, CH 460, 16/11, ANZ, Christchurch.

<sup>53</sup> Synod, *A Maori View of the “Hunn Report”*, p.12.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1966, MS-Papers- 1396-006, ATL.

definition of 'Maori'. Lowering the bar substantially from Hunn's favoured definition, the members of the Maori Women's Welfare League argued that statutory definitions of 'Maori' should include anyone "who feels he is a Maori".<sup>56</sup>

Lurking at the centre of the push for a physiological definition of 'Maoriness' was a belief in racial hierarchies and the notion that the 'superior' Pakeha blood would dominate. Hunn was not alone in the belief that intermarriage and miscegenation was a means by which to 'breed out' Maoriness. Within the post-war Department of Maori Affairs, the prevailing belief was that miscegenation would lead to a reduction in the rate of expansion of the Maori population. Bureaucrats assumed that the children of Maori Pakeha unions would identify as Pakeha.<sup>57</sup> Historically there was very little basis for this belief. In the North Island, where a high rate of hybridisation occurred, most people of mixed-race ancestry strongly identified with their Maori side. Ian Pool argued that this was largely due to high rates of matrilineal<sup>58</sup> relationships. Without a consideration of the historical evidence, Hunn assumed that hybrids would necessarily adopt a 'Pakeha' lifestyle. More aware of the complex history of miscegenation in New Zealand, many Maori questioned whether 'Pakeha-isation' was the necessary result for hybrids. In their commentary on the Hunn Report, members of the Maori Synod of the Presbyterian Church questioned whether "assimilation" was necessarily the result of intermarriage.<sup>59</sup> The members of the Maori synod were correct to question the Department's assumption. Increased intermarriage and miscegenation did not lead to a 'breeding out' of Maoriness in the next generation, rather the opposite occurred. Instead of the Maori population declining as blood increasingly mixed, the population of persons identifying as Maori increased.<sup>60</sup>

As mid-twentieth century Maori and Pakeha increasingly encountered each other in the context of an urbanising Maori population, the rate of intermarriage increased. John Harré, in a study that by his own admission fell "short of a rigorous statistical study",<sup>61</sup> compared marriage record data from 1950 and 1960, and found that of all Maori marriages in Auckland, half were to Pakeha.<sup>62</sup> He found for both years that the greatest proportion of intermarriage occurred between Pakeha men and Maori women. This finding conformed to

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> AJHR, 1958, G-9, p.7.

<sup>58</sup> Relationships where the Pakeha male went to live in the communities of their Maori partners.

<sup>59</sup> Synod, *A Maori View of the "Hunn Report"*, p.12.

<sup>60</sup> Ballara, *Proud to be White?*, p.136.

<sup>61</sup> John Harré, "Maori-Pakeha Intermarriage", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the nineteen-sixties: a symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp.118-131, p.118.

<sup>62</sup> John Harré, "The Interracial Mixing of a Group of Young New Zealand Adults", *Race*, 7, 3 (1966), pp.271-288, John Harré, *Maori and Pakeha: A Study of Mixed Marriages in New Zealand*, Pall Mall Press, London, 1966, Harré, "Maori-Pakeha Intermarriage".

the pattern of inter-racial coupling that had occurred in New Zealand since the beginnings of contact between Maori and Pakeha, and indeed the pattern that had prevailed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century British Empire.<sup>63</sup> He did however note a rise in the proportion of Pakeha women who were marrying Maori men in the ten-year period. Whereas in 1950 only 27.2 per cent of the mixed marriages were between a Pakeha woman and a Maori man, by 1960 this proportion had climbed to 36.8 per cent. Analysis of the ages of those marrying found that this increased trend was most prevalent among Pakeha women aged under twenty-one years.<sup>64</sup> Likewise, researchers conducting the 1966 Department of Maori Affairs survey of Maori families in the North Island, noted the great number of mixed marriages they encountered.<sup>65</sup> They concluded that in the areas surveyed one family in eight had a European parent. As a proportion of all the families surveyed, the incidence of intermarriage ranged from seven per cent in the Gisborne District to nineteen per cent in the Palmerston North District. It was estimated that the rate of Pakeha men marrying Maori women in these areas was around double that of Pakeha women marrying Maori men.<sup>66</sup> In a discussion of the survey's findings, the Department of Maori Affairs noted that the rates of intermarriage in urban areas were even higher, and credited the policy of pepper-potting with creating and allowing greater intermingling between the 'races', that was leading to higher rates of intermarriage.<sup>67</sup> Within official thought, post-war suburbs received affirmation as effective 'contact zones'.

Although no similar quantitative study of intermarriage between Maori and Pakeha in the Christchurch area exists, qualitative evidence suggests that throughout the post-war period romantic liaisons and marriages between Pakeha women and young Maori male migrants were not uncommon.<sup>68</sup> Likewise, Doug Clark noted a number of mixed marriages between Maori men and Pakeha women further south in Invercargill in 1960.<sup>69</sup> In Christchurch, the pattern of the young male migrants marrying local Pakeha women was one that local officials

---

<sup>63</sup> In the New Zealand context see: Atholl Anderson, *Race Against Time: The early Maori-Pakeha families and the development of the mixed-race population in southern New Zealand*, Hocken Lecture 1990 University of Otago, Dunedin, 1991, Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori: the extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand*, Penguin, Auckland, 1999, Riddell, "Improving' the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Intermarriage". For a wider Imperial context see: Mohammed, "But most of all mi love me browning".

<sup>64</sup> Harré, "Maori-Pakeha Intermarriage", p.121.

<sup>65</sup> Department of Maori Affairs, *Housing Survey 1966*, pp.23-24. This is the survey discussed in Chapter Three at p.73

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, pp.23-29.

<sup>67</sup> AJHR, 1967, G-9, p.14.

<sup>68</sup> McRoberts, "White Sheep". Interview with "Kevin and Sally" recorded 1 April 2000; Interview with "Ian" recorded 18 April 2000; Interview with "Catherine" recorded 18 May 2000; Interview with "Peter" recorded 24 May 2000; Interview with "Bill" recorded 23 November 2000.

<sup>69</sup> D.G.Clark, "Annual Report", 1 January 1960 –31 December 1960, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

of the Department of Maori Affairs observed with pleasure.<sup>70</sup> Central to the bureaucrats' belief that Rehua hostel was "a good force for integration",<sup>71</sup> was that after completing their training many of the hostel residents remained in Christchurch, married local Pakeha, and acquired the ultimate badge of ideal citizenship: a house.

In Doug Clark's thinking, the fact that the majority of the ex-residents who had married, had married Pakeha women was an important factor.<sup>72</sup> Like many of his contemporaries, he subscribed to a belief in the advanced South Island Maori, sourcing from the high levels of intermarriage and miscegenation with the Pakeha population.<sup>73</sup> According to Clark, "normally speaking the welfare and health of the Maori people of the South Island is on a much higher plane than in the North Island and the average South Island Maori is well on the way to full integration with the European".<sup>74</sup> This view of South Island Maori as more integrated than their North Island counterparts was pervasive within the post-war Department of Maori Affairs. Speaking to the South Island Young Maori Leaders Conference in 1960, J E Lewin, Christchurch District Officer for the Department of Maori Affairs, stated:

In the South Island, however, the majority of people or their ancestors, have already negotiated the road to integration. There are very few full-blooded Maoris in any Maori gathering. Most find their livelihood and entertainment in exactly the same way as their European neighbours. Most live in houses indistinguishable from those of their neighbours.<sup>75</sup>

Post-war bureaucrats' belief in Christchurch and the South Island more generally as an effective site for the 'integration' of young Maori, was merely continuing the conflation of miscegenation and assimilation, and adding to the discourse of the advanced southern Maori.

Fuelled by tales of intermarriage, by the late 1960s Christchurch had developed a reputation amongst potential North Island male Maori trade trainees and apprentices as a city where the "girls out numbered the boys seven to one", and as a place where it was easy to "get a Pakeha girlfriend".<sup>76</sup> From the early 1960s, the Christchurch Central Mission provided Rehua's residents with both the opportunity and the space to meet young local Pakeha women. In an effort to extend its message to the youth of the city, the Mission instigated a weekly Sunday night 'Coffee Club' in mid 1962 at its Cambridge Terrace property.<sup>77</sup> By

<sup>70</sup> D.G.Clark, "Report Apprentices Christchurch ", 1 April 1962, MA 1, W2490, 37/41, Vol.5, Box 170; D.G.Clark, "Annual Report", Year ending 1962, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> For background on the discourse of the advanced South Island Maori see: Chapter Two, p.30.

<sup>74</sup> D.G.Clark, "Annual Report", 1 January 1960- 31 December 1960, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>75</sup> South Island Young Maori Leaders Conference, *Report of Proceedings*, Christchurch, Adult Education Department, University of Canterbury, 1960, p.33.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with "Peter" recorded 24 May 2000.

<sup>77</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.20.

1963, up to 200 Christchurch youth were regularly attending the weekly social function.<sup>78</sup> Described in the local paper as “real cool man”, the Sunday night event was popular with Rehua’s residents.<sup>79</sup> ‘Smoothly’ turned out in jackets and ties young men from the hostel formed bands that sometimes entertained at the club.<sup>80</sup> One ex-resident of the hostel, a frequent visitor to the Sunday night event, recalls that it was at this club that the hostel residents socialised with the city’s Pakeha youth. In particular, he recalls Pakeha girls who went to the club to meet the young North Island migrants. There were in his words “lots of mixed marriages from there [the coffee club]”.<sup>81</sup> The regular time slot also provided other residents who did not regard the church-run club as ‘real cool’ an alibi to meet their Pakeha girlfriends and attend parties held at ex-residents’ flats.<sup>82</sup>

Maori and Pakeha intermarriage and dating in many ways unsettled what Jane Jacobs has elsewhere labelled “the geography of colonialism”.<sup>83</sup> In Wairoa, where many of Rehua’s residents came from, Maori and Pakeha had lived along side each other, but not with each other. Involvement with Christchurch’s Pakeha young women meant that the young North Island Maori men accessed spaces in the city that may have otherwise remained removed from their existence. For those young men who met their girlfriends’ parents and families, it was often their first time in a Pakeha home. One ex-resident recalls that it was at a Pakeha girlfriend’s home that he first sat at a table and shared a meal with Pakeha.<sup>84</sup> It was through dating Pakeha women that the Maori men gained access to these spaces. For young men who had grown up in North Island Maori communities where a high degree of segregation from the Pakeha existed,<sup>85</sup> Christchurch and the interactions between Maori and Pakeha were markedly different.

Just as ‘inter-racial’ dating and intermarriage unsettled the geographies of colonisation in Christchurch, these unions granted South Island Pakeha women access to communities that they would not have otherwise visited. For some of the young Christchurch women visits to the “all Maori” home of their partner would be an overwhelming and frightening experience.<sup>86</sup> Young Christchurch women found themselves in a New Zealand that was alien

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> *Enterprise*, Vol.1 No.1, June 1962; Interview with “Ian” recorded 18 April 2000.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid

<sup>81</sup> Interview with “Ian” recorded 18 April 2000.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with “Kevin and Sally” recorded 1 April 2000.

<sup>83</sup> Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, p.103. In this work, Jacobs discusses the “geographies of colonialism” in relation to Australia.

<sup>84</sup> McRoberts, *White Sheep*.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Interview recorded with “Pauline”, 5 December 2000, McRoberts, “White Sheep”.

to their existence. One young Christchurch woman from a privileged background summed up these feelings:

It's a long way from Christchurch and the Cashmere Hills, and I just didn't know and I sincerely did not know – and they would all be speaking Maori, and they'd put down a hangi, and the laughter and the carry-on, and the bullshit and the booze. I felt really alienated and alien in my own land and I'd never felt like that before. No harm because it was good for me long-term. I saw women fighting in the pubs and things like that I hadn't seen before. Physical fighting – and you know the pub was soaked with beer, and sometimes the puddle at the Murupara pub was so high you had to wear gumboots, and physical fights broke out at the drop of a hat.<sup>87</sup>

While at official level intermarriage was both sanctioned and even encouraged, individuals entering into 'mixed relationships' encountered a range of reactions from their families and friends. Throughout the post-war period, several social commentators and social scientists turned their attention toward the issue and concluded that strong disapproval of intermarriage existed amongst Pakeha.<sup>88</sup> American social commentator, David Ausubel, who visited New Zealand for a year between 1957 and 1958 claimed that while the official circular dispensed to the tourist trade asserted that there was "no social stigma attached to Maori-Pakeha marriages", he found this not to be case.<sup>89</sup> He noted that while marriage was still under discussion, parents, relatives, neighbours, and friends would "almost invariably disapprove and counsel against it"; however once it had actually taken place "greater acceptance is usually forthcoming".<sup>90</sup>

John Harré, working in the early 1960s, also emphasised the eventual approval and concluded that although very few Pakeha parents actively encouraged 'mixed' relationships there were few who actually forbade them.<sup>91</sup> In a similar vein, he concluded that while some Maori parents expressed a desire for their child to marry a Maori, very few actually severed links if their child married a Pakeha, and in fact, most Maori parents viewed marriage to Pakeha as perfectly 'normal'.<sup>92</sup> He found that on both sides the opposition usually broke down once the parents had established a relationship with the chosen spouse. He also found that few parents or kin would not attend the wedding, that both sets of parents would exchange visits, gifts, and assistance with the couple. Attitudes towards grandchildren, by

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> David P. Ausubel, *The Fern and the Tiki: An American View of New Zealand National Character, Social Attitudes, and Race Relations*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1960, Ernest Beaglehole and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Modern Maoris*, Educational Research Series; no.25 New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1946, James E. Ritchie, *The Making of a Maori: A Case Study of a Changing Community*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1963.

<sup>89</sup> Ausubel, *The Fern and the Tiki*, p.182, see pp.182-184 for a fuller discussion of the lived reality of inter-racial marriages in mid-twentieth century New Zealand.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p.183.

<sup>91</sup> Harré, "Interracial Mixing", p.278, Harré, *Maori and Pakeha*, p.84.

<sup>92</sup> Harré, "Interracial Mixing", p.279, Harré, *Maori and Pakeha*, p.84.

both Maori and Pakeha parents, was no different from that towards other non-hybrid grandchildren.<sup>93</sup>

While not experiencing explicit hostility, some Christchurch Pakeha women never felt fully accepted by their partners' Maori families. Many of the Christchurch women who married young North Island Maori men tell a similar tale of never feeling like they belonged when they visited their boyfriends' and husbands' families. Being served the best china, or a cup and saucer while the rest of the family drank their tea from a tin mug, signified to many of the women that they were 'outsiders'.<sup>94</sup> For young Christchurch women visiting Wairoa, a visit to the local shops with their in-laws underscored their difference; as Pakeha, local shopkeepers served them before any Maori customers including their partner and his family.<sup>95</sup>

Most of the Pakeha parental opposition that Harré observed in his study came from the parents of Pakeha young women dating Maori men.<sup>96</sup> While very few Pakeha parents objected to their sons marrying Maori women,<sup>97</sup> the post-war pattern of Pakeha women marrying Maori men was an inversion of the established and largely accepted pattern of intermarriage in New Zealand.<sup>98</sup> Central to the objections of many of the parents of Pakeha women was a negative preconception about the ability or otherwise of a Maori husband and father to provide for his family.<sup>99</sup> Harré found, however, that most of this opposition was quelled once the parents met the young man and he proved that he was sufficiently integrated to provide for their daughter. Pakeha parents were less hostile to the idea of their daughters marrying 'ideal' Maori citizens.

As with their Auckland counterparts, many Christchurch parents did not object to their Pakeha daughters dating Maori men, and it was only when the relationship was perceived as 'serious' that many parents suggested that their daughters 'step back'.<sup>100</sup> Not all of relationships were 'serious', however, and it may have been that Pakeha parents were not informed of these liaisons. Caught in the fun and youth culture of the 1950s and 1960s, many Rehua residents dated local Pakeha girls without ever meeting their parents or families.<sup>101</sup> When the relationship did proceed to marriage, it seems that most Christchurch Pakeha families accepted their daughter's choices of husband. Although parents were unwilling to disassociate themselves from their daughters for their choice of a Maori husband, members of

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Interview recorded with "Pauline", 5 December 2000, McRoberts, *White Sheep*.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Harré, "Interracial Mixing", pp.278, 285, Harré, *Maori and Pakeha*, pp.82-85.

<sup>97</sup> Harré, *Maori and Pakeha*, pp.64, 82.

<sup>98</sup> See earlier in this chapter, p.283.

<sup>99</sup> Harré, *Maori and Pakeha*, pp.22, 48, McRoberts, *White Sheep*.

<sup>100</sup> McRoberts, *White Sheep*; Interview with "Ian" recorded 18 April 2000.

<sup>101</sup> Interview with "Peter" recorded 24 May 2000; Interview with "Bill" recorded 23 November 2000

the extended family were. One couple, who married in the 1960s, reported that an uncle of the Pakeha wife vowed never to come to their home, and never did so.<sup>102</sup> Again, like the Auckland cohort, it seems that mixed relationships and marriages were largely accepted by the peer groups of the marrying couples. While a couple consisting of a Maori man and a Pakeha woman were on occasion the object of obvious curiosity,<sup>103</sup> couples intermarrying in Christchurch did not consider themselves socially excluded.

Not only was intermarriage seen as a means to improve the next generation through a mingling of the blood, but also within bureaucratic thought there was a perception that Maori who married Pakeha were themselves improved. Thus, the hybrid citizen was imagined in both physiological and cultural terms. Through intermarriage, immediate cultural hybrids could be created, with the promise of future generations who were both culturally and physiologically hybrid. The marriage choices of the young men who had been resident in Rehua hostel were of particular concern to both the Methodist Church and the Department of Maori Affairs. Both Reverend Falkingham and the bureaucrats were concerned that once their training was complete, many of the apprentices would “return to their North Island homes and marry girls who had not had the advantage of better training”. The concern was that these ‘unintegrated’ North Island women would “lower the standard of future family life” of young men who themselves were integrated and therefore ideal Maori citizens.<sup>104</sup> Maori women who were neither physiologically nor culturally hybrid were not seen as suitable partners for these young Maori men, who it was believed, had been successfully transformed into cultural hybrids during their time in Christchurch. Lurking at the core of this belief was the widely held notion that it was women who either raised or lowered men to their standards; that it was women who set the standards for family life.

‘Race’, however, cut across this assumption, and when a Maori woman married a Pakeha man, the expectation was that she would ‘rise’ to his Pakeha standards. Within official thinking, Maori women who married Pakeha men were unlikely to need special State assistance; Pakeha men, it was assumed, were adequate and able breadwinners. In 1954, the Maori Women’s Welfare League viewed this assumption with some alarm. Responding to reported exclusion of Maori women married to Pakeha men from borrowing under the Maori Housing Policy, the annual conference approached Ernest Corbett and demanded clarification on the issue. The general mood of the assembled delegates opposed the exclusion of Maori

<sup>102</sup> Interview with “Kevin and Sally” recorded 1 April 2000.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid; McRoberts, *White Sheep*.

<sup>104</sup> Memorandum: Lewin to Head Office, 29 June 1962, MA 1, W2490, 37/48, Vol.4 Box 170, ANZ, Wellington.



women, whether married to Pakeha or not, from special State assistance.<sup>105</sup> The Minister in response to the League's concerns assured them that it was not Government policy to exclude the Maori wife of a European husband. Encoded within his response was the belief that Maori married to Pakeha became cultural hybrids. Although not officially excluded from assistance, there was an official assumption that the Maori women married to Pakeha men would become 'less Maori', and importantly for the state, less in need of state assistance. All Maori who the Board identified as "being able to avail themselves of normal sources of finance" were denied special state assistance and therefore diverted elsewhere.<sup>106</sup> Within official thinking, Maori women married to Pakeha men along with "the Maori with substantial capital resources", and the "Maori with business or commercial experience or training" fulfilled the definition of Maori able to use "normal" channels.<sup>107</sup> Weary of such an explanation, the League while accepting the Minister's response resolved to "keep this resolution in mind", and be watchful for cases of Maori women being deprived of special assistance when needed.<sup>108</sup>

## **'BEAUTY'**

Nineteenth century ideas of 'race' intertwined with science and aesthetics, defining Aryans and Caucasians as the pinnacle of the human race in every respect, and therefore including beauty.<sup>109</sup> Throughout New Zealand's history miscegenated Maori women have most easily fitted hegemonic definitions of 'beauty'. Pakeha more easily recognised and understood Maori of 'mixed ancestry' as beautiful, with their lighter complexions and finer features. In describing Princess Te Puea Herangi as 'beautiful' in his 1977 biography of the Maori leader, Michael King points to the miscegenated aspects of Te Puea's appearance:

She was beautiful, certainly. So were all the Herangi children at an early age. Te Puea had features that it became fashionable to describe as a pleasing result of racial blending: clear, olive skin; a wide and sensual mouth; a flattened nose, and, most dramatically, large, clear and slightly hooded eyes that suggested depths of knowledge on her side and an ability to enter people's minds on the other.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1954, MS-Papers-1396-002, ATL.

<sup>106</sup> Corbett to Petricevich, 24 November 1954, MA 1, 30/1a, Vol.1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1954, MS-Papers-1396-002, ATL. This was not a view confined to Pakeha bureaucrats, as some Maori also articulated this belief. Speaking against the remit at the 1954 Maori Women's Welfare League conference, the delegate from Kahungunu stated that as so many "Maori couples" were in need of housing assistance and homes, "it was only fair that a Maori woman married to a Pakeha should not be eligible under the Maori Housing Act". Rather, she advocated that a mixed race couple should utilise the State Advances Corporation, "as the Pakeha was entitled to assistance" from this organisation. The Kahungunu delegate possessed a clear perception of a Maori woman married to a Pakeha man as a cultural hybrid. In her thinking, such a Maori woman fell outside the definition of "Maori", and instead she could most adequately be provided for within a Pakeha framework.

<sup>109</sup> Dyer, *White*, pp.70-81. For a discussion of this in the New Zealand context see: Lynda Dyson, "The Construction and Reconstruction of 'Whiteness' in New Zealand", *British Review of New Zealand Studies*, 9 (1996), pp.55-69, pp.60-61.

<sup>110</sup> King, *Te Puea*, p.40.

The belief in the “beauty” of light skinned people of colour was not confined to non-coloured people. bell hooks has argued that in black American communities “the fair skinned black woman who most nearly resembled white women” was seen as the “lady” and generally revered, while darker skinned women “were seen as bitches and whores”.<sup>111</sup> In the post-war era, women such as opera sensation Kiri Te Kanawa,<sup>112</sup> and the olive skinned subjects of the following chapter - Maureen Kingi, Rebecca Faulkner, and Carole Cunningham - were all constructed as ‘beautiful’.

Although not acknowledged by contemporaries, Robert Young argues that a concern with sexuality underlay the preoccupation with miscegenation and ‘hybridity’. Discussions on the possibility or impossibility of hybridity focused explicitly on the issues of sexuality and sexual liaisons between ‘blacks and whites’. For Young “theories of race were thus also covert theories of desire”.<sup>113</sup> In the post-war period, issues of race relations and racial thinking came to inform conceptions of female beauty and desire in New Zealand.

Beauty is not an essential quality. Rather, it is a dynamic concept; it is socially constructed, culturally specific, and economically driven. Who and what particular societies and groups consider ‘beautiful’ differs from culture to culture, place to place, and time to time. Within Western thought, literature, and representations, ‘whiteness’ has remained a constant precondition to beauty. Marina Warner details the ways in which blondness, and with it fair skin, is synonymous with beauty in Western myths and fairy tales.<sup>114</sup> Hybridity and miscegenation complicated this view and added further nuance to the category of beauty.

In New Zealand, the equation between fair skin and beauty has its roots in late nineteenth century depictions of Polynesian maidens. The ‘beautiful’ Polynesian maiden, who bore a striking resemblance to French constructions of the Algerian woman, was unmarried, possessed with dark flowing hair covering dusky bare skin.<sup>115</sup> The women that Western artists, such as the Frenchman Paul Gauguin, chose to paint, fell firmly within Western criteria of ‘beauty’. Fine facial features and fair skin brought the ‘Otherness’ (dark hair, dark eyes, and native costume) of the artists’ native subjects within the boundaries of

<sup>111</sup> bell hooks, *Ain't I a woman: Black Women and Feminism*, Pluto, London, 1982, p.110.

<sup>112</sup> On Kiri Te Kanawa see: Pickles, “Kiwi Icons”.

<sup>113</sup> Young, *Colonial Desire*, p.9.

<sup>114</sup> For a full discussion of blondness in Western mythology see: Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 1995.

<sup>115</sup> Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1996, p.91, Anne Maxwell, “Rewriting the Nation”, *Meanjin*, 53, 2 (1994), pp.315-26, p.315, Abigail Solomon-Godeau, “Going Native: Paul Gauguin and the Invention of the Primitivist Modernist”, in Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrad, eds, *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, Harper Collins, New York, 1992, pp.313-329, p.321, Tamasailau M. Suaalii, “Deconstructing the ‘exotic’ female beauty of the Pacific Islands and ‘white’ male desire”, *Women's Studies Journal*, 13, 2 (1997), pp.75-94, p.79.

desirability acceptable to the European voyeur.<sup>116</sup> While not 'white', South Seas maidens were not inscribed within the traditional representational for 'black' either.<sup>117</sup> These women possessed complexions tonally as much Mediterranean as Polynesian.<sup>118</sup> Within Maori and other Polynesian societies, contact with the European society resulted in further reconfigurations of the notion of 'beauty'. Lithe slim young women who conformed to Western notions of beauty eclipsed the large, graceful, buxom women, once considered 'beautiful' within 'traditional' culture.<sup>119</sup> By the time New Zealand emerged from World War II, the image of the slim, unmarried, fair skinned 'beautiful' Maori woman was well established.

## FASHIONABLE CITIZENS

Important in constructions of beauty and desirability was the adornment of the body in fashionable clothing. Following the bleakness of over of a decade of deprivation, misery, and grief, fashion enjoyed an increased currency in the post-war years. In a rejection of the austere and utilitarian clothing of the depression and war years, women throughout the Western world clamoured for a return to glamour and overt femininity.<sup>120</sup> Women's fashions, many have argued, signalled a resurgence of conservative sexual politics. Reminiscent of the Victorian period, skirts fell to midcalf length and became full, with waists cinched to achieve the desired line. Despite, or possibly because of, the political subtext of the clothing, many women throughout the Western world (although not all),<sup>121</sup> welcomed the Dior inspired 'New Look', and the supersession of the functional styles of the war years.<sup>122</sup> In New Zealand, the increased international attention to glamour, style, and feminine beauty coupled with unprecedented prosperity to produce an unparalleled focus on fashion. Increased wealth meant that many women were able to own more clothes, accessories, and cosmetics. It was in the post-war period that New Zealand clothing manufacturers began to show their product at an annual Fashion Fiesta held in Wellington.

<sup>116</sup> Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society*, p.91, Solomon-Godeau, "Going Native", p.321, Jacqui Sutton Beets, "Images of Maori Women in New Zealand Postcards after 1900", *Women's Studies Journal*, 13, 2 (1997), pp.7-24, p.8.

<sup>117</sup> Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori, 1840-1914*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp.17-19, Solomon-Godeau, "Going Native", p.321, Judith Van Trigt, "Reflecting on the Pacific: Representations of the Pacific and Pacific Island Women in Five Dominant Cinematic Texts", *Women's Studies Journal*, 12, 1 (1996), pp.99-114, p.103.

<sup>118</sup> Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, pp.17-19.

<sup>119</sup> Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori*, p.92.

<sup>120</sup> Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1983, pp.281-283, McKergow, "Opening the Wardrobe of History", pp.176-177.

<sup>121</sup> For a discussion of the ways in which New Zealand women could and did resist late 1940s fashions see: Brickell, "Through the (New) Looking Glass".

<sup>122</sup> Banner, *American Beauty*, pp.281-283, McKergow, "Opening the Wardrobe of History", pp.176-177.

In the context of the post-war emphasis on glamour and the emergence of a youth culture, increasing numbers of Maori and Pakeha women keenly adopted the 'beauty' ethos. For some young Maori women, fashion, glamour, and 'beauty' constituted a large part of the beguiling appeal of the perceived Pakeha spaces of the cities. For Deirdre Nehua, a young Maori woman born in 1950 and brought up in part by her Ngati Wai maternal grandparents in Motu Kowhai, Whangaruru, on the east coast of Northland, fashion and glamour composed much of the fantasy world she perceived outside of her rural existence.<sup>123</sup> Newspapers and the *New Zealand Women's Weekly*, provided the young Maori girl in the late 1950s with a window into another world. She recalls:

We lived in a small, galvanised-iron hut with floors sandsoaped white and walls lined with old newspapers...Another newspaper, in the bedroom, had photographs of some very glamorous women at the races. They wore close fitting hats with a flower on one side, ankle length lace dresses and shoes with a T-bar. I loved the styles and the clothes – this was a world that fitted my fantasies.

...Later we got the *New Zealand Women's Weekly*. I loved the cartoon strip called 'Through the week with Mopsy'; Mopsy was very glam and had a wardrobe I coveted. Even at the tender age of seven or eight it severely bugged me that Granny would buy my clothes from Woolworths and not one of the flash shops – or worse, she'd make my clothes.

My auntie, who lived in America, sent us the *National Geographic* magazine and *Ebony*, which was a magazine published by Black Americans. Many of the people in *Ebony* were seriously glamorous. I was determined when I grew up I would dress the way they did...<sup>124</sup>

### **Consuming Citizens**

Just as Maori women received encouragement to titivate and beautify their homes to meet Pakeha suburban norms, Maori women, both young and middle aged, were encouraged to do the same with their bodies. In order to achieve the desired glamorous results, Maori women – like their Pakeha counterparts – were increasingly encouraged to buy fashion clothing, beauty products, and cosmetics. In the wider imperial context, Timothy Burke in a study of post-war Zimbabwe has argued that there was a simultaneous and contradictory construction of consumption as the essence of the 'civilising mission' and as a realm of protected white privilege.<sup>125</sup> While the consumption of particular goods served to define and demark the privileged status of the white population, Burke argues that just as an amalgam of white interests sought to educate African women in domesticity as part of the 'civilising' process, that same amalgam for the same ends also sought to educate women in bodily hygiene and the use of toiletries. Central to achieving this goal was the consumption of an increasing array of consumer products marketed to Africans, and particularly African women.<sup>126</sup> Like colonial Zimbabwe, post-war consumption in New Zealand in relation to

<sup>123</sup> Deirdre Nehua, "Three Women", in Witi Ihimaera, ed, *Growing up Maori*, Tandem Press, Auckland, 1998, pp.88-98.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p.93.

<sup>125</sup> Timothy Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1996, Burke, "Sunlight Soap".

<sup>126</sup> For a full articulation of Burke's arguments see: Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women*, Burke, "Sunlight Soap".

Maori functioned to continue the ‘civilising’ mission, however in mid-twentieth century New Zealand the ‘civilising’ mission had shifted from a goal of assimilation and amalgamation to integration.

Encouraged by missionaries and their wives, Maori women had readily adopted European styles of dress.<sup>127</sup> As throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century Empire, European clothing, when worn by indigenous women, served as a marker of not only respectability and ideal Victorian femininity, but also ‘civilisation’ and modernity. Into mid-twentieth century New Zealand, clothing and ‘beauty’ continued to denote similar ‘advancements’ for Maori women. Maori were encouraged to consume an increasing array of consumer products in order to become integrated and therefore ideal citizens. With integration and the erosion of the boundaries between Maori and Pakeha as a central aim of race relations policy, in New Zealand consumption did not explicitly function to protect white privilege. Maori women, like their Pakeha counterparts, received encouragement to fill their suburban homes with devices and furnishings, and decorate their bodies with clothing and cosmetics.

The Maori Women’s Welfare League and Department of Maori Affairs both sought to educate Maori women to become consumers. In 1963, alarmed at the number of Maori buying articles that in many cases were “of doubtful value” from door-to-door salesmen, the Minister of Maori Affairs published a memorandum in Maori Women’s Welfare League newsletter offering advice on resisting such pressured selling. Adding to this advice, the League also offered further advice on door-to-door sales to Maori housewives.<sup>128</sup> Both the League and the minister encouraged Maori women to continue purchasing items, but to exercise caution to ensure they were receiving value for money.

As in Burke’s Zimbabwean study, in New Zealand, it was women who were the most exaggerated subjects of the campaigns around bodily modernity and ‘civilisation’.<sup>129</sup> Also in line with the Zimbabwean example, within official rhetoric there was often a conflation and connection between the domestic and bodily foci. Department Stores, such as George Court’s in Auckland, aimed to make it even easier for Maori women to acquire an increasing array of adornments for their homes and their bodies through the extension of store credit. Between 1900 and 1939, New Zealand department stores enjoyed their heyday as new large sites of

---

<sup>127</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p.156. Coney does note, however, that Maori women made their own adaption in style to the European clothing.

<sup>128</sup> Maori Women’s Welfare League newsletter, Vol.11, No.9, November-December 1963, MS-Papers-1396-008, ATL.

<sup>129</sup> Burke, “Sunlight Soap”, p.195.

**HAVE WHAT YOU WANT — NOW!**

**USE GEORGE COURT'S**

**“STORE CURRENCY”**

**THE EASY WAY TO BUY ALL YOUR FAMILY'S NEEDS**

**What is “Store Currency”**

It's a method of buying wherein your Credit is established and you are issued with “Store Currency” credit coupons to the total value of your account. This amount is decided between yourself and the Credit Interviewer. For every shilling you can repay weekly you receive £1 in “Store Currency”. 5/- gives you £5; 7/6 gives you £7/10/-; 10/- gives you £10, etc. It is Continuous Credit. As you repay you may draw the equivalent in more “Store Currency”.

**How do you spend it?**

When you receive your “Store Currency” you may spend all or part of it on anything, anywhere in the Store. Your purchases can be large or small—from cosmetics to clothing for the family, from fabrics to furnishings for the home. Every purchase is a cash transaction and you take the goods with you. There are no embarrassing credit checks every time. You can't overspend because “Store Currency” is the Credit you carry in your purse.

**DO YOU WANT A NEW COAT FROCK, SUIT, OR SHOES,**

**Clothes for the Kiddies,**

**Something for the Home?**

Don't wait till the best has gone. Buy it NOW with “Store Currency” and have the choice of new season's stock. “Store Currency” is continuous credit—as you pay it off, more is available.

Call and chat it over with our friendly interviewer on the third floor. You'll be under no obligation, or write to C.P.O. Box 1334 for full information.

**George Court's**

KARANGAHAPE ROAD AUCKLAND C.P.O. BOX 1334 AND AT PAPAKURA

**Illustration 24: Advertisement targeted at Maori women for Store Credit at George Court's Department Store, Auckland, *Te Ao Hou*, June 1959, No.27.**

consumption.<sup>130</sup> These spaces naturalised everyday encounters with consumer goods. They were highly gendered and glamorous spaces that constituted a new public sphere for women as both workers and consumers throughout the Western world.<sup>131</sup> With assured credit, in the form of “Store Currency”, Maori were free from the fear of “embarrassing credit checks”, and gained access to these gendered sites of traditionally bourgeois consumption in the post-war period (see Illustration 24).

In an advertising campaign that recognised the well-established link between women and consumption, women were encouraged to spend on themselves, their homes, and their families. Appealing to women as wives and mothers, “Store Currency” tempted Maori

<sup>130</sup> Pickles, “Workers and Workplaces”, p.154.

<sup>131</sup> Paul Glennie, “Consumption Within Historical Studies”, in Daniel Miller, ed, *Acknowledging Consumption*, Routledge, London and New York, 1995, pp.164-203, pp.185-190, Pickles, “Workers and Workplaces”, pp154-158.

women with “the easy way to buy all your family’s needs”.<sup>132</sup> The respectable and fashionable Pakeha ‘housewife’ featured in the advertisement targeting Maori women provided a template of what Maori women who shopped at the department store could achieve. Although described in the advertisement copy as ‘needs’ rather than ‘wants’, it was not the necessities of life on which the department store urged the women to spend their pre-arranged credit. Instead, it was “the essentials” of both bodily and home fashion, style, and beauty - cosmetics, home furnishings, and new styles of clothing for themselves and their families. Maori women shoppers were encouraged to not “wait until the best is gone”, but instead to “buy it NOW with ‘Store Currency’”.<sup>133</sup>

Traditional examinations of consumption cast consumption as a means by which the populace is manipulated into passivity, and therefore docile for capitalism.<sup>134</sup> However, in recent decades, scholars have begun to advance more emancipatory analyses, and scholars now view consumption as offering a source of pleasure that makes possible a form of resistance to the most alienating aspects of capitalism and patriarchy.<sup>135</sup> Almost inevitably, given the assumption that most ‘consumers’ are women, it has been feminist and women’s studies scholars, who have explored consumption and consumerism and have produced work to buttress and expand the idea of consumption as resistance and pleasure.<sup>136</sup> Pieces such as Alison Clarke’s work on Tupperware have shown how consumption was and is a complex category in which women were able to sometimes gain power within and negotiate. In the New Zealand context, Chris Brickell has shown post-war New Zealand women’s consumption of ‘New Look’ fashions as a highly complicated process.<sup>137</sup>

How then are we to read Maori women’s relationship to consumption of fashion and beauty items in the period under investigation? As the recent literature suggests, we can neither read the relationship as simple manipulation, or as simple resistance. As discussed above, consumption in relation to Maori contained a colonising element. Consumption became another means to achieve the integrated nation. Consumption for post-war Maori, however, was more complex than this. The question of why Maori, and particularly although

<sup>132</sup> Advertisement for Store Credit at George Court’s Department Store, Auckland, *Te Ao Hou*, June 1959, No.27, [backcover].

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> This was a view expounded by a group of scholars known as the Frankfurt School, with one of the best known elaborations being an article written by Adorno and Horkheimer on the culture industry. For a discussion of this see: Colin Campbell, “The Sociology of Consumption”, in Daniel Miller, ed, *Acknowledging Consumption*, Routledge, London and New York, 1995, pp.96-126, Mica Nava, “Consumerism Reconsidered: Buying and Power”, in Morag Shiach, ed, *Feminism and Cultural Studies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, pp.45-64.

<sup>135</sup> Campbell, “The Sociology of Consumption”, Nava, “Consumerism Reconsidered”. For a discussion of this in the New Zealand context, see: Brickell, “Through the (New) Looking Glass”.

<sup>136</sup> For a discussion of this see: Campbell, “The Sociology of Consumption”, pp.98-99.

<sup>137</sup> Brickell, “Through the (New) Looking Glass”.

not exclusively Maori women, so keenly adopted fashion and beauty products needs to be addressed. In many ways, participation as a 'consumer' demonstrated Maori, as well as Pakeha's citizenship and belonging in the nation. In the face of wartime rationing and restrictions, from the 1943 election campaign and into the 1950s, consumption became deeply embedded in New Zealand political rhetoric and constructions of ideal New Zealand citizenship.<sup>138</sup> While Labour viewed the citizen primarily as a participant in the collective processes of Government, the National Party espoused a more individual definition of the citizen. To National, the ideal New Zealand citizen was a customer who possessed the freedom to purchase from a wide range of private enterprises, and owned things.<sup>139</sup>

Through owning and wearing fashion and beauty products, Maori women were able to display their belonging in their new urban environments, and ultimately their belonging in the modern New Zealand nation. Many Maori women accepted and accommodated the consumerist message knowing that participation would in part win them the wider objective of belonging and therefore citizenship in their new environments. By the late 1960s, pre-employment courses that self-consciously sought to educate 'for citizenship' included modules for young intending urban women migrants on the use of make-up and the choice of clothing.<sup>140</sup> Young recruits on the courses were taken on imaginary shopping visits, and required to draw up budgets for the purchase of the required paraphernalia to look smart and 'well groomed' in their new urban environments.<sup>141</sup>

Just as Maori women were well aware of the equation between domestic modernity and social worth, so too were they aware of the equation with bodily modernity and social worth. Aware of what was considered respectable and stylish in the cities, Maori women, like Pakeha women, yearned for fashionable items such as silk stockings.<sup>142</sup> Women's recollections of migrating to the city are full of references to their perceived need to show their 'worth' and modernity through the wearing of fashionable and stylish clothing. Bodies became an important means for the display of ideal, respectable, and responsible citizenship. Clothing and grooming, in the minds of many of the Maori urban migrants, visibly denoted their belonging in the cities; clothing provided a means to signify their urban sophistication. Vera Morgan, a young Northland woman who moved to Wellington, visited Auckland before she embarked on her migration with the express intention of buying a suit. She recalls:

---

<sup>138</sup> Brickell, "Labour, National".

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, p.18.

<sup>140</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, February 1969, No.65, p.44 and "A report on :Live in a City", MA 1, 57/1/29, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>141</sup> "A report on :Live in a City", MA 1, 57/1/29, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>142</sup> Interview with Theresa Rikihana, Women in World War II Collection, Part 1, OHColl-0060, Oral History Centre, ATL, Wellington.



I went to Auckland first, to buy myself a suit. I didn't have very much money, but that's what I decided to do. I didn't want my grandparents or my father's people seeing me looking as if I was from the bush, I suppose. That must have been what I thought. Out of my little money I decided to buy myself a donegal tweed suit which I got in George Court's. And I bought a pair of brogue shoes and a hat. I felt I had to present myself to my father's family like that.<sup>143</sup>

In a similar vein, Waerete Norman, the daughter of 'pioneers in the urban drift', also recalls the importance of fashion and style to her sense of belonging in Auckland city:

The new dresses we bought were made out of jersey silk, organza, bubble nylon, everglaze, polished and pure cotton, and shantung – beautiful materials to smell and touch. My eldest sister was once again a pivotal person in the city...She was a very stylish dresser and had beautiful clothes and high-fashion shoes to match...My sister taught us how to dress for the city scene so that we would not be whakama (ashamed), and often we were the envy of others in our whanau for the style and flair we displayed.<sup>144</sup>

Clothing as a marker of ideal citizenship was not confined to young urban migrants; many older Maori women also wanted to establish themselves as stylish and glamorous and therefore belonging in their new urban environments. To this end, *Te Ao Hou* published advice for Maori women on buying an established maker of glamour and sophistication – a fur. In the opening of the article, the author firmly established the fashion article's link to glamour, wealth, and sophistication: "though mink coats may strictly be for film stars and others in the upper income brackets..."<sup>145</sup> The writer then assured their Maori readership that "most women sooner or later manage to achieve their ambition to own a fur piece, be it a comparatively humble stole".<sup>146</sup>

Although the emphasis was on women and adoption of stylish urban clothing, young Maori men also found clothing an important device for blending into their new urban environments. Clothing, the residents of Christchurch's Rehua hostel knew, marked them out as belonging in the city. Those who came to the hostel from small Maori communities reported that their style changed once in Christchurch.<sup>147</sup> Well aware of the connections that the Pakeha population would make between respectability and being well dressed, Mrs Rennie, the matron at Rehua from 1954, regularly inspected the residents before they ventured out into town.<sup>148</sup> The matron found, however, that she had to do very little policing of dress standards, as the residents were eager to signify their belonging in the city through conforming to Pakeha-defined stylish and respectable modes of dressing.<sup>149</sup> Not only did 'respectable' clothing allow the young men to blend into their new environment, it was also

<sup>143</sup> Vera Morgan, "I always had dreams", in Patricia Grace, Irihapeti Ramsden, and Jonathan Dennis, eds, *The Silent Migration: Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948*, Huia, Wellington, 2001, pp.7-13, p.13.

<sup>144</sup> Norman, "Taura", p.131.

<sup>145</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, No.23, Vol.6, July 1958, p.62. For a social and cultural examination of the wearing of fur in the Canadian context, see: Chantal Nadeau, *Fur Nation: From the Beaver to Brigitte Bardot*, Routledge, London and New York, 2001.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> McRoberts, *White Sheep*.

<sup>148</sup> Gill, *Mission Accomplished*, p.55.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

crucial to Pakeha acceptance in the city areas. In 1958, Doug Clarke noted that some South Island employers were reticent about taking on unskilled Maori workers, citing their perception of the group as ‘drifters’ as the main reason. In particular, he pointed to prospective employers being especially apprehensive about groups of young Maori men who travelled in old cars and wore “teddy boy” clothing.<sup>150</sup> Conversely, in 1962 Clark noted the favourable impression the Rehua residents were making around the city. In the Welfare Officer’s thinking this was at least in part due to the fact that they had “turned out to all functions well dressed, neat and tidy, and this has been commented on more than once”.<sup>151</sup>

Just as clothing allowed the young urban migrants to blend into their new environments, it could simultaneously be a marker of difference. On visits back to their rural Maori community in Wairoa, one group of Rehua residents found clothing crucial to signify their ‘advancements’. By wearing their best clothes and particularly trousers with creases down the front, the young men asserted their difference: “When we came home as teenagers we would walk down the main street in city clothes just so that everyone would see that we were doing alright”.<sup>152</sup> Within the city too, clothing became a means by which the trade trainees asserted a separate and unique identity. Profits from the hostel’s concert party were utilised to purchase monogrammed blazers for the residents.<sup>153</sup> The blazers were popular, giving a sense of belonging to young men uprooted from their familiar networks – there was no doubt that a young man wearing a blazer was a resident of the hostel. One ex-resident maintains that the identification achieved through the blazers led to them being ‘treated like movie stars’.<sup>154</sup> Jackets and blazers also became an important device for the young Rehua men to assert their identity against residents of the other Maori boys’ hostels in the city.<sup>155</sup>

## COSMETICS

While clothing and fashion were also important for the blending and acceptance of Maori men as well as women in the cities, women were the targets of additional and exclusive advice on the use of cosmetics and grooming. In April 1957, with the aim of giving “Maori women some added confidence in the town environment into which so many are moving”, *Te Ao Hou* published an article about “the finer points of facial make-up and beauty care”.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>150</sup> D.G.Clark, “Annual Report”, 1 April 1958 –31 December 1958, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>151</sup> D.G.Clark, “Annual Report”, Year ending 31 December 1962, AAMK 869, 36/29/8, Box 1107c, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>152</sup> McRoberts, *White Sheep*.

<sup>153</sup> 15 September 1955, Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

<sup>154</sup> McRoberts, *White Sheep*.

<sup>155</sup> Interview with “Peter”, 24 May 2000.

<sup>156</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, April 1957, No.16, pp.59-60.

The magazine thought this article was needed, as they regarded many Maori women desired more information on these matters, and was not always “easily found in the usual women’s magazines”.<sup>157</sup> The article, written by a Pakeha woman, Catherine Wislang, was a published form of the advice she had delivered to the residents at Pendennis Maori Girls’ hostel in Wellington, and was followed up in the following issue with “Beauty for Christmas”,<sup>158</sup> an article giving advice on what beauty products to give as Christmas presents.

In the April article, Wislang located the use of cosmetics as part of the ‘ancient’ Maori world, noting “the great variety of ornaments were used: feathers, and plumes, anklets, necklaces, flowers, ear pendants”.<sup>159</sup> It was however the tattoo, according to Wislang, that was the main ornament of the ‘ancient’ world. Despite her attempt to locate the use of cosmetics within ‘ancient’ Maori culture, Wislang discouraged any allusions to traditional adornment with modern cosmetics. In specially tailored beauty advice for Maori women, the beauty expert advised the use of the “yellow based colours” for lipsticks and rouges, as blue based lipsticks turned “very purple on Maoris”.<sup>160</sup> The effect of these blue-based colours, according to Wislang, resembled the “effect of the ancient pukepoto”, and could be avoided through using rich reds such as Innoxia Poppy or Flamboyant or Three Flowers’ Carmen Crimson and American Beauty.<sup>161</sup>

It was the chin moko, called either a kauwae or kauae and traditionally common amongst Maori women of status, that Wislang advised against in her article. In her advice to the hostel girls and the female readership of *Te Ao Hou*, albeit probably not consciously, Wislang was continuing the nineteenth century practise of Pakeha women’s opposition to the traditional bodily art form. Colonisation meant a replacement of the traditional tattoo, once considered the ideal of perfection and beauty, with new European ideals of fashion and beauty. Missionaries preached against moko for both men and women, declaring it an art form associated with uncivilised heathens.<sup>162</sup> In the late nineteenth century Pakeha feminists and social reformers aided in bringing about the discontinuation of the traditional art form amongst women. From 1894, the W.C.T.U made the discontinuation of moko a condition of signing the pledge.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>157</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, April 1956, No.16, p.59.

<sup>158</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, December 1956, No.17, pp.59-60

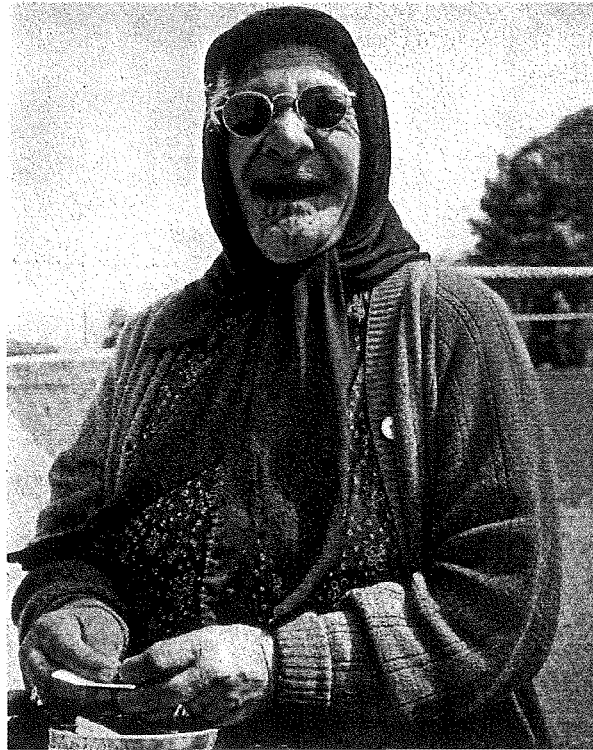
<sup>159</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, April 1956, No.16, p.59.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, pp.264-265.

<sup>163</sup> Tania Rei, *Maori Women and the Vote*, Huia, Wellington, 1993, p.40. This requirement was in line with British feminist reformers the Empire over. All throughout the British Empire white women reformers were calling for the end to traditional practices by arguing that they were unhygienic, and placed the indigenous women in danger. The argument was no different in New Zealand, where the WCTU argued that the customary



**Illustration 25:** Gregory Riethmaier's, *Rebecca and the Maoris*, through images and text constructed moko as ancient and outside of 'modern' constructions of beauty. Conversely, cosmetics were constructed as youthful and an integral component of 'modern' beauty. The text and the images deemed this stylised and temporary allusion to the "ancient" art as acceptable for the young 'modern' girl, but not the traditional and permanent mark of the kauwae as displayed by the kuia.

In a variety of media, moko were cast as belonging to a by-gone world, and outside what was considered youthful and beautiful in modern urban society. In a 1964 pictorial essay focusing on a Maori community in Rotorua (which in the following chapter I consider in depth and argue was a text of integration), Gregory Riethmaier juxtaposes images of a kuia and a young girl.<sup>164</sup> Using the mechanism of a young Maori woman, Rebecca as the narrator of the story, moko are established as outside mid-twentieth century constructions of Maori women's beauty, and instead modern cosmetics are established as constituting youthful beauty (see Illustration 25). Although declaring the kuia on the previous page to be made to "look more beautiful" by the "tattoo on her chin and lips", Riethmaier through Rebecca declares, "They used tattoo then, the way we use face powder and lipstick. It was an art; it was also painful to put on but it lasted for ever". Set under this image and caption is a young Maori girl with a plastic hat casting a shadow of stylised traditional moko design all over her face. The caption to this image has Rebecca declaring, "There was no pain for this little girl. Her "tattoo" will disappear as soon as she takes off her plastic hat. Fashions change!"<sup>165</sup>

Young women, such as the narrator Rebecca, considered that they could best attain 'beauty' through contemporary cosmetics and clothes, rather than through traditional Maori adornment such as the kauwae or kauae. By the mid-twentieth century, the triumph of Pakeha constructions of beauty meant that most Maori women did not desire moko. Young Maori women knew that moko were antithetical to their belonging in the cities and towns of New Zealand. By the mid-twentieth century, Maori women, such as Witarina Harris, claimed that moko did not appeal at all, instead, she argued, "I just wanted to be in the Pakeha world then".<sup>166</sup> In 1972, Michael King located only seventy-one Maori women with moko<sup>167</sup> with most of these women being older women. Only twenty one years later, in 1993, all of these women had died.<sup>168</sup>

Instead, it was modern cosmetics that appealed to Maori women. By the 1920s, cosmetics began to lose their nineteenth century connections with disreputable women and

---

practise could lead to blood poisoning and ultimately death. For a discussion of the Imperial context see: Strobel, "Gender and Race", p.390.

<sup>164</sup> Gregory Riethmaier, *Rebecca and the Maoris*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1964.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Witarina Harris, "We were the lucky generation", in Patricia Grace, Irihapeti Ramsden, and Jonathan Dennis, eds, *The Silent Migration: Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948*, Huia, Wellington, 2001, pp.14-28, p.16.

<sup>167</sup> Michael King and Marti Friedlander, *Moko: Maori Tattooing in the Twentieth Century*, Alister Taylor, Wellington, 1972.

<sup>168</sup> Wena Harawira, Caleb Maitai, and Lee Umbers, "Tattoos are Back", *Mana* 1993. This article chronicled the re-emergence of moko in the late twentieth century. For a life story of a Maori woman who took a moko kauae in 1996 see: Nehua, "Three Women", in W. Ihimaera, ed, pp.88-98. It is interesting to note that this is the woman who fantasised about glamour and fashion in the late 1950s in the passage cited on p.295

prostitution,<sup>169</sup> and respectable New Zealand women, as did women throughout Europe, North America, and the settler colonies, began to use cosmetics in an effort to make themselves 'beautiful'. Cosmetics in New Zealand, as elsewhere, came to be understood as respectable and indeed necessary for reaching ideal womanhood.<sup>170</sup> However, for Maori women, like all women of colour, commercialised beauty and beauty products were not only aesthetic, psychological, and social matters, but also a problem of racial politics. Cosmetics and beauty products were never far removed from the supremacy of whiteness, the goal of racial progress, and emulation.<sup>171</sup> From an early date, throughout the world the cosmetics industry linked whiteness with social success and refinement.<sup>172</sup> Within the discourses produced within the beauty industry the equation between 'whiteness' and beauty was emphasised. Women of colour, including Maori women, were offered hope in reaching the beauty ideal through the use of skin lightening products and techniques.<sup>173</sup> In her advice published in *Te Ao Hou*, Wislang advised that it was best to match face powder "as close as possible to the natural skin colour", but also offered her readers advice on how to lighten the skin. The tinted powder bases required, according to Wislang, were obtainable "in lotions and creams in all reliable makes".<sup>174</sup>

In addition to the written advice, practical instruction such as that offered by Christine Wislang to the residents of Pendennis Maori girls hostel, became common. Not only were Maori girls and women who had migrated to the cities and towns the targets of such instruction. Maori women in rural areas were also taught the finer points of beauty. In instructing rural Maori women in beauty, it was hoped that they would be more confident in coming into the cities and thus belonging to the New Zealand nation. With young Maori women as the target, 'charm courses' were held for secondary school girls in rural areas (See Illustration 26).<sup>175</sup> Young single women were not the sole targets, however, as in August 1957, *Te Ao Hou* reported that around 30 women, "young and old had come eagerly to be 'educated' at the school for beauty care" held at Ratana Pa over two weekends.<sup>176</sup> Organised by Mr W. Parker, the Wellington Maori Adult Education tutor, Maori women received instruction from Mrs Ziska Schwimmer on the use of make-up, facial massage, the removal of facial hair, 'and similar topics'.

<sup>169</sup> Banner, *American Beauty*, p.42.

<sup>170</sup> Kathy Peiss, "Making Faces: The Cosmetics Industry and the Cultural Construction of Gender, 1890-1930", *Genders*, 7 (1990), pp.143-169, p.143.

<sup>171</sup> Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*, Metropolitan Books, New York, 1998, p.203.

<sup>172</sup> Peiss, "Making Faces: The Cosmetics Industry and the Cultural Construction of Gender, 1890-1930", p.160.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, April 1956, No.16, p.60.

<sup>175</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, December 1966, No.57.

<sup>176</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, August 1957, No.19, p.62.



Illustration 26: "A group of secondary school girls take part in a charm course run by Mrs Anna MacGregor, held in Punga-haruru in 1964", p. *Te Ao Hou*, December 1966, no.57.

In the cities, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) also became involved in teaching young Maori women the rudiments and skills of beauty. The predominantly Pakeha women's voluntary organisation had run courses in 'grooming' and dress throughout the 1920s and 1930s, but the emphasis of these courses was on cleanliness, fitness, and healthy living. In the 1950s, the organisation resurrected the idea and began to run 'charm' and 'elegance' courses for young women. These courses differed from those of earlier decades in that the emphasis on health had disappeared, and in its stead aimed to transform the young 'students' into glamorous creatures, or what the women's liberation movement only a few years later would brand as 'sex objects'.<sup>177</sup> Described by Sandra Coney as a "particularly pernicious manifestation of the period's fetish with image",<sup>178</sup> the courses advised young women not to worry about having the wrong nose, as "science and cosmetics could knock it into shape".<sup>179</sup>

In 1966,<sup>180</sup> the Auckland branch of the YWCA ran its first charm course specifically designed for young Maori women coming from the country. Their tutor was an exemplar of 'beauty', Leonie Yarwood, an ex-Miss New Zealand. She ran classes on "Eat and be beautiful", "grooming and poise", and "what to wear and when". Also included in the instruction was "budgeting in the big city" and "Maori arts".<sup>181</sup> Although 50 girls attended

<sup>177</sup> Coney, *Every Girl*, pp.255-257.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, p.255.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>180</sup> Although Coney (p.256) claims that the first all-Maori charm course was held in 1960, it would appear that the date of 1966 is more correct. Reports of the course appeared in two issues of *Te Ao Hou*, (June 1966, No.55, p.12. and December 1966, No.57, p.47) and appears to be discussing the same course described by Coney.

<sup>181</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, June 1966, No.55, p.12.

the course on the first day, only half that number returned for the second day.<sup>182</sup> Coney argues that the lack of attendance on the second was attributable to the course encouraging young Maori women to aspire to an unattainable ideal. Meeting stringent definitions of Western beauty was difficult enough for Pakeha women, but being brown proved an impossible impediment to being 'charming'.<sup>183</sup>

Although without question the YWCA course was advocating and instructing a form of beauty that conformed to Pakeha definitions of beauty, Coney's analysis belies the complex politics that underlay the course. Firstly, while whiteness continued to epitomise Western conceptions of beauty, internationally by the 1960s non-European women began to be recognised and extolled by writers of beauty as 'beautiful' and furthermore were presented as models for emulation.<sup>184</sup> The crowning of Maureen Kingi, a young Maori woman from Rotorua, as Miss New Zealand in 1962, suggests that now Maori women were considered capable enough of being 'beautiful' to represent the nation at a pageant of beauty.<sup>185</sup> In arguing that Maori women were constructed as beautiful within both commercial and popular beauty discourses, it does not follow that traditional and Pakeha beauty went out of vogue. Rather, in New Zealand as elsewhere, in the post-war period, women of colour gained entry into the pantheon of beauty to sit alongside the voluptuous blondes and elegant brunettes.<sup>186</sup>

Secondly, the young Maori women attendees of the course were not simple victims of the assimilating and colonising aims of the Pakeha women's organisation. 'Beauty', glamour, and grooming were not concepts simply foisted on an oppressed group of colonised women. Maori women were attracted to and adopted 'beauty' for their own pleasure, and for their own political reasons. Within 'beauty', there is a strong narrative of Maori women's agency. The charm school was not solely the result of YWCA initiatives. Also involved in the organisation of the course was Miss M. Mako, a young Maori woman member of the Maori Women's Welfare League and founding member<sup>187</sup> of the Auckland Young Maori People's Group. In fact, the foundation of the Young Maori People's Group owed much to the charm course. Miss Mako was a member of the city branch of the Auckland Maori Women's Welfare League, which organised a cabaret as a "fitting climax" to the course.<sup>188</sup> It was at this social function that the executive of the Group, which aimed to style itself on

---

<sup>182</sup> Coney, *Every Girl*, p.256.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Banner, *American Beauty*, p.289.

<sup>185</sup> Maureen Kingi and her reign as Miss New Zealand are examined in depth in the following chapter.

<sup>186</sup> Banner, *American Beauty*, p.289.

<sup>187</sup> Along with other prominent young Auckland Maori, Drs. Ian Kawharu and Pat Hohepa. See: *Te Ao Hou*, December 1966, No.57, pp.47-48.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, p.47.



Wellington's successful Ngati Poneke club, was formed. Through her involvement with the YWCA, Miss Mako was able to secure the support of the Pakeha women's organisation, which allowed the young Maori group to meet at the YWCA's Auckland clubrooms and at the Academy of Elegance.<sup>189</sup>

Prior to the 1966 involvement with the Auckland Charm School, the Maori Women's Welfare League had been firm advocates of Maori women acquiring the skills needed to be 'beautiful' citizens. Along with teaching Maori women the skills needed to be a modern Maori housewife in the urban settings, branches of the Maori Women's Welfare League also sought to teach Maori mothers how to dress both themselves and their families in a manner that signified their respectability and belonging in the cities.<sup>190</sup> Like American black women leaders,<sup>191</sup> the Maori Women's Welfare League advocated grooming and cleanliness as part of their crusade for social acceptance. In 1965, when the Dominion executive of the League learned of the Hamilton YWCA holding a course on "deportment and make-up" for Maori girls, it greatly approved, but felt this was a task that their own Maori women's organisation could carry out at branch level. It was envisaged that experts in make-up and fashion would be invited to youth clubs to speak to young Maori.<sup>192</sup>

Unlike the Pakeha women's organisation, the Maori Women's Welfare League advocated similar instruction for young Maori men as well as women. Likewise, when the annual conference came to address the issue of grooming at the 1968 annual conference, the assembled delegates advocated grooming instruction for both young Maori men and women.<sup>193</sup> The members who spoke to the remit stressed the need for young Maori to "know how to groom themselves properly before seeking employment". For the Maori women at the conference, such as the Kaikohe delegate who brought the remit, the issue was one of citizenship. She, like many Maori women, were well aware that if young Maori men and women were to be accepted as ideal citizens worthy of employment by Pakeha employers, then clothing and grooming was crucial. Although the League members explicitly argued for grooming instruction for both sexes, it is clear that they saw this as an issue especially important for young Maori women. Deeply embedded in their discussions was an equation between women and beauty. Ultimately, in their thinking, it was Maori girls who needed instruction in make-up, poise, and deportment.

---

<sup>189</sup> Ibid, pp.47-48.

<sup>190</sup> Te Tau, in Simpson and Rogers, eds, p.275.

<sup>191</sup> On the American context see: Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, p.207.

<sup>192</sup> Maori Women's Welfare League Dominion Executive Minutes, 14 September 1965, 93-180-17/2, ATL.

<sup>193</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1968, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

## Selling Cosmetics

In the decades following World War II, the New Zealand cosmetics and beauty products market expanded,<sup>194</sup> and Maori women found themselves targeted in the marketing of the increasing array of products as part of the more general development of the Maori consumer market. Through the pages of *Te Ao Hou*, both Cutex and Three Flowers products were routinely and specifically marketed to Maori women. In their advertising, both companies used images of refinement, sophistication, and social improvement to sell their products to their Maori market, also appealing to youth, beauty, desirability, and glamour.

From only the third issue of *Te Ao Hou*, Cutex began to market their product to Maori women. Cutex products, manufactured in the United States, reached New Zealand women via the Wellington based distribution company, the Van Staveren Brothers.<sup>195</sup> Throughout the period 1953-1956,

Illustration 28: Cutex advertisements began to appear in *Te Ao Hou* from the Summer 1953 (no.3) issue of the Department of Maori Affairs publication. The image on the left is from *Te Ao Hou*, December 1955, no.13, and the image on the right from *Te Ao Hou*,

Illustration 27: Cutex advertisement from *Te Ao Hou*, November 1957, No.20.

<sup>194</sup> New Zealand Society of Cosmetic Chemists, *Cosmetics in New Zealand, 1946-1996: personal and company recollections: a history of the industry in New Zealand over the last fifty years* New Zealand Society of Cosmetic Chemists, Auckland, 1996, [n.p].

<sup>195</sup> Peter Kitchin, "Reluctant recruit to family firm a success in peace, war", *The Evening Post*, 10 December 1998, p.5. This family business was in fact responsible for the distribution of many of the cosmetics and beauty products in post-war New Zealand.

the cosmetics company sought to induce Maori women consumers to buy their product through depictions of stylised and glamorised Caucasian women (see Illustration 28). In 1957, Cutex introduced a real woman model into their advertising campaign, but like the stylised depictions, she was a beautiful and glamorous Caucasian woman (see Illustration 27). A year later, however, the

marketers introduced a new advertisement into the magazine, and this time it featured a Maori model (see Illustration 29). In only five years, the marketers of the product shifted to a position of considering a Maori model glamorous and beautiful enough to induce other Maori women to purchase their product. In this way, Maori women readers of *Te Ao Hou* were encouraged to purchase glamour products, but this time with a Maori woman occupying the idealised epitome of beauty – that of the model.

Like Cutex, 'Three Flowers' cosmetics and toiletry products explicitly marketed their products to Maori women through the pages of *Te Ao Hou*. Unlike Cutex, however, 'Three Flowers' products were locally produced. In 1939, the large American cosmetic house, Richard Hudnut, had established a manufacturing plant for its product in Auckland. This move proved fortuitous for New Zealand women in the war years that followed. Dependant on shipping, the normal flow of imported cosmetics and beauty aids to which New Zealand women had become accustomed became scarce during World War II. Richard Hudnut, producing face powder, lipstick, foundation or vanishing cream, and brilliantine under the 'Three Flowers' label, won a substantial market share and established itself as a household name with New Zealand women. Following the war, however, many of the well known imported brands began to find their way onto the counters of New Zealand's pharmacies and department stores, and New Zealand women seeking to alleviate the austerity of the previous years, returned to the international imported labelled products. In response to more glamorous post-war rivals, the manufacturers of 'Three Flowers' established their product as a less expensive line that sold through chain stores such as Woolworths and MacKenzies, and embarked on a sustained marketing campaign of the 'Three Flowers' range. Full page



**NEWEST, LOVELIEST FASHION SHADES  
FOR YOUR LIPS AND FINGERTIPS**

*Colour-matched by Cutex*

So beautiful, so smart... and costs so little! Creamy-smooth Cutex Stayfast Lipstick that stays on and on... world-famous Cutex Spillpruf Nail Polish that gives you longest wear. You can get Cutex at your favourite chemist or store.

*... for lasting Beauty*

**CUTEX**

Cutex 'Spillpruf' Nail Polish  
Flattering colours, Enamel for lasting loveliness. Wonderful value at only 2/6.

Cutex 'Pearl' Nail Polish  
The glow of lustrous pearls. Only 4/6.

Cutex 'Stayfast' Lipstick  
Super-lamella for creamy smoothness and alluring lips. Only 3/11.

Lipstick Imported. Polish made in N.Z. for Northern Warren, U.S.A.  
Distributors: Van Staveren Bros. Ltd., Wellington.

Illustration 29: This Cutex advertisement began to appear in *Te Ao Hou* from October 1958, No.24.

# For a better *longer-lasting* make-up

KIA HIWA RA! KIA HIWA RA!

Three Flowers Face Powder gives a better longer-lasting make-up because it stays colour-true and texture-fresh all day, thanks to its new Top Tone Shade formula . . . it is soft and fine, clings longer . . . no caking or streaking. Suits all skins . . . delicately perfumed. An economical face powder . . . in 6 fashion perfect shades.

E hīnā ma ina te Paura he 'Putiputi E Toru'. He mau ki te kiri, kaore e kopurapura, mau atu i te ata a po noa a hei te kiri e hīne ma kowatawata ana. Me puta nga mihi ki tenel mea hou ki te 'Top Tone Shade formula' he taonga maheni, he u ki te kiri e kore e kopurapura. He pal mo nga kiri katoa, kula mai kohine mai a hei tona kakara ka mutu pea. He paura tino pal, he toe roa e ono ona kara.



## three flowers

FACE POWDER

Prepared in N.Z. for  
Richard Hudnut Ltd., 21 Federal Street, Auckland

He mea mahi ki Niu Tirenī ma  
Richard Hudnut Ltd., 21 Federal Street, Auckland

Illustration 30: 'Three Flowers' cosmetic and toiletry products began to be advertised in *Te Ao Hou*, from Summer 1954. Even more than with Cutex, Maori women were the specific targets of the marketing of this locally manufactured product. This advertisement first appeared in *Te Ao Hou*, Summer 1954, No.7, p.57.

advertisements in newspapers and magazines, window displays, and daily radio recommendations from the doyen of the airwaves, Aunt Daisy, served to revitalise the flagging post-war sales and established 'Three Flowers' products as the cosmetic and beauty aid choice amongst another generation of women seeking glamour and beauty.<sup>196</sup>

It was in the context of this aggressive marketing drive that Richard Hudnut began to market 'Three Flowers' products to Maori women. It would seem that to the company seeking to gain more share of the cosmetics market in post-war New Zealand, Maori women constituted a significant enough market to warrant a specific advertising campaign. In a series of advertisements introduced over a yearlong period, Richard Hudnut attempted to appeal to Maori women through the use of both English and Maori copy (See Illustration 30, Illustration 32, Illustration 31). Although the advertisement for foundation assured potential consumers of the product that it would deliver 'a softer younger looking skin', the advertising for 'Three Flowers' made less of an appeal to youth and glamour than Cutex. In the first advertisements to appear, for face powder, the Maori text encouraged women young and old to use the product. Significantly, the English text contained no similar message. In running the Maori text in the advertisements, the company was seeking to reach an older group of women, who would be more likely than teenaged women to read the Maori language version of the advertisement.

<sup>196</sup> New Zealand Society of Cosmetic Chemists, *Cosmetics in New Zealand*, [n.p].

**NOW... a softer, younger looking skin**  
**INA... he kiri pungorungoru ake, he kiri kohine ake**

Three Flowers Foundation Vanishing Cream is a perfect base for beauty—holds make-up on all skins, under all conditions. Whipped to the finest possible texture to avoid clogging the pores, it keeps your skin soft and youthful. In convenient and economical handbag tubes. Carry it with you always—it's the popular choice.

KO "TE TORU PUTIPUTI KIRIIMI NGARO NOA" te kaupapa o te ataahua, ahakoa pehea mau tonu nga wanihi o te kiri. E kore e tapia te kiri engari ka pungorungoru tonu ano kohine tonu. Ina noa ake, kua e mahue noa he mea kaingakou na te katoa.



**three flowers**  
**FOUNDATION (VANISHING) CREAM**

Prepared in N.Z. for Richard Hudnut Ltd., 21 Federal Street, Auckland. He mea mahi i Niu Tirenī mā Richard Hudnut Ltd., 21 Federal Street, Auckland.

Illustration 31: *Te Ao Hou*, December 1955, no.13, p.59.

It is possible to draw several conclusions from the analysis of the advertising for both these brands of cosmetics. Firstly, the willingness of both companies to specifically market their products to Maori women demonstrates the growing Maori consumer market for cosmetic products. Secondly, the use of Maori models and Maori language copy in the advertisements demonstrates that Maoriness was not considered antithetical to 'beauty' in the decades following World War II. As elsewhere, in New Zealand, conceptions of who was beautiful were undergoing a transformation in the post-war period. The marketers of Cutex believed that Maori women would regard the Maori woman model as sufficiently 'beautiful' and glamorous to emulate and therefore purchase the products advertised.

## CONCLUSION

Bodies, whether miscegenated or adorned, were central to State attempts to construct ideal Maori citizens and the integrated nation in the mid-twentieth century. This chapter, in focusing on bodies, has allowed a more nuanced view to emerge of the operation of the policy of integration. It shows how bodies were central to constructions of mid-twentieth century configurations of Maori citizenship, and further adds to the gendered, and often women-focused, operation of the policies and processes of integration demonstrated in this thesis.

To policy makers, intermarriage represented the pinnacle of an integrated society. Nothing spoke of and contributed to New Zealand harmonious race relations more than the literal marriage of Maori and Pakeha. To the bureaucrats, intermarriage was not only a compelling means of displaying the positive state of New Zealand race relations to the world;

**Deodorant as well as Refreshing!**  
**He Whakakakara he Whakapai hoki!**

Fragrant Three Flowers Talcum soothes and allays skin irritation, keeps you cool and comfortable—now because of special new ingredients in the formula it also ensures you stay fresh and sweet all day—it's a 'must' for every bathroom!

Ko tenet paura ko te "Fragrant Three Flowers Talcum" he paura whakangawari i te kiri, kaore he maseneene kaore he oha. He whakahauangi he whakapai i te naha—a i te mea kua whakaurua he mea hou ki roto reka ana tou kakara po noa te ra—'ME' whai paura penei tou whare kaukau."

**3/3**  
**three flowers**  
*Talcum Powder*

Prepared in N.Z. for  
 Richard Hudnut Ltd., 21 Federal Street, Auckland.  
 He mea mahi ki Niu Tireni mo  
 Richard Hudnut Ltd., 21 Federal Street, Auckland.

Illustration 32: *Te Ao Hou*, March 1955, No.12, p.60.

it was also an effective means of creating both cultural hybrids in the present generation, and a means of "breeding-out" Maoriness in the coming generations.

In considering constructions of beauty and glamour, the State's focus on the role of Maori women in the processes of urbanisation and integration are further revealed. Rather than dismiss beauty, fashion, and glamour as frivolous feminine concerns; the mid-twentieth century State, aided by commercial concerns and Pakeha women, demonstrated understandings of their centrality to configurations of citizenship. The Department of Maori Affairs sought to school young Maori, and particularly young Maori women, in the skills of beauty and grooming through pre-employment courses, and the pages of *Te Ao Hou*.

This chapter has shown, however, that the mid-twentieth century emphasis on beauty for Maori women was not a simple tale of a group of colonised women being dictated to by a colonising State. Many Maori women, like many Pakeha women of the period, revelled in the glamour and femininity of the period's styles and fashion. For many other Maori women, bodies, 'beauty', fashion, and glamour offered a further means to assert membership within the New Zealand nation. Displaying a modern and well-groomed body surface was an effective means of displaying to both Maori and Pakeha that you were an integrated and ideal citizen. Additionally, as Maori women increasingly assumed responsibility for the instruction of young Maori women in beauty and grooming they further disrupted the potentially colonising narrative of the emphasis on bodies and beauty.

## chapter nine:

---

# Exemplars of the Desti-Nation

Set against the backdrop of the policies and processes of urbanisation and integration, this chapter offers readings of three young Maori women who rose to national and international prominence during the 1960s, and argues that bodies, beauty, and gender were crucial elements in constructions and representations of an integrated New Zealand nation, both domestically and internationally. Representations of these three women oscillated between them donning 'traditional' Maori costume to play the part of 'Maori maidens', and as appearing as 'modern' and belonging in the cities through their relationships to technology and fashionable 1960s Western clothing. The three women - a beauty queen, an employee of the Tourist and Publicity Department, and the subject of a photographic essay - do not form an exhaustive, or indeed even a systematically identified sample of young Maori women thus represented during this period. As a group, however, they provide a useful window into the representations of young Maori women as both maidens and modern urban citizens in commercial, marketing, artistic, educational, and 'beauty' contexts. Their roles in constructions of the New Zealand nation also provide an interesting window through which to view changing configurations of Maori citizenship. All three of the women were constructed as, and constructed themselves as, belonging in the modern and urban New Zealand nation.

Encoded in the representations of all three women were markers denoting them as 'other'. Many of the representations discussed in this chapter can be regarded as both employing stereotypes and as playing a crucial role in the continuing hegemonic project of the colonisation of New Zealand and the Maori people. However, complicating and disrupting this colonising narrative of the representations of the three women is the issue of their agency. There is a danger in studying these women merely as 'representations' or their bodies as 'sites' upon which the dominant discourses played themselves out. Ultimately these women may end up erased from history, paradoxically by an approach that seeks to critique Orientalist essentialism.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the colonising discourses surrounding the representations of the women, this chapter also explores the aims and agendas of the women themselves, in particular Maureen Kingi. It argues that, far from being powerless victims,

---

<sup>1</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, eds, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1988, pp.271-313. For an application of Spivak's ideas see: Padma Anagol, "Indian Christian women and indigenous feminism, c.1850-1920", in Clare Midgley, ed, *Gender and Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1998, pp.79-103.



these women used their positions within colonialist discourses to preserve their own cultural values.

## MEET THE WOMEN

The first of the women examined in this chapter is Maureen Kingi (see Illustration 33), Miss New Zealand 1962. Born in Rotorua in 1942 to a Maori father, and a mother of Scottish descent, Maureen Kingi was the youngest of four children. Irikau Kingi, Maureen's father, was employed by the Department of Maori Affairs as an interpreter and as a clerk of the Maori Land Court. Her eldest brother Wene was a carpenter living in Sydney. Her other brother Bill, was an accountant in Wellington, and was described in Kingi's publicity as "one of only three or four Maoris holding a Bachelor of Commerce degree".<sup>2</sup> Maureen



Illustration 33: Maureen Kingi, Miss New Zealand 1962 at the International Beauty Congress Parade of Nations.

Kingi's only sister, Lenaire, worked for the Social Security Department in Wellington, and was studying towards a Bachelor of Arts degree at Victoria University. Kingi herself was no stranger to educational achievement. In her final year of high school, she received the Maori Purposes Fund Prize for the top Maori girl of her school.<sup>3</sup> After completing her secondary education with success, Kingi, like thousands of other Maori, moved to Auckland, New Zealand's largest city. In her new urban home, she took up a position as a student radiographer at Auckland hospital.<sup>4</sup> A woman from the Maori Women's Welfare League offered Maureen Kingi a position in the YWCA's modelling school, the Academy of Elegance. According to Kingi, there was no mention of beauty pageants at this stage; it was solely "a grooming thing".<sup>5</sup> Eventually the lure of prizes and the opportunity of trying something different saw the young woman competing in pageants. Her first success came as Miss St. Steps, Queen of the Ballroom. Her road to the Miss New Zealand final was a beauty pageant for Maori and Polynesian women. As the winner of the Miss South Seas contest, Kingi went on to the national pageant and won the title of Miss New Zealand in 1962.<sup>6</sup> New Zealanders were able to glimpse their newly crowned beauty queen as she travelled the

<sup>2</sup> *Miss New Zealand 1962: The Story of Maureen Kingi*, Joe Brown Enterprises, Dunedin, 1962, [n.p].

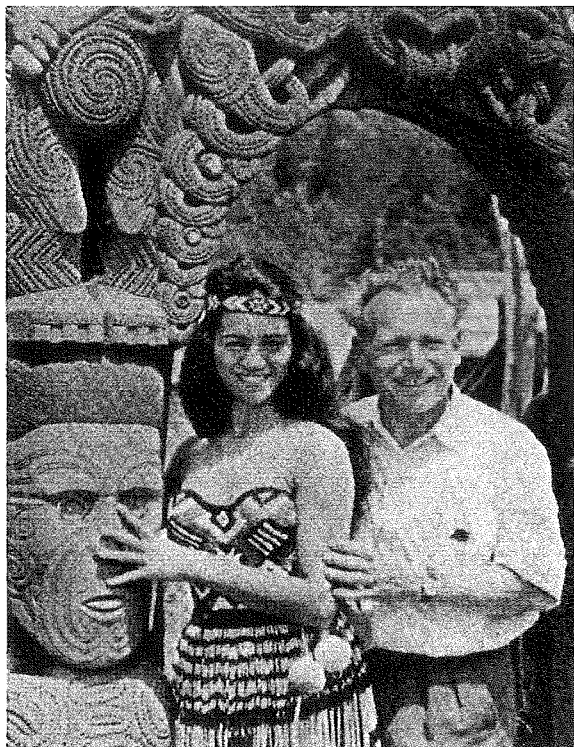
<sup>3</sup> Ibid. See also: "A Letter from Maureen Kingi", *Te Ao Hou*, No.40, September 1962, pp.2-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Miss New Zealand 1962*, [n.p].

<sup>5</sup> Maureen Waaka Kingi, "Finishing the Jigsaw Puzzle", in Jane Tolerton, ed, *60s Chicks hit the nineties*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1997, pp.67-83, p.75.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. See also: "The day Grandma was the beauty queen", *The Dominion Sunday Times*, 10 June 1990, p.11.





**Illustration 34:** Rebecca Faulkner with the writer and photographer of *Rebecca and the Maoris*, Gregory Riethmaier. Riethmaier came to New Zealand as secretary and wireless operator on Count von Luckner's yacht *Seeteufel* (Sea Devil). Accused of being a German spy, Riethmaier was interned on Somes Island during the war. Following the war, her decided to stay in New Zealand. He attended Auckland University, became a professional photographer, and built a home in Auckland.

country on the 'Maureen Kingi tour'. The tour, the brainchild of entrepreneur Joe Brown, sought to raise money for the cash-strapped fledgling Miss New Zealand show.<sup>7</sup> International audiences viewed the young Maori Miss New Zealand at the Miss World Contest in London, and the Miss International final in San Francisco. Although Kingi did not win either of these pageants, she won the attention of the international, and particularly the American, media.

The second young woman, Rebecca Faulkner, came to the attention of Gregory Riethmaier, a Tourist and Publicity Department photographer during a shoot for his state employer in Rotorua. He was growing tired of the "stiff and artificial pictures" of Maori he believed he was expected to produce, and noticing the "pretty Maori girl", conceived the notion of his book, *Rebecca and the Maoris*,<sup>8</sup> which aimed to present the Maori people "as

they lived in the present".<sup>9</sup> Rebecca Faulkner, a member of the New Zealand women's basketball team, like many other young Maori women of her generation aspired to be a nurse. At the time of the book's production, however, she lived in Rotorua, and worked as a waitress as this fitted with her sport more readily than did nursing.

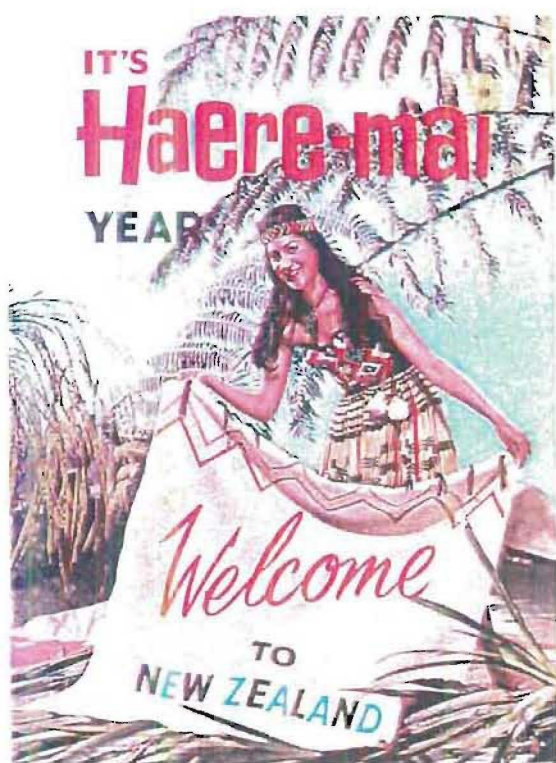
It was also via the state's Tourist and Publicity Department that the third subject of this chapter, Carole Cunningham, came to prominence. In an attempt to lure more Australian tourists to New Zealand shores, 1966 was designated "Haere-mai" year,<sup>10</sup> described as "the

<sup>7</sup> Spenser Jolly, *The Miss Parade*, [n.p.], Southern Press, Dunedin, 1974, p.90. Rachael McDermott, "Entertaining Ideas: The Enterprises of Joe Brown, H.S.O.E." B.A. (Hons) long essay, University of Otago, 1998, p.50.

<sup>8</sup> Personal Communication with Gregory Riethmaier, 26 March 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Haere mai is a Maori term meaning welcome. The form of the term used in the tourism campaign was incorrect, but it was thought that the hyphenated form of the word was easier to read. Campbell to Allender, 13 July 1965, Tourism and Publicity Department, TO 1, Haere-Mai 1966, 2/84/2, Archives New Zealand, Wellington



**Illustration 35: Carole Cunningham as the Tourist and Publicity Department's Miss Haere Mai, 1966.**

biggest single tourist promotion ever mounted by New Zealand".<sup>11</sup> Utilising the Maori term for welcome - haere mai - the promotion aimed to convey to potential Australian tourists that "a special welcome" awaited them in New Zealand.<sup>12</sup> Early on in the conceptual stages of the publicity campaign, the Department decided to include a Maori "girl" in the promotional material. Rather than have a model only appear in static promotional posters, the Tourist and Publicity Department decided to employ a real-life, and full-time Miss Haere-Mai. In 'traditional' Maori costume Carole Cunningham was to meet incoming planes and generally be the "living personification" of the Haere-Mai campaign (see Illustration 35).<sup>13</sup> Before the Tourist and Publicity Department employed her as Miss Haere-mai, Cunningham had moved from her rural East Coast home to Auckland and attended

Auckland Girls' Grammar School. After leaving school without school certificate, she worked first as a shop assistant and then as a clerical worker.<sup>14</sup> As Miss Haere-mai, dressed in 'traditional costume' with flowing tresses, employed to beckon and welcome, Carole Cunningham appeared as a stereotypical Maori maiden.

Both domestic Pakeha and international audiences easily understood all three of the women, with their relatively fair complexions, as beautiful. Their new employers described both Rebecca Faulkner and Carole Cunningham as "pretty" and "attractive"<sup>15</sup> Of the three women, however, as Miss New Zealand, it was Maureen Kingi whom the public viewed as an exemplar of beauty. Beauty pageants throughout the twentieth century have been identified in international literature as significant and political events that reveal much about the nation, belonging, and national ideals.<sup>16</sup> The coronation of Maureen Kingi as Miss New Zealand

<sup>11</sup> Statement by Minister in Charge of Tourism – press release, 21 December 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Odell to Patterson, 3 September 1965, TO 1, Haere-Mai 1966, 2/84/2, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>14</sup> Telegram: Eagan to Campbell, 26 August 1965 and undated, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, Personal Communication with Gregory Riethmaier, 26 March 2000

<sup>16</sup> Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, eds, *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power* Routledge, New York, 1996, Caroline Daley, "The Body Builder and Beauty Contests", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 71 (2001), pp.55-66, Kate Darian-Smith and Sara Wills, "From Queen





**Illustration 36:** Maureen Kingi depicted as the reigning monarch of New Zealand beauty graced the cover of National Council of Women's new magazine *Women's Viewpoint*, in June 1962.

needs to be read in this context. With roots in the nineteenth century sexualisation of the Pacific maiden, Maureen Kingi, like many of the women idolised in previous times, fulfilled the Western criteria of beauty. She was slim and, importantly, possessed light skin and fine features. Her Maoriness was cast as further exoticising her beauty. Kingi herself was aware that her 'beauty' differed from the "blonde hair, blue eyes and peaches and cream complexions" of her pageant rivals; yet saw her Maoriness as giving her an advantage.<sup>17</sup> With no other Maori and "few women from other [than Pakeha] cultures", Maureen Kingi saw her olive skin and dark hair as making her stand out from her competitors.<sup>18</sup> It was as the reigning monarch of beauty that the New Zealand public greeted

the newly crowned Miss New Zealand. The National Council of Women chose Kingi depicted as a crowned beauty queen as the cover girl for their new magazine in June 1962 (see Illustration 36).

## REPRESENTING THE NATION

All three women and their bodies were utilised in the post-war display of the New Zealand nation. In terms of the nationalist project of the continuing definition of New Zealand, and in the commercial 'selling' of New Zealand as a tourist destination, these three women became emblematic of the New Zealand nation. Both the state and private enterprise called on these three young Maori women to 'go native' in order to assert the uniqueness of New Zealand. As argued in the introduction to this thesis, national identity in post-war New Zealand was an increasingly contested issue, in which the place of Maori served to complicate

of Agriculture to Miss Showgirl", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 71 (2001), pp.17-31, Jennifer Robertson, "Japan's First Cyborg? Miss Nipon, Eugenics and Wartime Technologies of Beauty, Body, and Blood", *Body and Society*, 7, 1 (2001), pp.1-34, Judith Smart, "Feminists, Flappers and Miss Australia: Contesting the Meanings of Citizenship, Femininity and Nation in the 1920s", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 71 (2001), pp.1-15, Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, "'Lovliest Daughter of Our Ancient Cathay': Representations of Ethnic and Gender Identity in the Miss Chinatown U.S.A. Beauty Pageant", *Journal of Social History*, 31, 1 (1997), pp.5-31.

<sup>17</sup> Wena Harawira, "Being beautiful doesn't make you dumb", *Mana*, October - November 1999, p.56.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

the notion of the nation. Maori were required not only to 'go native', but also to appear as modern urban citizens.

As shown in the previous chapters, post-war Maori, and especially Maori women, were increasingly the subjects of a bombardment of encouragement towards consumerism and modernity, and they rapidly become modern consumers in their new urban environments. Set against this reality, however, was an enduring thread within constructions of the nation that situated Maori as the antitheses of modernity and consumerism. Faced with the demise of the mythologised simple rural version of New Zealand that was so crucial to national imaginings,<sup>19</sup> many looked to Maori, cast as 'traditional', simple, and rural, to provide a counter to this national loss.<sup>20</sup> 'Maoriness', complete with "roots, origins, and identities", was juxtaposed against the alienation associated with modernity.<sup>21</sup> Such a strategy was not confined to New Zealand; internationally throughout the 1960s, a naturalised view of indigenous cultures was being used to provide a critique of modernity.<sup>22</sup> In *Rebecca and the Maoris*, Gregory Riethmaier has a recently urbanised Rebecca expressing a longing for her 'simple' rural home of Matapihi in the Bay of Plenty.<sup>23</sup> The text, set against a series of images portraying 'simple' and 'quaint' Maori rural living, has Faulkner declaring:

Sometimes I wished I still lived in the country...There are things there...  
Things you can't see in the cities.  
It's a carefree lifestyle for children...  
...plenty of fresh air and sunshine.

The use of Maoriness as a counterpoint to the modernity of the New Zealand nation was not new to the post-war era. By the early twentieth century, Pakeha New Zealand was using the dichotomies of modernity and tradition to proclaim its coming of age. 'Maoriness' was cast as a traditional and ancient 'other' against which to assert the modernity of the nation. Ben Dibley has argued that the 1906-7 International Exhibition, held in Christchurch's Hagley Park, was an attempt to narrate the progress of New Zealand and to "hoist it onto the international stage of modernity".<sup>24</sup> In the spectacle of the recreation of an

<sup>19</sup> Throughout the immediate post-war period the increasing urbanisation and modernisation of the nation was countered in constructions of national identity. As rural and frontier life became less of lived reality for the majority of New Zealanders, figures such as Barry Crump and Edmund Hillary emerged to buttress the rural national mythology. On this see: Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp.264-265. Pickles, "Kiwi Icons".

<sup>20</sup> Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'", pp.211-213.

<sup>21</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture; Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1994, p.186.

<sup>22</sup> Micaela di Leonardo, *Exotics at Home: Anthropology, Others, American Modernity*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1998, p.234.

<sup>23</sup> Riethmaier, *Rebecca and the Maoris*. Riethmaier himself, on advice from the publisher, wrote the captions to the photos, Personal Communication with Gregory Riethmaier, 26 March 2000.

<sup>24</sup> Dibley, "Telling Times", p.2. On the exhibition and exhibitions more generally see also: Ann Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European*

ancient Maori past, the settler audience could witness various ‘archaic rituals’ and practices. Against the ‘ancientness’ of the Maori world, visitors to the exhibition could marvel at the progressive and modern Pakeha New Zealand.

It was within this context and tradition that Rotorua was positioned as a space within representations of both Maureen Kingi and Rebecca Faulkner. In Maureen Kingi’s publicity, “Rotorua” as “a world famous tourist resort...[and] thermal wonderland and lakes district”<sup>25</sup> usually featured within the opening sentences of a press release or article. Likewise, it was Rotorua and Whakarewarewa that provided the setting for Gregory Riethmaier’s *Rebecca and the Maoris*. Since the nineteenth century, thousands of national and international tourists had flocked to Rotorua each year to gaze at both the thermal activity and the ethnographical exhibits in the ‘traditional’ Maori village of Whakarewarewa; Rotorua had been constructed as a fantasy playground where tourists could re-enact the Imperialist scenes of first contact and discovery.<sup>26</sup> Around the time of Kingi’s fame and of the book’s publication, the Tourist

and Publicity Department was further improving and developing Rotorua, and in particular the village of Whakarewarewa, as ‘tourist attractions’.<sup>27</sup> In a space firmly established as Maori, Riethmaier, through the characters of Rebecca and her family and friends, portrayed life as being much simpler than it was in the cities. Interspersing images of both children and adults, and thus continuing the nineteenth century colonising view of Maori as being ‘juvenile’, the captions to the photos stated:

Yes, Maori are happy people.  
We’re happy anywhere.  
Who cares about fancy clothes...  
...we still have lots of fun –  
happy with the world we live in.



**Illustration 37: Maureen Kingi greets Queen Elizabeth II following the Royal Variety Concert staged at the Dunedin Town Hall in honour of the Queen’s February 1963 tour to New Zealand.**

*Identities*, Leicester University Press, London, 1999, John Mansfield Thomson, ed, *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-07*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1998.

<sup>25</sup> Press Release – “New Zealand’s Teen-Age Ambassadors is a Girl of Two Cultures”, 25 July 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>26</sup> Philippa Jane Galbraith, “Colonials in Wonderland: The Colonial Construction of Rotorua as Fantasy Space”, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1992, p.4.

<sup>27</sup> AJHR, 1965, H-2, p.4, 1966, H-2, p.5.

We're an easy going happy-go-lucky lot. It's a great world for everybody ...forget your worries and go fishing!<sup>28</sup>

Representations of Maureen Kingi were utilised to symbolise New Zealand's continued colonial relationship to Britain. Kingi, the crowned queen of New Zealand beauty, was invited to perform for the visiting Queen of the British Empire, Elizabeth II, on her 1963 tour to New Zealand. The representation of Kingi meeting her monarch following the Royal Variety Concert depicted her very much as an unequal native subject (see Illustration 37). This depiction was far removed from the glamorous 'queen' of beauty who had graced the cover of the National Council of Women's *Women's Viewpoint* (see Illustration 36). Kingi, through the adornment of her body, became what Benedict Anderson has termed "regalia for the colonial state".<sup>29</sup> Maureen Kingi was not the only Maori entertainer on stage at the Dunedin Town Hall that evening, but unlike the all-male Maori vocal performers, the Howard Morrison Quartet,<sup>30</sup> she was the only Maori entertainer required to 'go native'.

Increasingly during the mid-twentieth century, constructions of national identity were utilised in the marketing of New Zealand as a tourist destination. The New Zealand tourism industry grew every year from 1945 through to the late 1960s, and the South Pacific became the fastest growing tourist destination in the world.<sup>31</sup> The State owned Tourist and Publicity Department aggressively marketed New Zealand to the world as a 'South Seas Paradise', and in 1963 could report to the Government that "much of this new interest in New Zealand has resulted from diverse publicity activities undertaken through a variety of media...every opportunity is taken to place New Zealand's happy holiday identity before its potential customers".<sup>32</sup> Many of these 'opportunities taken' involved the depiction of young Maori women working within the long established visual schema of the 'exotic' Pacific Island woman as emblematic of the Pacific Islands themselves.<sup>33</sup> New Zealand, using images of Maureen Kingi, Rebecca Faulkner, and Carole Cunningham, along with many other depictions, sought to locate itself within the 'Polynesian' vacation zone, which was rapidly gaining ascendancy.

In an attempt to further provide both a natural backdrop for the affluent suburbs, and to emphasise the 'fine natural tourist attractions' that New Zealand offered, representations of the women often naturalised them. Within Western thought, both indigenous people and women have been identified as being closer to nature and 'the natural'. As indigenous

<sup>28</sup> Riethmaier, *Rebecca and the Maoris*.

<sup>29</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p.182.

<sup>30</sup> Jolly, *The Miss Parade*, p.92.

<sup>31</sup> AJHR, 1967, H.2, p.7; 1968, H.2, p.3.

<sup>32</sup> AJHR, 1963, H.2, p.4.

<sup>33</sup> Suaalii, "Deconstructing the 'exotic'", p.75.

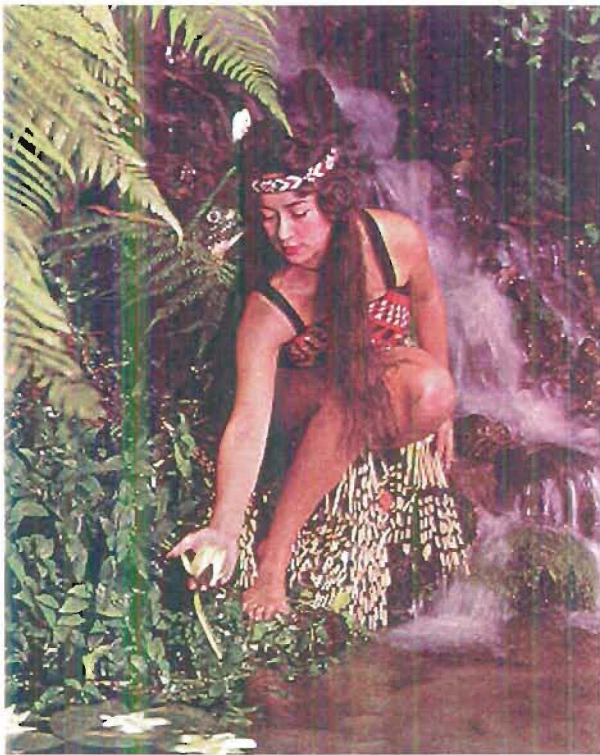
women, representations of Maureen Kingi, Carole Cunningham, and Rebecca Faulkner therefore provided a powerful counter to the modern urban nation. Simultaneously, however, naturalised images of the women also served to bolster the tourism marketing of New Zealand that the Tourist and Publicity Department was emphasising to international markets. K. B. Longmore, the General Manager of the Department, reported in 1964 the “the theme and continuity of our overseas advertising, as developed by the Department and our overseas advertising agents, set a very high standard, reflecting many aspects of our national life as well as presenting our fine natural tourist attractions”.<sup>34</sup> Within the international marketing of and commodification of New Zealand, the three young women became yet another scenic and natural attraction that the South Seas Paradise offered to overseas travellers.

In a variety of settings, all three women become part of the scenic natural wonderland of New Zealand. Rebecca, through Riethmaier’s lens, becomes inseparable from the lush bush: in a shot where she is depicted wearing Western clothing but sprawled on her back on the ground, she seems to be partially subsumed by her ‘natural’ environment. On the same page, and juxtaposed against this image, is a waterfall that seems to mimic the pose of the reclining Rebecca. In a similar vein, the Tourist and Publicity Department represented Carole Cunningham, as Miss Haere-mai, as being a part of nature and the natural world. The poster for the promotion (see Illustration 35) set Cunningham in a ‘natural’ New Zealand setting. Eager to capitalise on the connections between Miss Haere-mai and the scenic and natural wonders of New Zealand and, the Tourist and Publicity Department constructed a purpose built indoor garden at Auckland airport from which Carole Cunningham was to welcome the incoming Australian tourists.<sup>35</sup> Further adding to the naturalised view of Miss Haere-mai was the bird painting competition that W. Gregg & Co, the jelly makers, ran in conjunction with the Tourist and Publicity Department (see Illustration 39). School children were invited to enter a ‘colouring’ competition promoting Haere-mai year. The colouring competition picture featured native birds in a native forest setting. The ‘natural’ setting received further indigenisation through the inclusion of a stylised Miss Haere-mai dressed in ‘native’ New Zealand costume. Likewise, in a 1964 Whitcombe and Tombs pictorial album, Maureen Kingi also became part of her natural surroundings (Illustration 38). Described as “a flower of her race”, Kingi becomes part of the natural wonderland the album seeks to portray. Although she does not identify Kingi as the model, Jacqui Sutton Beets has analysed this photograph. She argues that the composition of the shot and the use of imagery full of

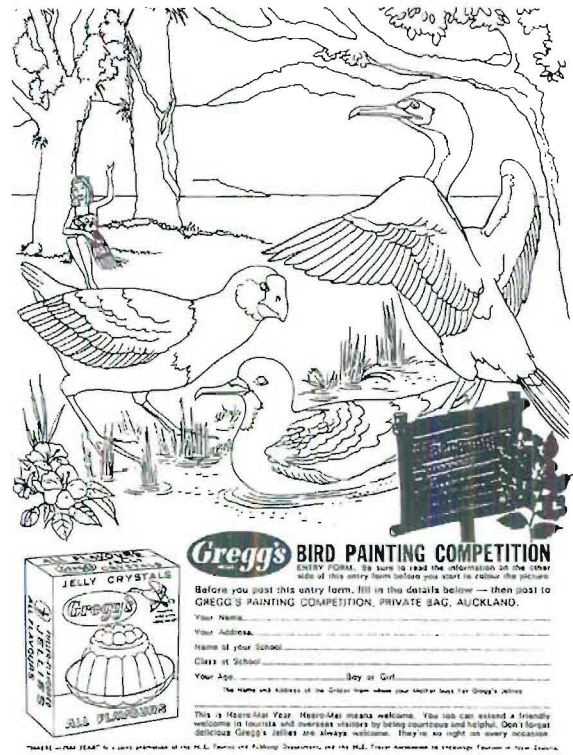
<sup>34</sup> AJHR, 1964, H-2, p.3.

<sup>35</sup> Hanning to the General Manager, 22 December 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.





**Illustration 38:** The caption accompanying this image read: “A flower of her race, wearing the attractive dance kilt or *piupiu*, bodice and headband of her people admires an exotic flower in Paradise Valley, Rotorua”. From *Wonderland Panorama*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, 1964, Gladys Goodall Collection.



**Illustration 39: Gregg's Bird Painting Competition. TO 1, 2/84/4, ANZ, Wellington**

theological and literary allusions result in the model being represented as a “fallen Eve the temptress”.<sup>36</sup>

Dean MacCannell has argued that indigenous or ‘exotic’ cultures are used as tourist attractions only if they ‘go native’, a process he defines as the wearing of traditional costumes and the performance of traditional songs and dances.<sup>37</sup> Scholars involved with the study of tourism have argued that by ‘going native’, indigenous people throughout the world became subject to the ‘tourist gaze’.<sup>38</sup> This chapter further complicates the notion of the ‘tourist gaze’ through the examination of ‘Maori maidens’. As women, the three maidens were not only subjects of the ‘tourist gaze’, but also what Laura Mulvey coined the ‘male gaze’.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Sutton Beets, “Images of Maori Women”, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Dean MacCannell, *Empty Meeting Grounds: The tourist papers*, Routledge, London, 1992, pp. 158-171.

<sup>38</sup> For a discussion of the ‘tourist gaze’ see: Jonathan Culler, “Semiotics of Tourism”, *American Journal of Semiotics*, 1, 1-2 (1981), pp. 127-140, John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, Sage Publications, London, 1990.

<sup>39</sup> Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and the Narrative Cinema”, in Laura Mulvey, ed, *Visual and Other Pleasures*, MacMillan Press, London, 1989, pp. 14-26. For a study of the intersection of these gazes in the Canadian context see: Karen Dubinsky, “Vacations in the ‘Contact Zone’: Race, Gender, and the Traveler at Niagara Falls”, in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998, pp. 251-269, Karen Dubinsky, “Local Colour: The spectacle of race at Niagara Falls”, in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge,



Although not originally conceived of as part of the Haere-mai promotion,<sup>40</sup> bureaucrats within the Tourist and Publicity Department came to regard Miss Haere-mai as the “essential part of the Haere-mai theme”.<sup>41</sup> Dean Eyre, the Minister in Charge of Tourist and Health Resorts, considered that the use of a real woman as Miss Haere-mai would “gain publicity which would not otherwise eventuate”.<sup>42</sup> The Minister’s prime concern on the choice of candidate was that the woman chosen as Miss Haere-mai would be “an attractive and intelligent Maori girl”.<sup>43</sup> By September 1965, Carole Cunningham, the model Gregory Riethmaier had photographed for the original promotional poster (see Illustration 35),<sup>44</sup> was appointed as Miss Haere-mai 1966 to the Tourist and Publicity Department on a one year contract with a salary of £775.<sup>45</sup> Her duties as the “living personification of the [Haere-mai] symbol” were to dress in Maori costume to meet incoming boats and planes from Australia, and to attend special functions in various parts of New Zealand.<sup>46</sup> In general terms, the Tourist and Publicity Department employed Cunningham to “personify a welcome from New Zealand”.<sup>47</sup> She was, however, only to extend verbal greetings of incoming Australian tourists, as both the Customs Department and the airlines voiced concerns that “give-aways” would cause delays and congestion in the customs area,<sup>48</sup> although on the inaugural flight of Haere-mai year, she travelled from Sydney to Auckland with the first draft of incoming passengers and distributed flight certificates featuring a full colour photo of herself.<sup>49</sup> The concept of Miss Haere-mai was so successful with Australian airline and shipping company representatives that on the eve of the launch of the campaign they requested more “Miss Haere-mais”.<sup>50</sup>

The Tourist and Publicity Department also sought to construct Maureen Kingi as embodying the welcome and friendliness that awaited in New Zealand. Prior to her departure for the American pageant, J R Storry wrote to Kingi advising her that the Department would be providing her with “sixty plastic tikis...suitable for handing out as “good luck” charms to

---

London, 1999, pp.67-79.

<sup>40</sup> Office Minute to Manager, National Publicity Studios, 17 June 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>41</sup> Campbell to Hebenstreit, 23 August 1966, TO 1, 2/84/4, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>42</sup> Eyre to the General Manager, Tourist and Publicity Department, 6 September 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Telegram: Eagan to Campbell, 26 August 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington. This telegram names the photographer as “Greg”, but Personal Communication with Gregory Riethmaier, 26 March 2000 confirms that it was Gregory Riethmaier, the author of *Rebecca and the Maoris*, who photographed the promotional poster.

<sup>45</sup> Johnston to the Director, Tourist Division, 21 September 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>46</sup> Odell to Patterson, 3 September 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>47</sup> Appointment of Miss Haere-mai, undated, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>48</sup> Hanning to the General Manager, 22 December 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Report of the Haere-mai Year Meeting, 15 December 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

your beautiful rivals”.<sup>51</sup> Not wanting this gesture to be confined to the 60 recipients of Maureen’s gifts, Storry advised Kingi, “Don’t forget to be very sweet and sincere about this, and make sure the newspaper boys are present to record your “spontaneous” gesture. It should be a good publicity angle”.<sup>52</sup>

‘Race’ was the crucial factor in the Tourist and Publicity Department’s interest in Miss New Zealand 1962. The instigator and promoter of the post-war Miss New Zealand pageant, Joe Brown, firmly believed Maori artists would “take the world by storm” if given the opportunity. He believed that with their “natural rhythm”, Maori talent was potentially the “biggest oil well in New Zealand”.<sup>53</sup> He originally conceived of the Miss New Zealand contest and sending the crowned delegate to the international, and particularly the American, pageants in terms of the tourism publicity it could generate for New Zealand.<sup>54</sup> In 1960, Brown announced that he intended finding a New Zealand beauty queen who would be an appropriate ‘ambassadors’ overseas.<sup>55</sup> A split in the beauty contest world in 1959 resulted in a new contest that emphasised the contestants’ countries rather than individual contestants,<sup>56</sup> and Brown saw this as an ideal opportunity for New Zealand. The Tourist and Publicity Department, however, were not as quick to see the tourist marketing dimensions of beauty pageants and continually argued that beauty pageants and queens were outside their brief. Only months before Maureen Kingi’s crowning, Joe Brown wrote to R. S. Odell, the Tourist and Publicity Department’s manager, seeking financial assistance in sending Miss New Zealand 1962 on her travels:

I would like to draw your attention to the tremendous publicity this contest is given by television, radio, and papers, both here in New Zealand and overseas. Also during the Miss International contest each girl is required to give a short speech on any chosen topic. Most of the girls talk of the tourist attractions that their own country has to offer. What better way could there be for publicising New Zealand as a tourist resort than by Miss New Zealand standing before a television audience comprising millions of Americans and inviting them to see the scenic wonders of New Zealand...New Zealand needs tourists, and to get those tourists, New Zealand must advertise. The speech that Miss New Zealand makes over television is one of the finest forms of advertising you could possibly have, especially when her speech could be drawn up by your department...<sup>57</sup>

Odell replied that while he recognised that the contests had publicity value, and that the organisers deserved credit “for their efforts in this direction”, he considered the “very nature” of the contests made them the exclusive province of private enterprise.<sup>58</sup> The Tourist and

<sup>51</sup> Storry to Kingi, 31 July 1962, TO 3, 6/2/7, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> McDermott, “Entertaining Ideas”, p.40.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p.44.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p.42.

<sup>56</sup> Manley to the Minister Tourist and Publicity, 2 May 1960, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>57</sup> Brown to Odell, Manager Tourist and Publicity Department, 26 April 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington

<sup>58</sup> Odell to Brown, 18 May 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

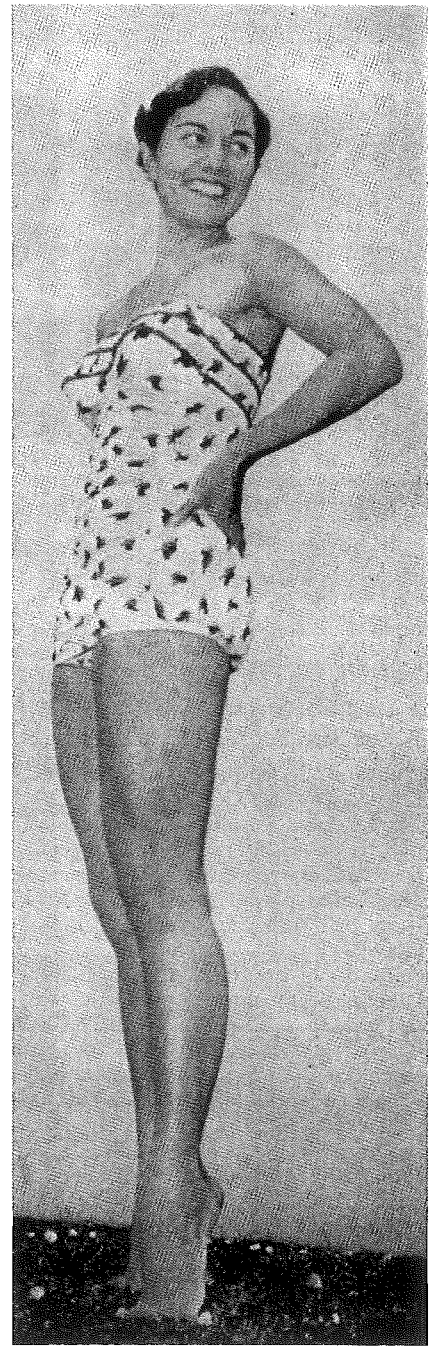
Publicity Department informed Brown that they were willing to give publicity material and services but no financial aid.<sup>59</sup>

A Maori woman as Miss New Zealand was, however, too good an opportunity for the Tourist and Publicity Department to forgo. Within only days of her crowning, the Department offered to help finance Kingi's duties as Miss New Zealand. The records of the Department leave no doubt that the motivation for its change of mind was the fact that Kingi was Maori. Eight days following her 'crowning', Dean Eyre received a letter from K. B. Longmore. In this letter Longmore instructed the Minister that an about face on the issue of financial assistance for Miss New Zealand's travel was necessary. The winner of the Miss New Zealand pageant was "Maureen Kingi, a talented Maori from Rotorua", and:

...the Department could make good use of the opportunities presented by Miss Kingi to further New Zealand's publicity interests.... It would also be useful to arrange if possible, for a reception for Miss Kingi to be given by the Travel Commissioner in San Francisco. Miss Kingi has the reputation of being a very capable entertainer with concert and radio experience in both singing and poi dancing.<sup>60</sup>

Further evidence that it was Maureen Kingi's 'race' that appealed to the Department can be found in a letter Joe Brown wrote to the Tourist and Publicity Department, in November 1962, suggesting that he and the Government jointly promote the winner of the 1963 Miss New Zealand pageant.<sup>61</sup> Odell, however, made it clear to Brown that the Department was not interested in just any Miss New Zealand:

I do not think it is possible at this stage to consider what publicity ventures overseas might be taken in connection with Miss NZ, 1963. You will realise that Miss Kingi's success was specially related to her talent as a poi dancer and singer of Maori songs. The mere fact of being Miss New Zealand would not win for any contestant the same amount of television publicity which Miss Kingi was able to command because of her Maori songs and dances.<sup>62</sup>



**Illustration 40: Moana Manley, Miss New Zealand 1954. *Te Ao Hou*, Vol.3, spring 1954, p.46.**

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Brown to Odell, 12 November 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>62</sup> Odell to Brown, 20 November 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

While the Tourist and Publicity Department was eager to utilise Maureen Kingi's 'race' for their promotional purposes, two years earlier they had rejected a suggestion that they intervene in appointing a Maori Miss New Zealand. R. G. H. Manley, the father of Moana Manley, Miss New Zealand 1954, had suggested that the Tourist and Publicity Department, with the aid of Maori Welfare Officers, and the Maori Women's Welfare League, appoint rather than elect a Miss New Zealand, as "it would be most appropriate...if a girl of Maori or part-Maori blood were chosen to represent New Zealand provided that she had all the other necessary qualifications of face, figure, charm, poise, personality, and speech".<sup>63</sup> Moana Manley (see Illustration 40), who was in fact Maureen Kingi's cousin,<sup>64</sup> and with a Maori mother and a Pakeha father was similarly described as a 'half-caste'.<sup>65</sup> Manley, unlike her cousin, did not earn her crown via a Joe Brown Enterprises contest, but through a committee based in Auckland that held the franchise to the Miss Universe contest.<sup>66</sup> Before earning the crown of beauty, Manley was the holder of several national backstroke titles, but abandoned her competitive swimming career to represent New Zealand at the Miss Universe contest in 1954. The Auckland-based franchise of the Miss Universe contest ran into financial difficulties prior to the international contest, however, and Manley attended the Californian event with the "generous assistance of the Maori people".<sup>67</sup> While the state was slow to see the publicity value of a Maori Miss New Zealand, many within Maoridom saw the value of a Maori woman representing the nation as the epitome of beauty.

Through a variety of mechanisms, both Gregory Riethmaier and the Tourist and Publicity Department sought to further indigenise all three women. Publicity material surrounding them evoked their ancient Maori lineages. Iwi affiliations of all three women, and in the case of Carole Cunningham, the name of the canoe in which her ancestors migrated to New Zealand, were publicised.<sup>68</sup> Already a crowned princess of beauty, Maureen Kingi was further inscribed as a hereditary princess through an evocation of her family's chiefly links.<sup>69</sup> In some instances, these chiefly links were translated into aristocracy.<sup>70</sup> Much was made of the fact that Maureen Kingi was the niece of Sir Hepi Te Heuheu, a chiefly and

<sup>63</sup> Manley to the Minister Tourist and Publicity, 2 May 1960, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>64</sup> Transcript of radio interview between Maureen Kingi and Scott Newman, TO 3, 6/2/7, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>65</sup> Manley to the Minister Tourist and Publicity, 2 May 1960, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>66</sup> McDermott, "Entertaining Ideas", p.43.

<sup>67</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, Vol.3, Spring 1954, p.46. On Moana Manley see also: Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, pp.260-261.

<sup>68</sup> See for example *Miss New Zealand 1962*, [n.p]; Notes re Haere-Mai campaign, undated, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington; and the first page of Riethmaier, *Rebecca and the Maoris*.

<sup>69</sup> Jerry Adams, "New Zealand's Vanishing Maori", *San Francisco Examiner*, 7 October 1962, TO 3, 6/2/7, ANZ, Wellington; and , *Miss New Zealand 1962: The Story of Maureen Kingi*, Joe Brown Enterprises, Dunedin, 1962.

<sup>70</sup> Pickles, "Kiwi Icons". Pickles discusses this issue in relation to famed New Zealand Maori opera singer Kiri Te Kanawa.

influential Maori leader, and that her great-grand-uncle, Te Heuheu Tukino, paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, had gifted Tongoriro National Park to the Crown in 1887. Such a lineage, it was said, made Kingi an “authentic New Zealander”.<sup>71</sup> The names of the women proved to be another mechanism useful to establishing them as Maori maidens. Press releases to the American media often started with Maureen Kingi’s full name: Maureen Te Rangi Rere I Waho Kingi.<sup>72</sup> Within the Tourist and Publicity Department, some believed that Carole Cunningham’s name was too anglicised to fit her image as Miss Haere-mai. Consequently it was suggested that she use her “family Maori name” of Karaka, and that she be given an “appropriate Maori first name” to use. Possibly taking inspiration from a rising Maori opera star, Kiri Te Kanawa, the name “Kiri” was mooted.<sup>73</sup>

Both Carole Cunningham and Maureen Kingi were further inscribed as ‘Maori maidens’ through concealment of their relationship status. In Western fiction and academic works since the nineteenth-century, the most commonly depicted image of Polynesian women was of an unmarried maiden of the South Seas.<sup>74</sup> It was through their unmarried status, amongst other signifiers, that Pacific maidens were rendered sexually available.<sup>75</sup> In order to preserve the image of a Maori maiden, the fact that Carol Cunningham was married<sup>76</sup> never received mention in the publicity material surrounding the young woman. Likewise, Maureen Kingi’s relationship with John Waaka was missing from the mountain of publicity material surrounding the young Miss New Zealand.<sup>77</sup> It was only at the very end of her reign as Miss New Zealand, and only twenty days before their wedding, that the couple announced their engagement.<sup>78</sup> Marriage, or even motherhood, however, did not mean an end to Kingi’s career as a maiden. In the late 1960s, Maureen Kingi, by then a mother, posed with her young son for Whitcombe and Tombs Christchurch photographer, Gladys Goodall (see Illustration 41). The image produced for a 1968 calendar was of the often repeated cooking scene. Although posing with her son, a detail that was never publicised,<sup>79</sup> and depicted in the

<sup>71</sup> *Miss New Zealand 1962*, [n.p].

<sup>72</sup> New Zealand Feature Press Release: “Miss New Zealand Teen-Age Ambassador is a Girl of Two Cultures”, 25 July 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>73</sup> Telegram: Campbell to Eagan 7 September 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington. For a discussion of Kiri Te Kanawa, her career and her construction as a modern Maori maiden see: N.H. Harris and Kiri in association with Te Kanawa, *Kiri: Music and a Maori Girl*, A.H. and A.W. Reed, Wellington, Auckland and Sydney, 1966.

<sup>74</sup> Suaalii, “Deconstructing the ‘exotic’”, p.78.

<sup>75</sup> Van Trigt, “Reflecting on the Pacific”, p.105.

<sup>76</sup> Eagan to Campbell, 26 August 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>77</sup> The issue of the concealment of Kingi’s relationship, however, cannot be solely attributed to her status as a Maori maiden; it must also be read in light of her status as Miss New Zealand. When it was discovered only a matter of hours following her crowning that Glenys Treweek, Miss New Zealand 1970, was engaged, pageant organisers initially sought to conceal the information. Jolly, *The Miss Parade*, pp.112-113.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, p.95.

<sup>79</sup> Personal Communication with Gladys Goodall, 13 March 2001.





**Illustration 41:** From: *Colourful New Zealand Calendar*, Printed by Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd for the Felicity Card Co. LTD, 1968. The caption to accompanying the image read: “Rotorua - Cooking in the Pools, N.Z. The Tukohu or long tailed basket is a specially shaped woven flax basket used for cooking kumaras (sweet potato) and other food in the natural oiling pools at Rotorua. The long tail is used for lowering the basket safely into the boiling water, then it is anchored to a heavy stone, log or nearby tree. Like little boys the world over, this Maori boy can hardly wait for the food to be ready”. In this image, although not acknowledged, Maureen Kingi poses with her young son. Gladys Goodall, Gladys Goodall Collection, Christchurch.

domestic and maternal context of preparing food, Kingi is still represented as a beautiful and desirable maiden and emblem of New Zealand.<sup>80</sup>

Without doubt, however, the chief mechanism in inscribing these three women as Maori maidens was costuming. The piupiu (skirt) and the pari (bodice) constituted emblems that identified these maidens as Maori, and effectively ‘raced’ their modern bodies. It was in the costume of a Maori maiden that Carol Cunningham was to meet incoming planes and ships around New Zealand. To her State employers, it was by “going native” and wearing traditional costume that Miss Haere-mai “would personify a welcome from New Zealand”.<sup>81</sup> Likewise, Gregory Riethmaier established Rebecca Faulkner as Maori through the mechanism of native costume. The first photo of the book featured Faulkner, in a naturalised setting with her long hair flowing, wearing a piupiu and a pari. To aid in the construction of her as ‘native’, Faulkner appeared with bare feet. Costuming was also crucial in constructions of Maureen Kingi for the American audiences. At the Miss International contest in Long Beach,

<sup>80</sup> In an analysis of Maori women’s role in tourism, Ngahuia Te Awakotuku has critiqued the generic image of the cooking scene. She argues that this was an incongruous image in that women “bedecked in ornate regalia, kiwi feather cloaks, long piupiu, and rich taniko, pensively suspend a basket of raw food into a steaming pool”. She points to the absurdity of the image in which models play act at “ethnic cooking” clad in clothing only used on “exalted tribal occasions”, Te Awakotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori*, pp.91-92. Gregory Riethmaier also produced an image as Rebecca Faulkner ‘cooking’ for the opening image of the photographic essay.

<sup>81</sup> “Appointment of ‘Miss Haere-Mai’”, undated, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.



Illustration 42: Maureen Kingi's C.B.S. appearance.

California, Maureen Kingi became something of a media celebrity. Over forty million American viewers glimpsed the young Miss New Zealand when she appeared on the C. B. S television coast-to-coast network (Illustration 42). Her access to this publicity was not in her capacity as a beauty queen: she did not win the pageant nor was she even highly placed. She was, however, the only one of the 53 contestants to appear on the show.<sup>82</sup> Rather than a young urban student radiographer, the American public were presented with a modern Maori maiden. Her media status was premised on her appearing in native costume. Likewise, in the print media,

Kingi was constructed as an exotic native. Typical newspaper features carried a photo of Maureen in native costume with accompanying text that emphasised her Maoriness. In the process of the exotification of Kingi, New Zealand was also made exotic. In 'going native', Maureen Kingi was able to generate a great deal of publicity for New Zealand, and thus earned the title of "a first class national publicity medium".<sup>83</sup>

Take the green British countryside, add a dash of Polynesian Spice and you have New Zealand. This is one impression - among a variety - you get from talking to a fetching ambassador of that South Seas land, 19 year old Maureen Te Rangi Rere I Waho Kingi, daughter of a Maori tribal chief and currently Miss New Zealand.<sup>84</sup>

Portrayals in the American print media of Maureen as a costumed native maiden were not however always respectful and sincere. Although eulogising New Zealand as an exotic and 'ancient' vacation zone, the title of the article, through the use of the term 'Bronx cheer'<sup>85</sup> and the accompanying image, was mocking of Maori culture. Kingi's culture and race were presented to the American public as an anachronistic novelty, rather than as integral part of her:

<sup>82</sup> *The Evening Post*, 16 August 1962, n.p., TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>83</sup> Brown to Odell, 27 June 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>84</sup> "New Zealand's Vanishing Maori", *San Francisco Examiner*, 7 October 1962, [n.p.], TO 3, 6/2/7, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>85</sup> Sound made by placing the tongue between the lips and blowing vigorously. Also known as giving someone the "raspberries". In Yankee Stadium, located in the Bronx, fans were known for this exercise, usually after a bad call by the umpire, and in mass it became known as the bronx cheer.

The defiantly protruding tongue of a giant New Zealand tiki inspires this modern Maori miss to merry mimicry. The young lady who has the musical name Maureen Te Rangi Rere I Waho Kingi, is 19 and lives in Rotorua, famed resort town on the North Island of New Zealand...Their [Maori] settlements in the area of Miss Kingi's home in Rotorua include reconstructions of early day villages and fortifications, and are among the top attractions for Americans visiting New Zealand. Frequent concerts are held so that visitors can enjoy the haunting music and graceful dances of a talented people.<sup>86</sup>

Not only did the costumes worn by the three young women serve to 'race' their bodies, they also served to sexualise their bodies. The costumes that all three women appeared in were far from 'traditional'. The piupiu did not in fact exist in pre-European Maori society.<sup>87</sup> In the 1960s, the costumes underwent further changes to make them more glamorous. The piupiu that all three women wore were markedly shorter than the style worn by most concert parties. The pari of the costumes that both Rebecca Faulkner and Carole Cunningham wore aimed to create more eroticised and sexualised maidens than were created

through the use of 'traditional' costumes.

Instead of a straight cut strapped bodice, these two maidens wore strapless figuring hugging 'bra' style tops designed to emphasise their breasts. Eagerly anticipating the arrival of Maureen Kingi, the San Francisco office of the New Zealand Government Tourist Commission instructed that her costumes "must be colourful, appealing, and more feminine than normal concert party costumes".<sup>88</sup>

**Modern Mimic of Ancient Bronx Cheer**



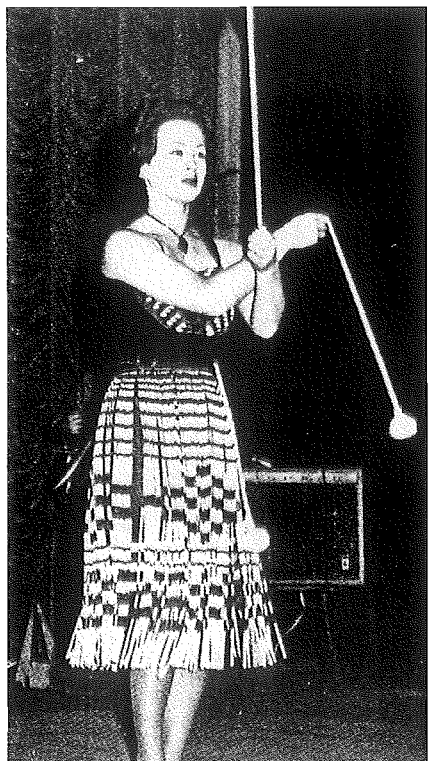
**Illustration 43: Photograph to accompany undated press release for the American Press, TO 1, 47/91.**

<sup>86</sup> Press Release, undated, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>87</sup> Ngapare Hopa, *The Art of Piupiu Making*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1971, p.9. Earlier European visitors observed women wearing girdles of plaited strings into which they sometimes tucked bunches of karetu or raukawa. Both men and women were observed wearing "apron-like" garments called maro that functioned as skirts as well as capes. In the first years of European contact, waist garments or skirts became more common. One such garment was made of flax strands woven into a foundation, with further flax strands attached in layers. In some cases, the strands were fine and reed like with no defined patterns. Another genre of garment emerged however that was decorated in such a way as to produce a mottled effect. Developing from these were the piupiu that had fewer strands, and a pattern worked into them. The flax foundation was reduced to a wide waistband that eventually became much simpler. With increasing specialisation, the idea of scraping more of the strands to depict definite and bolder patterns came into vogue. These garments also began to incorporate European goods, such as wool, as they became more accessible.

<sup>88</sup> Telegram: San Francisco Office to the Tourist and Publicity Department, 30 July 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.





**Illustration 44:** Maureen Kingi performing with the double long poi. It was Kingi's proficiency with the poi and her singing that led her to be described as 'an unusual and interesting personality', *Miss New Zealand* 1962, [n.p].

Once in their 'native costumes', the young women completed their performance of the past through performance of 'traditional' Maori entertainment. An important deciding factor in employing Carole Cunningham as Miss Haere-mai, was her ability to perform Maori culture through singing, and use of the poi. Her involvement with Maori concert parties and her adeptness with the quadruple long poi, described as "a rather rare accomplishment", combined with her photogenic face, deemed her "suitable" for the role of Miss Haere-Mai.<sup>89</sup>

Performance of Maori culture was also crucial to Maureen Kingi's appeal both domestically and internationally. Her publicity emphasised her experience as a 'Maori performer'. Her membership of Guide Rangī's famed Rotorua Concert Party was especially emphasised, and was described as "New Zealand's finest proponent of the difficult triple long poi".<sup>90</sup> During the ten minutes allotted for her C. B. S. appearance, Kingi entertained her American audience. Described in her publicity material as

"one of New Zealand's leading exponents in the art of the double and triple long poi", Kingi performed with the long poi and sang "Now is the Hour" in both English and Maori.<sup>91</sup> Unlike both Kingi and Cunningham, however, Rebecca Faulkner was constructed by Riethmaier as being 'too modern' and 'too removed from her culture' to be able to perform the past. In a caption to accompany Faulkner dressed in modern Western clothing and 'playing' with some poi, Riethmaier has Rebecca state: "I try hard to swing my pois, but I am well out of practice".<sup>92</sup>

Following from her media success, Kingi also made personal appearances on her Californian tour. At an "Evening in New Zealand", a reception organised by the New Zealand Government Travel Commissioner in San Francisco, Mr N. F. Gouffe, on behalf of the Tourist and Publicity Department and the New Zealand Travel and Holidays Association,

<sup>89</sup> "Appointment of 'Miss Haere-Mai'", undated, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>90</sup> Press Release – "New Zealand's Teen-Age Ambassadors is a Girl of Two Cultures", 25 July 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>91</sup> *Miss New Zealand* 1962, [n.p]; Tourist and Publicity Department Press Release: "Miss New Zealand Returns – Publicity Efforts in the U.S.A, undated, TO 1, 47/91; Press Release – "New Zealand's Teen-Age Ambassadors is a Girl of Two Cultures", 25 July 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>92</sup> Riethmaier, *Rebecca and the Maoris*.



**Illustration 45:** Carole Cunningham as Miss Haere-mai, presents the first pressing of the “Haere-mai Year” album to Mr R S Odell, General Manager of the Tourist and Publicity Department (left), and Mr J L Chapman, President of the New Zealand Travel and Holiday Association. Another high profile 1960s Maori maiden, Kiri Te Kanawa performed the title track on the album as “her personal contribution to the success of Haere-mai year”. *Te Ao Hou*, June 1966, No.55, p.13.



**Illustration 46:** Joe Brown further capitalised on the success of Maureen Kingi through the release of this album.

and held in the Maori Skyroom of Tiburon Tommy’s “well-known restaurant”, Kingi met 100 members of the San Francisco travel industry. Guests all received a kiwi lapel pin, and a specially printed menu, featuring a tourist-advertisement running in America at the time, welcomed the guests to He Hakari (the feast). Featured on the evening’s menu were “Hokonui Punch”, “Hupa Toheroa” (toheroa soup), and “Reme I Te Ahi” (lamb from the fire). To complete the exotification of New Zealand, following dinner a costumed Maureen Kingi entertained, performing with the single short poi and the double and triple long poi. She also sang three Maori songs with guitar accompaniment, and concluded with her C. B. S. ‘hit’, Po Ataua (Now is the Hour) in both English and Maori.<sup>93</sup>

The success of Maureen Kingi and Carole Cunningham in the commodification of New Zealand as a tourist destination led them, both as maidens and as beautiful young women, to become associated with the commodification of further products. The appeal of both Cunningham and Kingi in performing their culture was capitalised on through the release of records associated with the women. Kingi’s album, featured the young Miss New Zealand herself performing the songs that had brought her fame in the United States. Carole Cunningham’s record was released in association with the publicity campaign and featured her introducing Maori groups and individuals from throughout the country (Illustration 45). It

<sup>93</sup> Tourist and Publicity Department Press release, “Miss New Zealand Returns- Publicity Efforts in the U.S.A”, undated, TO 1, 47/91.

was another Maori maiden, Kiri Te Kanawa, however, who preformed the title song on the album.<sup>94</sup> Both albums featured Kingi and Cunningham as Maori maidens on their covers. Both women, however, were regarded as sufficiently representing modern and urban New Zealand, as well as being ‘beautiful’ enough, to be utilised as models of modern clothing by the New Zealand Wool Board, which supplied Cunningham with five outfits to wear when undertaking her duties as Miss Haere-mai, and used Maureen Kingi as a model at a woollen fashion parade for the Queen on her 1963 tour.<sup>95</sup>

## MODERN INTEGRATED CITIZENS

Representations of the three women were also used to narrate and illustrate the success and possibilities of integration policy. Images of Maureen Kingi, Carole Cunningham, and Rebecca Faulkner showed them as the “good mixers” bureaucrats believed young Maori women to be. Representations of the three young women portrayed them in many ways as the living embodiment of the policy makers’ vision; they were represented as the group ‘B’ that the Hunn report had defined.

A set of representations situated the three women as inhabiting two worlds. While the women were said to ‘live in two worlds’, it was the Pakeha world that was portrayed as ultimately offering the best future. Just as Maureen Kingi became a ‘pin-up’ girl for the Tourist and Publicity



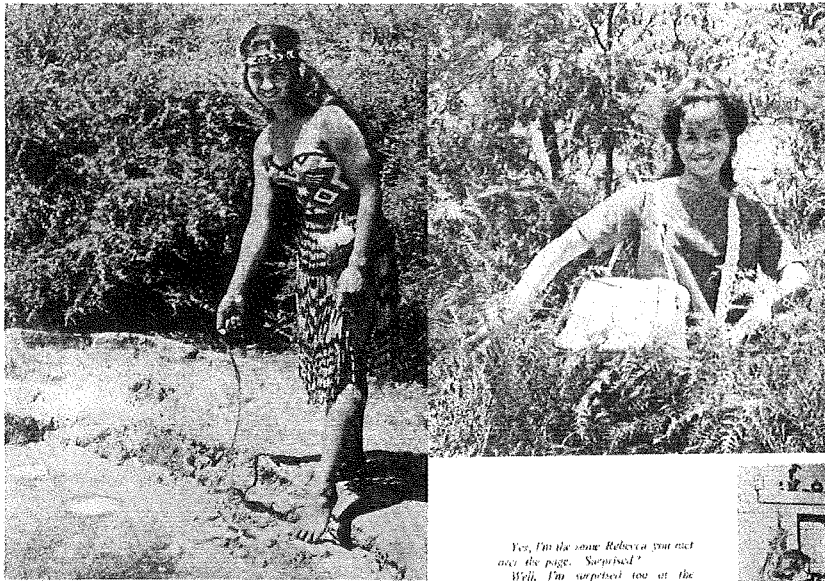
Illustration 47: Maureen Kingi as the epitome of a modern and integrated young Maori woman appeared on the cover of *Te Ao Hou* in September 1962, (No.40).

Department, so did she for the Department of Maori Affairs. In September 1962, she graced the cover of the Department of Maori Affairs magazine *Te Ao Hou* (Illustration 47).<sup>96</sup> As ‘cover girl’ for the new world, Kingi appeared as a smartly and fashionably dressed young woman portrayed against the backdrop of a city. Representations such as this provided a counter narrative to the essentialised native Maureen Kingi that the Tourist and Publicity Department presented. Importantly, images such as this also established the young Maori women as belonging in the cities, and therefore as citizens of the nation. As a modern urban

<sup>94</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, June 1966, No.55, p.13.

<sup>95</sup> Jolly, *The Miss Parade*, p.92; Note for Haere-mai file, 16 November 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>96</sup> *Te Ao Hou* means “the new world”.



My name is Rebecca and I am twenty-one. I was born at Māngere in the Bay of Plenty district and live and work in Rotorua. The name of my tribe is Ngāi-te-tahi, "Children of the Sun" and the piupiu or flax skirt, I am wearing is the traditional costume of our Maori people. I am standing in the edge of one of Rotorua's boiling mud ponds.

Yes, I'm the same Rebecca you met over the page. Surprise? Well, I'm surprised too at the number of overseas visitors to New Zealand who expect to see Maoris wearing piupius all the time.



**Illustration 48:** Pages two and three from Gregory's Riethmaier's *Rebecca and the Maoris*, immediately established the young woman subject as a Maori maiden who ultimately belonged to the modern world.

sophisticate, Maureen Kingi was to both the Minister and the Department of Maori Affairs the living embodiment of their dreams for the future of Maori.

Despite the 'traditional' images of the women, it is through what John Taylor has described as 'temporal displacement'<sup>97</sup> that both Rebecca Faulkner and Maureen Kingi were established as 'modern' and integrated citizens. Throughout the 1960s, Taylor argues, a series of images of young Maori juxtaposed young 'modern' smartly dressed Maori against a signifier of the 'traditional' past. A temporal split between a 'traditional' past and a 'modern' present was established.<sup>98</sup> It was a message of the anachronism of the 'ancient' Maori world and the primacy of the modern Pakeha world for young Maori that provided the powerful subtext of Riethmaier's *Rebecca and the Maoris*. Although within the pages there is a clear yearning for and romanticisation of the 'simple' and rural Maori world, the photographic essay was essentially an endorsement of the policy of integration. While Riethmaier's opening shot of Faulkner established her as a maiden, the images and text on the following page disrupt this identity (see Illustration 48). Depicting her in modern 1960s' clothing, and in one image in a modern house, Riethmaier has his character Rebecca exclaiming: "Yes, I'm the same Rebecca you met over the page. Surprise? Well I'm surprised too at the number of overseas visitors to New Zealand who expect to see Maoris wearing piupius all the time".<sup>99</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Taylor, *Consuming Identity*, pp.29-30.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Riethmaier, *Rebecca and the Maoris*.

In this series of images, it is Faulkner's body that signifies both the 'ancient' and the 'modern' worlds. Throughout the pages of the book, however, Riethmaier further distances his young woman character from the Maori culture and environment in which she was situated. The meeting house of the area is introduced not as a space of 'traditional' Maori culture, but rather as a space where youth culture flourished with a dance being held there twice a week. The text accompanying the photographs of teenagers dancing in the meeting house has Rebecca proclaiming "We limbo and twist as the carvings of our ancestors look on. I sometimes wonder what the great chiefs and warriors would think of us".<sup>100</sup>



**Illustration 49:** The Cover of *Miss New Zealand 1962*, a commemorative booklet published by Joe Brown Enterprises.

Just as Rebecca is distanced from the performance of Maori culture, she is also distanced from knowledge of her culture. Knowledge of the carvings of the meeting house are cast as being part of the ancient world associated with "old folk", and as being far removed from the concerns of a young modern Maori woman:

Tame-te-kapua looks out across Lake Rotorua.

How do you like the entrance to the meeting-house...?

The carvings shine with bright red paint, with blacks and whites for contrast.

Every carving has a separate meaning...but you'll need to ask the old folk about them; they know much more than I.<sup>101</sup>

It is 'props' from the past that establish Maureen Kingi as a modern and integrated young woman through a similar displacement on the cover of the Joe Brown Enterprises' commemorative Miss New Zealand booklet (see Illustration 49). Kingi, dressed in smart, modern, and fashionable clothing sits perched in the window of a meeting house. The shot, while alluding to Kingi's 'race', simultaneously distances her from her culture. Through her clothing and grooming, her modernity is juxtaposed against the 'ancientness' of the carving. Her pose, perched as she is on the outside of window of the house, suggests that she is leaving the traditional Maori world, whilst still remaining grounded in it.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

The message of the modern Pakeha world offering young Maori the brightest future was not however left solely to allusions, juxtaposition, and composition. Both the text of *Rebecca and the Maoris*, and Maureen Kingi herself, advised young Maori that although the retention of a degree of Maori culture was useful, their futures lay in te ao hou. Utilising a message from Sir Apirana Ngata, prominent Maori politician and leader, to a young Maori girl, Riethmaier, even before he begins his photographic essay, establishes the drive to modernise as primary, with Maoriness rendered mere decoration:

Grow up, O tender child, and fulfil the needs of your generation,  
Your hand mastering the arts of the Pakeha  
for your material well-being.  
Your heart cherishing the treasures of your Maori ancestors,  
as a plume for your head,  
Your soul given to God, the author of all things.<sup>102</sup>

Likewise, in “A Letter from Maureen” published in *Te Ao Hou*,<sup>103</sup> the young Miss New Zealand advocated the retention of Maori language and performance elements of culture, while imploring young Maori to realise that scholastic achievement, for which proficiency in the English language was a requirement, was “essential”.<sup>104</sup> Although she regarded Maori culture as important, she advised her young Maori readers and their parents, “but to not to such an extent that it [Maori culture] interferes with schooling. A practice once a week is ample”.<sup>105</sup> In an address to a group of young women in Hawera, Kingi emphasised that Maori had much to gain from the “sophistication and education of Europeans”.<sup>106</sup>

Educational success would ultimately lead young Maori to well paid careers, which would in turn allow them to fully take their part in the nation as ideal citizens. The Tourist and Publicity Department was not the only Government department delighted at the crowning of Maureen Kingi as Miss New Zealand. Speaking only days after her win, Ralph Hanan, the Minister of Maori Affairs, was reportedly “thrilled that a Maori...had won the Miss New Zealand contest”. He held not only Kingi but also her entire family aloft, and branded them “a shining example”.<sup>107</sup> Like the Department of Maori Affairs, he highlighted the educational achievements of the Rotorua family, stating: “...when he and the whole country were making the special effort to encourage Maoris to seek higher education and to qualify in various

---

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> “A Letter from Maureen”, *Te Ao Hou*, September 1962, No.40, pp.2-3.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, p.2.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, p. 3

<sup>106</sup> *Miss New Zealand 1962*, [n.p].

<sup>107</sup> *Press*, 9 June 1962, p.2.



**Illustration 50:** From *Miss New Zealand 1962: The Story of Maureen Kingi*. In this image, Kingi was further constructed as a modern and integrated Maori citizen.

vocations, it was most encouraging to have the example of a fine Maori family like the Kingi's, who demonstrated the good use the Maori people could make of an education".<sup>108</sup>

Kingi's publicity material often highlighted the educational achievements of her family, as well as her own career as a student radiographer. Images of Kingi engaged in manipulating 'modern' technology further situated Kingi as part of the modern world. Photographs of the young beauty queen interacting with the modern machinery needed in her work, such as those that appeared in the Joe Brown Enterprises commemorative publication (see: Illustration 50), were explicitly intended to emphasise her modernity against the backdrop of her 'ancient' culture. Eager to

secure as much publicity as possible from the young Miss New Zealand, a story board of depictions of Kingi suggested an image of "the student radiographer fooling around with some frightfully complicated equipment, looking as capable as possible" and mooted it as having "terrific potential" as a "photo-piece for 'Life', 'Pix' and other illustrated journals that thrive on sex, sentiment and sermons". It was in the suggested caption for the image, however, that Maureen Kingi was to be constructed as a modern member of an ancient race:

Less than a hundred years ago the Maoris were still cannibals. Today they are fully equal with their white fellow-New Zealanders. They wear the same clothes, live in the same type of homes, work together. Miss Kingi is a student radiographer; her elder brother has just graduated Bachelor of Commerce; another hopes to become an opera singer.<sup>109</sup>

Although rarely represented out of her maiden costume, images of Carole Cunningham also illustrated a narrative of integration. In the case of Miss Haere-mai, it was the disjuncture between the maiden and technology that signified her modernity. Wearing her 'native' costume, Cunningham often appeared in technologically 'modern' settings. Internationally, Micaela di Leonardo has identified images of indigenous people interacting with modern technology as becoming "standard textbook fare" throughout the 1960s.<sup>110</sup> She argues that anthropologists began to practise salvage ethnography on remaining groups of

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Storry to Williams, undated, TO 3, 6/2/7, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>110</sup> di Leonardo, *Exotics at Home*, p.234.





**Illustration 51:** Carol Cunningham, as Miss Hare-Mai, arriving at Brisbane, 22 November 1966. Left to Right: Mr R.V Way, Passenger Manager, P& O Lines, Brisbane; Mr R. Stone, Manager, New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau (Brisbane Office). TO 1, 2/84/2, ANZ, Wellington.

indigenous people, and images of ‘tribally’ dressed people astride motorcycles and getting off buses became common. In New Zealand, the motive in juxtaposing Cunningham with modern technology was not, however, to point to the “ironies of modernisation” that di Leonardo identified elsewhere. Rather, the technology served to locate Carole Cunningham as part of the modern world; it underscored her temporal displacement and her performance of the past. In November 1965, the Tourist and Publicity Department issued Illustration 51 as an official publicity shot of Miss Haere-Mai. In doing so this, the Department signalled that it had no particular investment in preserving Cunningham as an ‘authentic’ Maori maiden. Instead, they were willing to relate her to the emerging technology that was transforming the New Zealand tourism industry: the jet aircraft. Carol Cunningham, although required by her state employer to act out the role of a Maori maiden from an ancient past, was simultaneously represented as a modern Maori woman, who was located in a modern and urban world.

It was, however, Maureen Kingi, as the product of a mixed marriage who was constructed as literally embodying New Zealand ‘two worlds’. With ‘half-castes’ offering a positive future for New Zealand and its race relations in bureaucratic thinking, the Department of Maori Affairs was eager to showcase Maureen Kingi as an example of what a New Zealander of Pakeha and Maori ancestry could achieve. The Department of Maori Affairs emphasised that with her biological make-up, and her being versed in both Maori and



Pakeha cultures, Maureen Kingi “represented both races in New Zealand”.<sup>111</sup> It was not, however, only in her domestic publicity that Kingi appeared as a hybrid citizen. In addition to portraying Kingi as a Maori maiden, the Tourist and Publicity Department also constructed Maureen Kingi as a “girl of two cultures”.<sup>112</sup> In a press release meant for international journalists, the Government agency charged with promoting New Zealand as a tourist destination proclaimed that “Her fellow-New Zealanders, both Maori and Europeans, agree they could not have a more charming representative”.<sup>113</sup>

As the product of a mixed marriage between a Maori father and a mother of Scottish descent, Kingi also appeared internationally as a literal emblem of New Zealand’s supposed harmonious race relations. Representations of Kingi were utilised to bolster the belief that New Zealand’s race relations continued to be in “the vanguard of those [nations] building multi-racial societies”.<sup>114</sup> In the process of Kingi being produced as a hybrid citizen, New Zealand as a nation was also produced as hybrid:

Miss Kingi, who visited her recently, is also half British. Similarly, the word pictures she paints of her homeland have the pastels of Constable and the reds of Gauguin – a combination of two worlds...

Although they preserve some of their own colonies the tawny skinned Maoris live harmoniously with the European segments of the New Zealand population, according to Maureen. “There is no discrimination, no segregation” she says...<sup>115</sup>

## RESISTING AND NEGOTIATING THE REPRESENTATIONS

Without doubt, a reading of many of the representations of all three women narrate a tale of the continued attempt to colonise Maori women and their bodies in the mid-twentieth century. Complicating and disrupting these attempts, however, were Maori women themselves. When placed alongside the competing discourse of colonialism, the subjectivities of Maori women serve to disrupt and complicate the conventional view of tourism as simply exploitative of Maori women. As the subjects of the representations, the young women not only secured for themselves an income, but they also secured a space from which to represent their culture. This section reveals that Maori women, and particularly the Maori Women’s Welfare League, contested and resisted stereotypical images of Maori women and the commodification of Maori culture for the tourism industry.

Complicating this resistance however is a seeming colonial complicity of the models in their representations. Through examining Maureen Kingi’s motives and actions, it can be

<sup>111</sup> *Te Ao Hou*, September 1962, No.40, p. 3.

<sup>112</sup> New Zealand Feature Press Release: “Miss New Zealand Teen-Age Ambassador is a Girl of Two Cultures”, 25 July 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Booth and Hunn, *Integration of Maori and Pakeha*, p.1.

<sup>115</sup> Jerry Adams, “New Zealand’s Vanishing Maori”, *San Francisco Examiner*, 7 October 1962, TO 3, 6/2/7, ANZ, Wellington.

argued that in complying with the representations of the ‘native maiden’, Kingi was able to secure a space from which to contribute to the survival of cultural practices that may have otherwise been lost. It was by oscillating between the ‘traditional Maori world’ and the ‘modern Pakeha world’ that Maureen Kingi was able to hoist herself onto the national stage, and become emblematic of the nation itself. Kingi, in the construction of a hybrid identity, positioned herself, and alongside her, other young, modern, and urban Maori women, as belonging in and to the modern New Zealand nation; she was the epitome of the ideal modern Maori citizen.

Issues of how Maori women were being represented and who represented them came increasingly to the attention of, and were contested, by the Maori Women’s Welfare League. Its 1954 annual conference, the Waikato Maniapoto delegate brought forward a remit protesting at the selection of the “leading lady for the part of the Maori girl in the film ‘The Seekers’”.<sup>116</sup> *The Seekers*,<sup>117</sup> was an Arthur Rank Organisation production distributed by movie giant Universal Pictures. The adventure movie told the tale of two early twentieth century sailors’ encounter with a Maori community, and concluded with the imperialist message that Europeans and their Christianity ultimately brought peace to a savage society. Chosen to play the lead female role of Moana was Laya Raki, a German born ‘dancer and stripper’ of German and Dutch Indonesian ancestry. The League executive was however reticent about the remit, arguing that the film had already been made and that they did not want “to trespass on the rights of the organisation to make such a film and to choose whom they wished to appear in their films”.<sup>118</sup> Nonetheless, it did write to the Minister of Maori Affairs expressing concerns at the representation of Maori women in the film. Following the Minister’s response, which argued that as this was a private matter it was beyond the control of the New Zealand Government, the League withdrew the remit.<sup>119</sup> Although the protests of the Waikato Maniapoto delegate ultimately failed, in this episode it is possible to identify a group of Maori women within the League who actively contested representations of Maori women. In writing to the Minister, the organisation from an early date publicly and officially signalled its contestation of those representations of Maori women that it saw as inappropriate and demeaning.

More generally, the Maori Women’s Welfare League continued to contest the image of Maori and Maori culture used by the tourism industry. At the 1966 annual conference, the Tamaki branch of the League brought a remit proposing:

<sup>116</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1954, MS-Papers 1396-002, ATL.

<sup>117</sup> Also known by the alternative title of “The Land of the Fury”.

<sup>118</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1954, MS-Papers 1396-002, ATL.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

That the Tourist and Publicity Department be advised that Maori women are perturbed with the lack of authenticity and the false symbolism created by the souvenirs (mainly Maori dolls) sold in New Zealand for local revenue and request that the Government be urged that tourists acquire a correct view of the souvenirs, their trademark, and especially the Maori people<sup>120</sup>

The remit was withheld with the assembled delegates concurring that while the preservation of Maori arts and crafts was of great importance to the League, the Government could “hardly be asked to interfere with manufacturers and retailers who ...[dealt] in gift souvenirs”.<sup>121</sup> Only four years later, however, the annual conference revisited the issue of tourist souvenirs. Describing many of the available ‘Maori’ souvenirs available to tourists as “cheap mass produced rubbish”, the League at their 1970 conference successfully passed a remit advising the Minister of Industries and Commerce that “members of the Maori Women’s Welfare League view with great concern the type of craft being offered for sale in shops...”.<sup>122</sup>

It was not only the souvenirs that the League contested, but also more generically the representation of Maori and particularly Maori women for the tourist market. At the 1969 conference a remit was brought requesting that the Minister of Tourism be asked to ensure that “publicity be aimed at clarifying the misconception abroad of the present day image of the Maori people”.<sup>123</sup> In bringing and passing this remit, the League once again demonstrated the complex path they trod between modernity and tradition, as Barbara Brookes outlined.<sup>124</sup> The women of the League while strongly advocating the retention of Maori culture, also sought to project Maori as modern and integrated citizens, citizens who belonged in the cities, towns, and the nation. The Te Atatu delegate who brought the remit stressed that while Maori willingly and successfully embraced modernity, international tourists should be aware that Maori were retaining their identity through Maori culture. She was eager, however, that overseas tourists did not read this retention of culture as Maori being an ‘ancient’ people. In speaking to her proposition she argued: “It should be established that through civilisation and progress, no longer are the Maoris running around in grass skirts, living in pas, or practising cannibalism. Neither are they a squat black race as some of our souvenir dolls may indicate”.<sup>125</sup> In an attempt to further negate the ‘ancient’ and backward subtext she saw as existing in Maori maiden representations, and showing herself to be acutely aware of the equation between the body, clothing, and modernity, she argued that it also needed to be stressed that “Maori costumes are mostly worn for purposes of ceremonials or tourism”. Instead of mere re-enactments of the past, the delegate instead argued for a representation that

<sup>120</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1966, MS-Papers 1396-006, ATL.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1970, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>123</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1969, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>124</sup> Brookes, “Nostalgia for ‘Innocent Homely Pleasures’”, p.224.

<sup>125</sup> Minutes of Maori Women’s Welfare League Annual Conference 1969, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

representation that stressed the 'two worlds' aspects of young Maori women: "Postcards should depict a Maori woman suitably dressed in European clothing pictured beside one who is shown in national costume. In short, a stronger comparison should be stressed to show we have adjusted to modern society yet still retained our identity by holding onto our culture".<sup>126</sup>

### ***National Dress?***

No-one questioned Maureen Kingi wearing the piupiu as the national costume of New Zealand, but in the years following Maureen's reign the issue of Miss New Zealand appearing in 'traditional' Maori costume became increasingly contested. Although most New Zealanders considered Kingi 'beautiful' in her costume, the piupiu increasingly became cast as antithetical to being 'beautiful' when worn by Pakeha winners of Miss New Zealand. The use of the Maori costume had come into criticism since the contest's inception, but entrants in international beauty contests had to wear their national costume for sections of the judging. The 1965 Miss New Zealand, Gay Phelps, a Pakeha woman, attracted much attention in her wearing of the costume at the Miss World and Miss Universe contests. A photo of Phelps wearing the costume, with actor Kevin Moore, and joking around with a pair of poi, convinced many that "it was a farce to ask our beauty queens to parade in a grass skirt".<sup>127</sup> Joe Brown considered that the piupiu was "not the most flattering costume", and he informed the New Zealand public "he had an open mind on the subject".<sup>128</sup> As the 1960s ended the issue of the association of beauty and Maori costume became more contested. Deirdre Burton, the Pakeha runner-up to Miss New Zealand 1969, expressed her disapproval in a letter to Joe Brown. She informed Brown that she felt disadvantaged by having to wear the piupiu: "even the most beautiful girl could not look glamorous in this outfit. I'm embarrassed having to attend formal receptions barefoot".<sup>129</sup> The matter reached boiling point in 1970, when Miss New Zealand Glenys Treweek, on arrival in Miami for the Miss Universe quest, reported the 'disappearance' of her national costume. She told former Sunday Times journalist, Colin Dangaard, that she was not worried about the loss, as she just did not like the piupiu and it "just didn't suit me".<sup>130</sup> In a further rejection of the piupiu, Treweek commented that:

It might have been alright on a Maori but it does nothing for me at all. I think it would have been an insult to Maori if I wore it. I would have certainly been embarrassed to walk out on-stage barefoot.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Jolly, *The Miss Parade*, p.105.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> McDermott, "Entertaining Ideas", p.57.

<sup>130</sup> Jolly, *The Miss Parade*, p.113.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

The 'loss' of the costume did not cause Treweek any problems, as she fortunately had another suitable gown on hand, and "one that would fit the bill as a national costume".<sup>132</sup> It was a black cocktail gown created by Wellington designer Peter Rigby, and featured a silver fern motif.<sup>133</sup>

Pakeha Miss New Zealand victors were not the only ones reluctant to wear the piupiu as a national costume. Increasingly Maori, and particularly Maori women, contested the use and commodification of the traditional dress. While Deirdre Brunton expressed her displeasure to Joe Brown about having to wear the piupiu, a Maori concert party who were in Tokyo at the same time told her that she looked a disgrace to her country in the costume.<sup>134</sup> It was the Maori Women's Welfare League, however, who were the most vocal critics of the thoughtless use of traditional clothing. At the 1970 annual conference, delegates discussed at length what they saw as the denigration of their culture. They opposed both the shortening of the piupiu and the dismissive attitude of some Pakeha holders of the Miss New Zealand title toward to piupiu.

The shortening of the piupiu in accordance with the 1960s raising of hemlines was an action that the League took issue with whether the wearer was Maori or Pakeha. The Dunedin delegate to the 1970 annual conference, pointed to a Maori group who had recently toured Japan with "mini piupiu" as an example of Maori who were not respecting and understanding "its [the piupiu] inherent and spiritual worth".<sup>135</sup> To some members of the League, the piupiu, although developed post-contact, represented an essential element and symbol of the Maori culture and identity they were striving to preserve:

We felt that because it was the fashion to wear short skirts there was no need to change the Maori traditional dress. The piupiu, I feel, is the only thing that we have left that is truly Maori. The piupiu is still made of flax. Why should it not be left in its traditional form. European countries all have their own traditional dress. I can't imagine for one moment they would allow it to be shortened by one inch.<sup>136</sup>

Likewise, holders of the Miss New Zealand title who shortened their 'national costume' in an attempt to make it more glamorous also came in for strong criticism from the League. If they thought it too long, the message from the League was "don't use it".<sup>137</sup>

The dismissive attitudes of both Burton and Treweek towards the piupiu as a national costume led the Maori women's organisation to issue a challenge to Pakeha New Zealand to

---

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> McDermott, "Entertaining Ideas", p.57.

<sup>135</sup> Minutes of Maori Women's Welfare League Annual Conference 1970, 95-177-4/3, ATL.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

find their “own national costume”.<sup>138</sup> As a result of the conference discussion, the Minister of Tourism was informed that:

1. The Maori Women’s Welfare League strongly disapproves of the use-and thereby abuse and mutilation of – our traditional Maori costume, or part of it...

2. The League makes known to the Government its attitude towards such offensive acts.<sup>139</sup>

By 1970, the Maori women’s organisation that saw the preservation of Maori culture as one of its central aims made it known to the State, “on behalf of all Maori women”, that they in no way endorsed what they perceived as the misrepresentation and denigration of their culture.<sup>140</sup>

### ***“I Was Never Their Mouthpiece”***

In recent years, the roles of Maori women in the nineteenth and early twentieth century tourist trades have received new readings from feminist scholars.<sup>141</sup> Notably Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, herself an Arawa woman, has challenged the common perception that tourism necessarily disempowered Maori, and especially Maori women, by enticing them into becoming instruments of Western colonialism and consumerism. Likewise, James Belich, although not coming from an overtly feminist nor women-centred approach, has argued that the nineteenth century tourist trade was in many ways positive for Te Arawa, and “did not necessarily diminish Maoriness”.<sup>142</sup> In the writings of Te Awekotuku, Te Arawa women, and more specifically women of the Tuhourangi hapu, through their employment as “native” guides, have emerged not only as women who enjoyed economic freedom, but also as women who created a space from which to present and thus preserve their culture. The women became what Te Awekotuku has described as “cultural brokers”, a role she defines as “someone between two worlds, choosing to mediate one world to the other, through her own involvement in Pakeha-type specialised economics and employment”.<sup>143</sup> Rangitīria Denna, known throughout the world as Guide Rangi, and leader of the concert party Maureen Kingi belonged to as a teenager, saw her role in tourism in these terms. Guide Rangi, a woman who possessed acute business acumen, wrote of her role in the tourism industry:

A guide could become an ambassador, serving by example to show visitors the true worth of our race...Here was a good chance to do something to improve the Maori image, and make a worthwhile career at the same time. Where else could one meet and talk with so many foreign people, whose impression of their brief glimpse of Maoridom would be taken to the four corners of the world.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> See for example: Maxwell, “Rewriting the Nation”, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, “The Sociological Impact of Tourism on the Te Arawa People of Rotorua, New Zealand”, Ph.D thesis, University of Waikato, 1981, Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori*.

<sup>142</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.205.

<sup>143</sup> Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori*, p.86.

<sup>144</sup> Rangitīria Denna, *Guide Rangi of Rotorua*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, 1968, p.48. Although described as an autobiography, this was in fact a biography written by Pakeha journalist, Ross Annabel. See Te

The economic benefits of their nineteenth and early twentieth century tourist trade predecessors became available to Maureen Kingi, Rebecca Faulkner, and Carole Cunningham. As the tourist traffic to the famed Pink and White Terraces increased in the mid nineteenth century, local Maori women were employed in the role of guides, and by the 1870s guiding as a female occupation was established. Within only a short space of time, guiding became both an enjoyable and lucrative mode of employment for many women of Tohourangi,<sup>145</sup> providing an important source of household income, with many of the women opening special savings accounts for the education of their children. The income gleamed from guiding also allowed some of the women to become both domestic and international tourists themselves.<sup>146</sup>

Before her employment with the Tourist and Publicity Department, Carole Cunningham earned £12 a week net as a clerical worker.<sup>147</sup> When adjusted for taxation, the £755 gross annual salary<sup>148</sup> that Cunningham received from the Department equated with her previous wage.<sup>149</sup> Likewise, Rebecca Faulkner also received payment for her work with Gregory Riethmaier. At the outset of the project, Riethmaier offered Faulkner a choice between a share of the book royalties or an hourly rate. After consultation with her mother, the young Maori woman chose the latter option.<sup>150</sup> For Rebecca Faulkner, who had interrupted her nursing training to devote her time more fully to training for the New Zealand basketball team, the modelling money she received would have been a welcome supplement to the wages she received from her temporary employment as a waitress. Maureen Kingi, in addition to the prizes she received for winning the Miss New Zealand pageant,<sup>151</sup> a £1000 contract, free cosmetics, clothes, and shoes for twelve months, and travel to the beauty pageants in California and London also received £250 from the Tourist and Publicity Department for the modelling work.<sup>152</sup> In 1964, a time when the highest average minimum wage for an adult female engaged in low or semi-skilled work was £582,<sup>153</sup> Kingi's income

Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori*, pp.73-74.

<sup>145</sup> Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori*, p.78.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*, pp.88-89.

<sup>147</sup> Appointment of Miss Haere-mai, undated, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington. Her weekly salary of £12 was well above the 1967 minimum wage for females of a little over £7, and above the average wage for most adult females. See NZOYB, 1967, pp.911, 925-926.

<sup>148</sup> Johnston to the Director, Tourist Division, 21 September 1965, TO 1, 2/84, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>149</sup> 1966 taxation levels from NZOYB, 1967, p.760. In 1967 New Zealand converted to decimal currency, and subsequently these tax rates are produced the new decimal currency, rather than the pound system. The exchange rate from pound to dollars was £1 = \$2, NZOYB, 1967, p.846.

<sup>150</sup> Personal Communication with Gregory Riethmaier, 26 March 2000.

<sup>151</sup> Personal Communication with Maureen Waaka (nee Kingi), 5 July 1999.

<sup>152</sup> Memorandum: Longmore, 18 June 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>153</sup> NZOYB, 1967, pp.925-926. The highest average minimum wage for an adult female in 1964 was for a cook in a restaurant, \$22.39 per week. Using the conversion described above this amounted to an annual income of £582. Note that tables used only include income information for factory and domestic workers and do not

from her time as Miss New Zealand was over double that amount, and would have seemed a small fortune to a young woman who described herself as coming from a background where money was always scarce.<sup>154</sup>

Joe Brown, however, was far from satisfied at the monetary recompense that Kingi received from the New Zealand Government for her considerable promotional work. Brown publicised, and the New Zealand media dutifully published, the opinion of some American media that Maureen Kingi “did more good for New Zealand than anyone, anything [had] ever done before”.<sup>155</sup> It was estimated that Kingi’s ten-minute primetime appearance on CBS alone would have cost an advertiser US\$20 000. Although no further payment was forthcoming from the Tourist and Publicity Department, Dean Eyre hosted a reception to express his thanks to Maureen Kingi for the “tremendous amount of publicity” she had generated for New Zealand. At this reception, the Minister also took the opportunity to thank Joe Brown for his “assistance” and “goodwill”.<sup>156</sup>

Maureen Kingi, however, did not see herself as exploited by the Tourist and Publicity Department. Instead, she viewed her time as Miss New Zealand and the contacts she established with the Department as crucial for the launch of her successful and lucrative career in the tourism industry.<sup>157</sup> Ngahuia Te Awekotuku argues that beginning with Kingi, “ethnic tourist photographic modelling” took on a more professional slant, with models paid the set minimum wage and signing elaborate contracts.<sup>158</sup> In 1973, after marriage, motherhood, and the completion of her radiography studies, the former Miss New Zealand (now Maureen Waaka), joined her husband in a Rotorua-based tourism business. Together Maureen and John Waaka ran the tourism-award-winning Maori concert party, the Rotorua International Maori Entertainers. Eventually Maureen Waaka took over the concert party

---

include information for the professions of nursing and teaching, or office work.

<sup>154</sup> Waaka Kingi, “Finishing the Jigsaw Puzzle”, p.67.

<sup>155</sup> Charlie See to Joe Brown, 14 August 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington. The sentiment of this letter to Brown was reproduced in “On CBS-TV she proved worth a fortune in NZ publicity”, *New Zealand Truth*, undated; and “Hit the Jackpot of U.S. Publicity”, *The Evening Post*, 16 August 1962, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington. The letter from See to Brown was reproduced in its entirety in, *Miss New Zealand 1962*.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid. Joe Brown, continuing a battle that lasted for years, publicly criticised the daily allowance allotted by the Reserve Bank. Foreign exchange legislation permitted New Zealanders travelling overseas to take only a defined daily allowance with them. Under this legislation, the Reserve Bank defined Miss New Zealand as a tourist, and as such she was only allowed to take six pounds and ten shillings. Brown, on the grounds of the promotional work Miss New Zealand undertook, argued that she should be permitted the businessman’s allowance of ten pounds. The argument, however, continued to be ignored. On Kingi’s return to New Zealand, the scandal-loving *Truth* newspaper ran a story describing the Reserve Bank as keeping the young Miss New Zealand “on a shoestring budget” during her time in the United States. The article quoted Joe Brown as describing Kingi’s treatment by the New Zealand Government and therefore her country as “scandalous”, claiming that the US\$17.50 daily allowance was inadequate, “On CBS-TV she proved worth a fortune in NZ publicity”, *New Zealand Truth*, undated, TO 1, 47/91, ANZ, Wellington; Jolly, *The Miss Parade*, pp.81-82.

<sup>157</sup> Personal Communication with Maureen Waaka (nee Kingi), 5 July 1999.

<sup>158</sup> Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori*, p.92.



herself, with her husband driving a tour bus.<sup>159</sup> Recognition of the former Miss New Zealand's successful career in the tourism industry came with her appointment to the New Zealand Tourism Board.<sup>160</sup> In 2001, Maureen Waaka's services to tourism and the community were further recognised by both the Crown and the State, when she was named as a Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit.<sup>161</sup>

Within the seemingly colonising images of the young Miss New Zealand, Maureen Kingi was in fact able to exercise agency. Recalling her relationship with the Tourist and Publicity Department, Maureen Waaka considers that she "was never their mouthpiece".<sup>162</sup> According to Waaka, she "talked over publicity shoots and gigs" with the Department, and that mostly she "had a free hand".<sup>163</sup> Likewise, the costumes she wore were her own, and she was the author of her own speeches, with the Tourist and Publicity Department providing information to the young Miss New Zealand when needed.<sup>164</sup> It is clear that Maureen Waaka did not consider that she was an exploited object of the continued or re-colonisation of New Zealand. In the composition of images of herself, Kingi was also able to exert agency. In the image Jacqui Sutton Beets claims was a "joke" that emphasised the "sexual proclivity of the Maori maiden"<sup>165</sup> (see Illustration 38), Kingi herself in part composed the shot. According to Gladys Goodall,<sup>166</sup> Kingi grew tired of the Tourist and Publicity Department photographer's lengthy attempts to finish the shoot, placed the lilies in the pond, and instructed the photographer in his own craft.<sup>167</sup> Kingi, rather than being the unwitting butt of a 'high-brow' joke full of literary allusion, actually participated in the production of the representation.

Not only did the three women individually benefit financially from their exposure, but they were also important characters in the retention of Maori culture within a climate of integration. Te Awekotuku argues that historically many women who worked in tourism were not passive victims of colonisation, but were active participants in the movements for Maori sovereignty that have gradually succeeded in transforming the New Zealand nation as a whole.<sup>168</sup> It is in this light that we need to read the activities and agendas of Maureen Kingi during her time as Miss New Zealand. Just as Te Awekotuku argues that the activism of

<sup>159</sup> Waaka Kingi, "Finishing the Jigsaw Puzzle", pp67,80.

<sup>160</sup> Harawira, "Being beautiful doesn't make you dumb", p.56.

<sup>161</sup> <http://www.dPMC.govt.nz/honours/lists/2001queens.html>, accessed June 2002.

<sup>162</sup> Personal Communication with Maureen Waaka (nee Kingi), 5 July 1999.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Sutton-Beets, "Images of Maori Women", p.12.

<sup>166</sup> Goodall herself was not the photographer on this occasion, but Kingi recounted her experiences of the shoot to Goodall, Personal Communication with Gladys Goodall, 13 March 2001.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori*, pp.143-154. In this section of her book Te Awekotuku offers a biographical essay of famed Te Arawa guide and scholar Maggie Papakura, or Makereti.

women such as Makereti was obscured by male Maori politicians such as Pomare, Buck, and Ngata,<sup>169</sup> Maureen Kingi's calls for the retention and development of Maori culture in urban environments has become obscured by the more easily identified activists of a decade later. Again, just as Te Awakotuku argues for Makereti, it was not only men and their more easily accredited achievements who obscured public recognition of the work of the women; it was often the women's own glamorous, frivolous, and feminine identities.<sup>170</sup> Most New Zealanders, both Maori and Pakeha, recognised Maureen Kingi as a beautiful young woman and therefore the antithesis of ideas and activism.

Like her guide predecessors, such as Makereti, Maureen Kingi fashioned an "agreeable persona".<sup>171</sup> Historically, Te Arawa women involved in the tourism industry sought to explain Maori culture to Europeans in such a way that they would regard it as a worthy counterpart to their own culture. In order to achieve this, women such as Makereti looked to Western modes of representation. As guides, the women responded to European expectations about the Maori world but, importantly, simultaneously granted themselves separate senses of identity based on what "could be collectively remembered of traditional Maori society".<sup>172</sup> Pakeha New Zealand viewed Maureen Kingi, Rebecca Faulkner, and Carole Cunningham in costume, as representing safe and 'agreeable' versions of Maori culture, a form of Maori culture that in no way challenged the hegemonic Pakeha culture and fitted neatly with the fantasy of a race relations paradise. In costume, however, the women, and particularly Maureen Kingi, were able to display Maori culture, and assert it as an integral to the shifting and evolving notions of the New Zealand nation.

Kingi saw her victory and success as Miss New Zealand in 'race' terms; it was as an advocate and example of and for Maori people and Maori culture that Maureen Kingi viewed herself. When questioned immediately following her win in the Miss New Zealand pageant, Kingi articulated her motivation for entering the beauty contest in 'raced' terms:

It was because of the Maori people and my cousin, Moana Manley; she was Miss NZ in 1954, and the years have been mounting up and no Maori has been overseas in a while. I wanted to be that Maori and I wanted to represent my people and also the NZ people, and I will do my best when I go overseas.<sup>173</sup>

From the public space accorded to her as Miss New Zealand, Maureen Kingi, as well as encouraging young Maori to embrace and utilise the modern Pakeha world, simultaneously advocated and worked for the retention of Maori language and culture. In "A Letter from Maureen" published in *Te Ao Hou*, Kingi, herself fluent in Maori language, not only

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, p.148.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Maxwell, "Rewriting the Nation", p.323.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Transcript of radio interview with Scott Newman, TO 3, 6/2/7, ANZ.

advocated excellence in education, but also pleaded with young Maori to become fluent in Maori language. In her view, “the younger generation are here to pass our tongue to the next generation”; furthermore, she argued that it was the “duty” of her generation to “preserve our traditional action songs, poi, haka, and stick games for the coming generation”.<sup>174</sup> The young Miss New Zealand was well aware that both a colonial history and the policy of integration threatened the survival of Maori culture in the mid-twentieth century. In an interview with an American newspaper, she stated “assimilation has progressed to the point where the pure Maori is a vanishing breed”.<sup>175</sup> Given this, Kingi argued to her American audience that this was “all the more reason for preserving her tribal inheritance” by teaching the songs, dances, and customs through her performances. She was adamant “that one day there may not be a pure Maori, but there will still be Maori tradition”.<sup>176</sup>

Maureen Kingi was, however, enthusiastic not to be pigeonholed as only representing traditional Maori culture. Eager to simultaneously be situated within the modern urban world, and therefore assume the identity of a ideal Maori citizen, Kingi, in concord with official constructions of her, saw herself<sup>177</sup> and constructed herself as a woman of two worlds. On a visit to Rehua Hostel and Meeting House, Kingi, wearing a stylish dress, stiletto heels, and her crown, appeared as a glamorous and fashionable queen of beauty. On this meeting with the Canterbury Maori community, however, Kingi also emphasised her ‘Maoriness’. She replied in Maori to the official welcome afforded her, and after dispensing with her shoes led a group of costumed young women in an action song.<sup>178</sup> To her American admirers, Kingi emphasised the ‘harmony’ in which Maori and Pakeha lived in her country, and cast herself as a living embodiment of that racial harmony. In her speech to the International Beauty Congress pageant, Kingi stated:

in New Zealand we have two races, the European and the Maori. We pride ourselves in the concord and the harmony in which we live with each other. I am an example of this integration as my Mother European and my father is Maori.<sup>179</sup>

In claiming to be a woman of two worlds, Kingi situated herself as a cultural broker. With roots in both worlds, the beauty queen was ideally situated to mediate between the two. Kingi used the fame and public forum accorded to her through her role as Miss New Zealand to preach a message to young Maori, for whom she regarded herself as a role model,<sup>180</sup> of the

<sup>174</sup> “A Letter from Maureen Kingi”, *Te Ao Hou*, No.40, September 1962, p.2.

<sup>175</sup> Jerry Adams, “New Zealand’s Vanishing Maori”, *San Francisco Examiner*, 7 October 1962, TO 3, 6/2/7, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Personal Communication with Maureen Waaka (nee Kingi), 5 July 1999.

<sup>178</sup> *Enterprise*, Vol.1, No.3, December 1962.

<sup>179</sup> *Miss New Zealand 1962*, [n.p].

<sup>180</sup> Personal Communication with Maureen Waaka (nee Kingi), 5 July 1999.



**Illustration 52:** On her visit to Rehua Hostel and Meeting House in 1962, Kingi appeared as a stylish and 'beautiful' young beauty queen. On this visit, however, she also demonstrated her knowledge of and attachment to Maori culture. In the above picture, Kingi is replying in Maori to the official welcome afforded to her. Later in the visit, she removed her shoes and led a party of costumed young women in an action song. Source: *Enterprise*, Vol.1, No.3, December 1962.

political dimensions of her reign as Miss New Zealand. Reflecting on her victory 36 years after the fact, Kingi considers that her success helped to promote the idea that Maori women should "look further than the usual opportunities available to them".<sup>182</sup> Spurred on and supported by the Maori Women's Welfare League, Kingi entered beauty pageants with the express intention of demonstrating that Maori women had the ability and talent to "get into areas they traditionally had never considered, like modelling".<sup>183</sup> From her time as Miss New Zealand, Kingi amassed skills that allowed her to be confident and assured in situations that required a public presence.<sup>184</sup> Following her reign, Maureen Waaka utilised these skills to launch a more overtly political career. Within the context of changing race relations, in 1989 Waaka moved from her Miss New Zealand political position of accommodation and

need to "adopt the best in both Maori and European culture".<sup>181</sup> Through simultaneous representations and constructions as both an ideal modern Maori citizen and as a Maori maiden, Maureen Kingi was able to claim legitimacy and a voice in both the Maori and Pakeha worlds. Through these dual and merging constructions, she was able to posit herself as representing the New Zealand nation, and press for the inclusion of 'Maoriness' within evolving definitions of the nation. The young Miss New Zealand was appealing to the New Zealand state because of her ability to simultaneously represent and mediate the two worlds to each other.

As a Maori woman, Maureen Kingi recognised the

<sup>181</sup> *Miss New Zealand 1962*, [n.p].

<sup>182</sup> Harawira, "Being beautiful doesn't make you dumb", p.55.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Personal Communication with Maureen Waaka (nee Kingi), 5 July 1999.

negotiation, to become active within Te Arawa tribal politics. Since the late 1980s, the former beauty queen has been a member of the Te Arawa standing committee of the Rotorua District Council, and the Te Arawa representative on the Maori standing committee of the Regional Council (Environment Bay of Plenty). Within the Regional Council she has also served on the Maori Regional Representation Committee, and has served as the Chair of the Maori Constituency Committee charged with establishing Maori seats on Environment Bay of Plenty. In addition to these duties, serving as a Councillor on the Rotorua District Council, and running the Miss Rotorua Pageant, Maureen Waaka is also a representative on Te Kahui Hauora, a Te Arawa contractual trust to Lakeland Health, and a trustee of Te Kotahitanha o te Arawa Waka fisheries.<sup>185</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The images of Maureen Kingi, Carole Cunningham, and Rebecca Faulkner serve to complicate our understandings of the policies surrounding urbanisation and integration. These three young women became emblematic of the policy makers' vision for New Zealand. Oscillating between tradition and modernity, they stood as living embodiments of the Group B the Hunn Report defined as ideal Maori citizens. Although a category of Maori completely devoid of their culture had been identified in the Report, the Maoriness portrayed by these three 'maidens' was crucial to the continuing process of defining the New Zealand nation. In the context of the establishment of a tourist industry, Maori maidens provided a point from which New Zealand could both define itself within the Polynesian vacation zone, and assert itself as an exotic paradise.

Not only did the three subjects of this chapter merely become emblematic of a tourist version of New Zealand. As modern citizens, the women provided a template of what urbanised and integrated Maori could achieve. Through the example of Kingi, Faulkner, and Cunningham, it is possible to see the changing notions of New Zealand citizenship. These three women all stood as examples of ideal modern Maori citizens. These were women, who despite their links to the 'traditional' Maori past, had progressed to a sufficient extent to be regarded as belonging in the cities and towns of New Zealand. They not only symbolised the distinctiveness of the New Zealand nation, but also belonged to the New Zealand nation.

The women themselves embraced the opportunities to be represented in this light. Modelling offered both income and career prospects. Through the example of Maureen Kingi, this chapter has shown that far from being constitutive of a narrative of continued or re-colonisation, these women used their positions within colonial discourses to preserve their

---

<sup>185</sup> Ibid; Philippa Keane, "Ex-Miss NZ hard at Work", *Sunday Star Times*, 20 September 1998, p.6.

different culture, and assert a 'Maori' identity within the rapidly modernising New Zealand nation; the women, as generations of Maori women before them had, were able to successfully accommodate and negotiate the narrative of colonialism. Although dismissed as merely beautiful, this chapter has re-cast the reign of Maureen Kingi as Miss New Zealand as politicised, and her efforts in advocating the retention of Maori culture in the urban environments are revealed. Thus, the struggle for the retention of Maori culture, usually cast as a "battle" of Maori warriors, is instead viewed as a battle led by Maori maidens.

## chapter ten:

---

# Conclusion

Throughout the twenty-eight year period under examination in this thesis, the lives of many individual Maori were transformed as the New Zealand State, aided by various voluntary organisations, and sometimes Maori themselves, attempted to re-create rural Maori into urban, modern, integrated, and therefore ideal Maori citizens. Many hoped that in creating ideal Maori citizens, the cities and ultimately the nation would also become integrated. Despite the enormousness of the impact of these re-creations on both individuals and New Zealand society, the policies, processes, and experiences surrounding urbanisation and integration have received scant attention in the history books. The decades immediately following World War II have instead been presented as being, although prosperous, also dull, bland, and conformist. A dull and conformist view of New Zealand society between 1942 and 1969, however, conceals the radical reformulations of the interior frontiers of the nation that were occurring. Where urbanisation and the policies of integration have featured in examinations of mid-twentieth century New Zealand, they have often been by way of explanation for, and as a prelude to, the Maori protest, cultural renaissance, and radicalism of the 1970s and 1980s.

This thesis has recast, revised, and complicated this version of New Zealand's past in a number of important ways. It has shown that integration and urbanisation were gendered. It has also demonstrated the ways in which the processes and policies were crucial to the evolving and shifting notions of New Zealand nationhood and citizenship. It has also shown that urbanisation and integration did not always entail the continued domination of Maori by the State and by Pakeha society. Instead of reading the events of the mid-twentieth century as being yet another dark chapter in the colonisation and domination of Maori, this thesis has revealed that Maori in some instances were able to negotiate and accommodate the policies and processes to both improve their material living conditions, and to retain and perpetuate their distinct culture. It has shown, however, that the Maori culture that was promoted and perpetuated in the cities became increasingly less iwi-focused. In its place, a homogenised, pan-Maori identity began to be promoted and represented. Through the example of Ngai Tahu in Christchurch, this thesis explored the experiences of an iwi faced with large numbers of migrants from outside of its own tribal area. It has shown how for the traditional tangata whenua, the notions of homeplace and turangawaewae were rapidly disrupted. Finally, this

thesis has shown the policies and processes of urbanisation and integration to be complex, fractured, and multi-faceted.

In investigating the creation of modern, integrated, and therefore ideal Maori citizens that in turn led to the re-creation of the nation as integrated this thesis sought to answer four central questions. In answer to why integration and urbanisation occurred, I have argued that race relations aspirations dovetailed with the needs of the wartime and booming post-war economies, and the Cold War fuelled anxieties that the Maori, if left in impoverished conditions, were susceptible to communist infiltration. These three reasons interlocked with growing Maori desires for greater access to the benefits of the newly erected welfare state, improved material living conditions, and for lives in the cities and towns. In answer to the question of who sought to bring about the integration of the Maori people, I have argued there was an amalgam of interests made up of the State, Maori themselves, and various voluntary organisations. The third question that this thesis addressed was how those seeking integrated citizens and an integrated nation sought to achieve their objectives. In answering this question, I have argued that there was a gendered response. Much State policy has been demonstrated to have been directed towards Maori women, and spaces traditionally the domain of women to have been crucial to achieving the objective. Fourthly, this thesis asked where integration took place. To answer this question, this thesis has explored three spaces, houses/homes, urban hostels, and bodies, and argued that they were all crucial sites in the construction and production of 'ideal' Maori citizens and mid-twentieth century versions of New Zealand.

## **GENDERED PROCESSES**

Centrally, this thesis has recast the policies, processes, and experiences of integration and urbanisation as being gendered. I have argued that the State understood integration to be a gendered process, and particularly focused its efforts upon Maori women. Furthermore, this thesis has demonstrated that the strongest responses to both urbanisation and integration in the period 1942-1969 came from Maori women. In demonstrating the gendered, and often women-centred, nature of the policies, processes, and responses, this thesis has added to the current literature concerning the roles and activities of mid-twentieth century New Zealand women. It adds to a growing body of work that seeks to fracture the experiences of women in this period, and shifts the spotlight beyond middle-class Pakeha housewives.

Whether as wives, mothers, housewives, or as young single workers, the State believed that Maori women integrated more readily than did Maori men, and charged them with the task of guiding their husbands, families, hostel charges, boyfriends, and friends in



becoming ideal Maori citizens. Ranginui Walker has argued that for mid-twentieth century Maori there were three development tasks awaiting them in the cities.<sup>1</sup> The first of these, “learning survival skills in the cash economy of the urban-industrial complex”, was one that fell upon women. Inside their family homes, located in the rapidly expanding suburbs of the nation’s cities, many Maori women as wives and mothers sought to teach their families the skills needed to survive in the cities; to inculcate in them respectable and modern modes of urban living. Inside urban Maori hostels, Maori women as matrons sought to mould their young charges into similar modes of living. Just as domestic modernity became equated with social progress and worth for housewives and matrons, so did bodily modernity for Maori women, and particularly for young, single Maori women.

For their part, many Maori women readily accepted these understandings and co-operated with the State, and with various voluntary organisations in the creation of modern and integrated Maori citizens. In aiding the State, Maori women received State support and resources to form their own voluntary organisation, the Maori Women’s Welfare League. In the context of urbanisation, new opportunities for leadership developed,<sup>2</sup> and the League moved swiftly to fill the void. For ten years, the annual conferences of the League provided the only national platform for the articulation of Maori needs in education, housing, health, and child-care.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the annual resolutions and submissions of the League to various politicians and Government departments were taken seriously.<sup>4</sup> As demonstrated throughout this thesis, they sometimes had the ability to effect change. Additionally, this thesis has shown that Maori women, through the League, not only assumed leadership roles formerly the domain of Maori men, they also increasingly fulfilled roles formally occupied by Pakeha women seeking to undertake a cultural mission amongst Maori.

### ***Domesticity***

Lurking at the core of the State’s gendered understandings of urbanisation and integration were domestic spaces and domesticity. This thesis has demonstrated the importance of the supposedly apolitical and ‘private’ spaces of homes and hostels in the creation of ideal Maori citizens, and the integrated nation. In doing this, domestic spaces have been further revealed to have held a political potential for Maori women. Just as the nineteenth and early twentieth century ‘first-wave’ feminists had negotiated an increased role for women within New Zealand society from these spaces, so too did mid-twentieth century Maori women. It was as maternal citizens sourcing their power from their connections to the

---

<sup>1</sup> Walker, “Maori People Since 1950”, p.502.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p.507.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, p.202.

home that Maori women in the period 1942-1969 were able to carve out their increased leadership within Maori society.

Although the domestic space of homes, and increasingly throughout the period, hostels, were not deemed to be the primary sites for the integration of young Maori women, nevertheless domesticity remained a powerful undercurrent in their urbanisations and integration. As Chapter Five demonstrated, for young, single women, domesticity was crucial to them obtaining paid employment in the cities. Domestic service, and the professions of nursing and teaching, all required women to display and possess the necessary and 'natural' womanly skills that one day they could utilise as effective 'mothers of the race'. Additionally, in many cases, domesticity also coincided with the needs of the expanding post-war economy. Deeply ingrained beliefs in the relative domestic roles and capabilities of men and women also partially contributed to the State's shift from the provision of hostel accommodation for young Maori women to providing hostel accommodation for young Maori men. Young women were deemed to not be in as much in need of the domestic support of a hostel environment; they were considered more capable than their male counterparts in surviving in flatting situations. When in 1960, under mounting pressure from employers, the State came to re-consider the question of hostel accommodation for young Maori women; it was individual flats rather than traditional hostel accommodation that found favour in bureaucratic thinking. Ironically referred to as 'bachelor flats', there was an explicit understanding that these living arrangements, which demanded that residents be responsible for their own domestic care, were solely for women.

## THE NATION

Throughout this thesis, domestic spaces and domesticity have furthermore been revealed to be inextricably linked to shifting notions of the nation. In as much as the desire for integrated citizens and the integrated nation can be read as part of the continued colonisation of New Zealand and the Maori people, this thesis has demonstrated that colonialism was also about motherhood and domesticity.<sup>5</sup> It joins a large body of international literature that moves beyond seeing women and homes as being marginal to the processes of colonialism and nation building.<sup>6</sup> In recent years within the literature, imperial spaces have been domesticated, and it has been argued that the cult of domesticity was a

---

<sup>5</sup> Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood", *History Workshop*, 5, Spring (1978), pp.9-64, Jolly, "Colonising Women".

<sup>6</sup> Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1993, p.3, Pickles, "Forgotten Colonizers", p.194.

crucial, if concealed, element of the imperial enterprise.<sup>7</sup> In the mid-twentieth century, the home and domesticity cannot be removed from examinations of attempts to integrate Maori; indeed, as this thesis has revealed, the home and domesticity were central to these processes. From the time of its formation in 1951, the Maori Women's Welfare League sought to strengthen and extend the State's emphasis on the home and domesticity in successfully creating ideal Maori citizens and an integrated nation. Following from Katie Pickles' argument in regard to a post-war women's voluntary organisation's attempts to colonise the Canadian North,<sup>8</sup> however, it is not sufficient to argue that the Maori Women's Welfare League's contribution came from the 'everyday' and domestic spaces. Rather, the focus on domesticity in this thesis offers a new interpretation and representation of the policies and processes of urbanisation and integration in New Zealand as being gendered. It also reveals much about women, everyday experiences, and domestic spaces in constructions of the New Zealand nation.

This thesis has demonstrated that throughout the mid-twentieth century the role of 'race' also became more central in imaginations of the nation. Although Maoriness had been important in constructions of New Zealand's nationhood since the late nineteenth century, in the mid-twentieth century the place of Maori within the nation was brought more sharply into focus. The geographic transfer of Maori from their rural homes to urban homes in many ways dissolved the 'interior frontiers' of the New Zealand nation. New Zealand's international reputation for harmonious race relations was largely premised upon Maori and Pakeha having very little to do with each other. Until the mid-twentieth century, most Maori lived in isolated rural communities, while since the 1920s, the Pakeha population had been predominantly urban. The mass urbanisation of the Maori population between 1942-1969 served to dissolve these 'interior frontiers', and to threaten the myth of a race relations paradise. Integration, however, provided a means to shore up New Zealand's international reputation for harmonious race relations despite increased Maori and Pakeha contact as a consequence of urbanisation. Integration not only strengthened New Zealand's claims to be a racial paradise, but as Brookes has argued it also bolstered the belief in an egalitarian nation. Politicians saw the policy of integration as a further step along the path to New Zealanders becoming the "one people" of Hobson's proclamation. Speaking to the Hamilton Jaycee's in June of 1962, Prime Minister Keith Holyoake expressed a wish that New Zealanders would begin to use "the word 'tahi' [togetherness] more in the years ahead and that tahi would become more closely

---

<sup>7</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p.5.

<sup>8</sup> Pickles, "Forgotten Colonizers", p.203.

associated with the country's racial policy".<sup>9</sup> It was the Prime Minister's hope that "the world will think of New Zealand and tahi as exemplifying our good race relations...Tahi – togetherness – one people".<sup>10</sup>

The Maori Women's Welfare League skilfully utilised this State belief in 'togetherness' to argue for a greater place for Maori within the New Zealand nation. Utilising the State's rhetoric of "one people" and an integrated nation, the League laid the groundwork for the teaching of Maori language and culture within schools, and greater recognition of Waitangi Day. In arguing for the teaching of Maori language and culture in schools, the League maintained that it was by fusing the Maori and Pakeha cultures that the "good" citizen would be created. Likewise, according to the women's organisation, Waitangi Day and the Treaty of Waitangi were the foundation of New Zealand's nationhood, and as such needed to be accorded greater significance. Although not wholly successful in their calls to have the day declared a national holiday, the League's pressure on the Government resulted in the 6<sup>th</sup> of February being declared a Northland holiday in 1963. Importantly, however, the efforts of the League laid for the foundations for Waitangi Day becoming a day of significance to the nation. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Waitangi Day became an opportunity for the State and for Pakeha society to congratulate themselves on the racial equality bestowed upon Maori. To the women of the League, however, the annual commemorations at Waitangi were opportunities to celebrate the notion of Maori having equal rights within the nation. In concert with their efforts to have Waitangi Day commemorated, they also argued for an increased emphasis on the Treaty of Waitangi in the school curriculum. In particular, they sought to have Article Three emphasised, the article bestowing upon Maori the rights and privileges of British citizenship. Through teaching Maori language and culture in schools, by commemorating Waitangi Day as the birthday of the nation, and by including the Treaty in the curriculum, the League sought to locate partnership and racial equality as being fundamental to the New Zealand nation. Rather than protest at the lack of equality Maori experienced in New Zealand, the League sought to foster the notion of "one people" in the hope that it would become a reality.

In the mid-twentieth century, Maori became important in constructions of the nation not only as exotic markers of difference and uniqueness, but as symbols of the integrated nation. As Chapter Nine demonstrated, throughout the period under examination, Maori, and particularly Maori women in the guise of modern Maori maidens, became increasingly

---

<sup>9</sup> "Tahi-Togetherness-Might Become Nation's Adopted By-Word: Prime Minister", undated (c. June 1962), unsourced, n.p, MS-Papers-1814-737/4, ATL.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

important to the tourist marketing of New Zealand. In attempting to place New Zealand within the rapidly expanding Polynesian vacation zone, young, beautiful Maori women became emblematic of the nation. As the chapter demonstrated, however, occurring in parallel to these representations was another set of seemingly contradictory images. Young women such as Carole Cunningham, Rebecca Faulkner, and Maureen Kingi, were not only required 'to go native', but were also required to appear as modern urban dwellers. In appearing as modern and ideal Maori citizens, the young women displayed another important component of the New Zealand nation: the integrated nation.

### ***Citizenship***

This thesis has demonstrated how Maori, throughout the period 1942-1969, came to hold greater citizenship rights within the New Zealand nation. It has been shown how Maori heroism in World War II was used as a justification for the expansion of Marshallian social citizenship rights to Maori; World War II was in many ways the price that Maori paid for citizenship. While most civil and political rights had largely been conferred upon Maori in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was not until 1945, with the passage of the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, that the possibility of discrimination against Maori in social security provision was formally removed from the statute books. Although it was the heroic acts of the Maori Battalion on the battlefields of the Mediterranean that won the initial increased citizenship rights for Maori, this thesis has argued that in the decades following the war, Maori women began to assume a new importance in changing configurations of Maori citizenship. Maori women, in the role of 'mothers of the race', came to stand alongside the male soldier as the epitome of ideal Maori citizenship; like the nineteenth century 'first wave' feminists, Maori women won their increased role through being maternal citizens. Throughout the 1950s and the 1960s, the League continually sought to extend further social citizenship rights to Maori. Eager to protect Maori claims to equality under social security legislation, and to counter claims that benefits such as the Family Benefit were being misused by Maori families, the Maori Women's Welfare League also took up supervisory roles within many Maori communities. League members educated fellow Maori women to assert themselves, and to ensure that the universalised benefit made its way to its intended recipients; the children.<sup>11</sup> Also, as Chapter Four demonstrated, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the League pressured successive Governments to grant Maori greater access to State assistance in housing.

---

<sup>11</sup> McClure, *A Civilised Community*, p.124, Mona Wikaira, in Rogers and Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.308-315, p.313.

This thesis, however, has moved the analysis of citizenship beyond the narrow categories of Marshall. It has also examined mid-twentieth century Maori citizenship in terms of Hall and Held's notion of belonging,<sup>12</sup> and in terms of the recently emerging notion of cultural citizenship.<sup>13</sup> Belonging, for Maori in the mid-twentieth century, largely meant conforming to the canons of ideal and responsible citizenship. In order to achieve this status, Maori, like Pakeha, were required to own, or at least aspire to own their own home, to be dutiful, to work hard, and to be sober and thrifty. Furthermore, for Maori to achieve this status, they also needed to be both urban and modern. It was Maori women, as wives, mothers, and hostel matrons, whom the State charged with leading their families and young charges in reaching these heights. Women in essentialised roles were required to instil in those around them the merits of responsible and productive urban living. Inside family homes, Maori wives and mothers were to encourage their husbands and children to keep their homes respectable, and to lead respectable lives. The well-kept and modern Maori home became a powerful marker of social progress. Inside urban Maori hostels, women as matrons were required to fulfil similar tasks with their young charges, to their housewife counterparts.

Just as there was a strong connection between domestic modernity and social worth, there was also one between bodily modernity and social worth. Just as older married women, were required to present a well cared for home in order to earn the title of ideal citizens, younger single women were required to present well-groomed and modern bodies. By adopting the latest fashions, and by the correct use of cosmetics, young, single Maori women could also display that they belonged in the cities and towns of New Zealand. In this thesis, I have demonstrated how bodies, beauty, and glamour were far from peripheral in the changing configurations of mid-twentieth century citizenship. Policy makers and Maori alike realised the importance of Maori looking as if they belonged in their new urban homes. Bringing bodies further within notions of citizenship was the policy focus upon inter-marriage and miscegenation. Many bureaucrats and politicians hoped that by diluting Maori blood with Pakeha blood, ideal and integrated Maori citizens would be created. Bodies that were a fusion of Maori and Pakeha blood belonged in the integrated nation.

## RESISTING PAKEHA HEGEMONY

Mid-twentieth century New Zealand further complicates the international 'white women in imperialism' literature, in that it was often Maori women, through the Maori

---

<sup>12</sup> Hall and Held, "Citizens and Citizenship".

<sup>13</sup> Pakulski, "Cultural Citizenship", Richardson, "Sexuality and Citizenship", Richardson, "Feminism and Citizenship", Solomos, "Race, Multi-Culturalism and Difference", Stevenson, *Culture and Citizenship*, Stevenson, "Culture and Citizenship", Turner, "Outline of a General Theory", Yeatman, "Feminism and Citizenship".

Women's Welfare League, who sought to aid the State in the creation of integrated citizens and an integrated nation. If it is accepted that integration was a continued attempt to assimilate Maori, and there is much evidence to suggest that there was an assimilating potential embedded in the policies of integration, then the notions of the coloniser and colonised became radically disrupted. This thesis has demonstrated that it was often not Pakeha, but rather Maori women, through the League, who sought to produce integrated Maori citizens. Maori women's involvement and co-operation with the State in seeking to implement the policies of integration has been shown to be complex, and at times contradictory. In fact, the League, according to Barbara Brookes, occupied a "necessarily contradictory position", working to both modernise Maori and to preserve tradition.<sup>14</sup>

According to Walker, the second development task Maori faced was "to take positive measures to maintain their culture and transplant it into the urban milieu".<sup>15</sup> Just as Maori women had taken the lead in learning and teaching the survival skills required in the cities, they also took the lead in working to maintain, preserve, perpetuate, and display a distinct Maori culture in the urban environments. Throughout this thesis, Maori women, as members of the League, as mothers, as matrons, as photographic models, as participants in the tourist marketing of New Zealand, and as beauty queens, have been revealed as working towards this goal. It was in their seeming complicity that Maori women found a powerful mode of resistance.

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that Maori women exercised agency in co-operating with the State to integrate Maori; adopting a strategy that James Belich termed "brilliantly subversive co-operation".<sup>16</sup> To read the activities of the League, the matrons of the hostels, and the exemplars of the 'desti-nation' as being simple co-operation with the State in the continued assimilation and colonisation of the Maori people, would be to ignore the vast amounts of energy that they devoted to maintaining and preserving Maori culture in the cities. In this thesis, I have demonstrated how Maori women accommodated and negotiated the policy of integration, and found agency.

In co-operating and supporting the State in the modernisation of Maori, Maori women gained the power, the resources, the spaces, and importantly the voice, to advocate for the retention and perpetuation of the Maori language and culture. It was the League which sought to have Maori language and culture taught in both homes and schools. Likewise, in aiding the State in re-creating their young hostel charges into integrated and ideal Maori citizens, the

<sup>14</sup> Brookes, "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures'", p.224.

<sup>15</sup> Walker, "Maori People Since 1950", p.503.

<sup>16</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.206.

matrons of urban hostels also gained the opportunity to encourage and instruct the residents in Maori language and culture. Through the example of Christchurch, this thesis has demonstrated how Rehua Hostel became an epicentre of Maori culture in the city. The building of the wharehau in 1959-1960 was largely regarded as a triumph for the Reverend Falkingham and the male residents of the hostel. Chapter Seven, demonstrated, however, that the building of the meeting house can also be attributed to the work of Maori women. It was the matrons of the hostels, by providing the initial impetus in the formation of hostel cultural groups, and in fostering Maori culture within the hostel, who laid the foundations for the establishment of the meeting house. Maori women as matrons of the hostel were crucial in making urban hostels more than sites for the production of modern Maori citizens; they also made them important sites for the retention and perpetuation of Maori culture. Furthermore, younger unmarried women were also able to participate in the retention and perpetuation of Maori culture. Chapter Nine demonstrated how in aiding the State by “going native” to display the modern New Zealand nation, young Maori women such as Maureen Kingi found a way to promote Maori culture. Rather than simply read representations of Maureen Kingi, Carole Cunningham, and Rebecca Faulkner as being constitutive of a narrative of the continued colonisation of Maori, this thesis has shown that these women used their positions within colonialist discourses to preserve their Maori culture, and to assert a ‘Maori’ identity within the rapidly modernising New Zealand nation.

In revealing the ways in which Maori women could and did resist the assimilating potential of the cities and the policy of integration, this thesis has presented a more nuanced view of the prevailing race relations policy than is more commonly accepted. While it is often argued that integration amounted to little more than assimilation by another name, this thesis has differentiated the two policies. It has shown how Maori agency, and particularly that of Maori women, modified and extended Pakeha ideologies.

While there is little doubt that throughout the mid-twentieth century, assimilationist aims continued to underwrite some Government policies and measures, integration was not wholly incompatible with the retention of some aspects of Maori culture, albeit narrowly defined. As argued in Chapter Two, in many ways the antecedents of the policy of integration lay in the first Labour Government’s commitment to ‘a kind of equality’ between Maori and Pakeha; an equality that encompassed not only economic equality, but also racial individuality.<sup>17</sup> Claudia Orange has argued that while Labour was unable to “give ‘reality’ to

---

<sup>17</sup> Orange, “A Kind of Equality”. See especially p.211.



equality” between 1935-1949, they did, however, make important first steps.<sup>18</sup> According to Orange, in its first period in Government, Labour, and particularly Peter Fraser, was able to further stimulate efforts being made to conserve and develop Maori culture.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, she argues that the efforts of Ngata, in a range of activities, contributed greatly to a sense of awareness that Maori society might be an integral, if not integrated, component of New Zealand.<sup>20</sup> Although the National Party dominated the political landscape for the decades following 1949, it was Labour’s notion of equality between Maori and Pakeha, however, which underwrote much of the post-war race relations thinking. Throughout the period 1942-1969, successive New Zealand Governments, and the bureaucracy, held firm to the belief that aspects of Maori culture needed to be preserved and developed. This belief combined with a desire to modernise Maori to form the policy of integration. I have argued throughout this thesis that Maori, and especially Maori women, exploited the aspect of the policy aimed at maintaining and preserving Maori culture to avoid integration being little more than assimilation. Although not always completely successful, the work of the women made further important steps in bringing to Maori a kind of equality with Pakeha, which allowed for the perpetuation, expression, and representation of Maori culture.

## RELATIONSHIPS

Although the State sought to centrally control and administer the urbanisation and integration of the Maori population, as this thesis has shown, it was dependent upon the co-operation of both Maori individuals and groups, and various voluntary organisations. From the early 1950s, the State was dependent on the unpaid labour of the Maori Women’s Welfare League, and Pakeha women’s voluntary organisations in educating newly urbanised families in the basic survival skills needed in the cities. Likewise, from an early date, there was a realisation amongst politicians and bureaucrats that the State simply could not afford to carry all the expenses associated with the provision of urban Maori hostels. Throughout the country, the State sought the co-operation of, and not insubstantial financial contributions from, various churches organisations. This thesis has demonstrated the central role that the Christchurch Central Mission of the Methodist Church played in orchestrating, facilitating, and easing the urbanisation of hundreds of young Maori to the city. This was a situation where the involvement of non-State individuals and groups complemented, rather than rivalled, the role of the State.

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.228.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p.225.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.266.

The mass migration of Maori from their rural communities to the cities and towns of New Zealand had far reaching ramifications for notions of Maori identity. Although there had been attempts to form pan-Maori organisations since the nineteenth century, until the mid-twentieth century, identities were based on individual iwi and hapu rather than on a collective Maori identity. As Chapter Seven demonstrated, however, through the case of Christchurch, urbanisation did much to alter this. Furthermore, as demonstrated in Chapter Nine, it was a unitary Maori identity that the State sought in order to embody the destination. The movement of people outside their iwi's traditional rohe and into the rohe of another iwi radically disrupted and eroded the 'interior frontiers' of traditional Maori society. A lasting legacy of the urbanisation of Maori throughout the 1940s-1960s was that, by 1991, 80 per cent of people identifying as Maori lived outside of their tribal area, and 27.5 per cent acknowledged no tribal affiliation.<sup>21</sup> By 1991, Christchurch had 20 601 people identifying as Maori. Of this population, 11 889 identified Ngai Tahu as their main or secondary tribal affiliation. A further 11 733, however, identified Nga Puhi, Ngati Porou, or Ngati Kahungunu as their main or secondary tribal affiliation.<sup>22</sup> Such a composition of the Maori population is directly attributable to the Government policies of the 1950s and 1960s. Both Ngati Porou and Ngati Kahungunu are iwi from the East Coast of the North Island, while Nga Puhi is a tribe from Northland; the very areas that the Maori Education and Employment Committee had in 1949 labelled 'uneconomic'.

Chapters Six and Seven explore the relationship between Ngai Tahu, the traditional tangata whenua of the South Island, whose turangawaewae Christchurch was, and the young migrants drawn largely from the East Coast of the North Island. Although a fact more than likely unknown to many of the bureaucrats facilitating the urbanisation of these young men, there was historical continuity in these young men's southward migrations. Since the sixteenth century, the eastern North Island had provided migrants to the South Island. Waitaha, Ngati Mamoe, and Ngai Tahu had all migrated to the South Island from the East Coast of the North Island.<sup>23</sup> These three tribal groupings, over more than two centuries, had "meshed themselves into a solid genealogical net through intermarriage".<sup>24</sup> Ngai Tahu thus

---

<sup>21</sup> Maaka, "The New Tribe", p.311.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p.321.

<sup>23</sup> Harry Evison, *Te Wai Pounamu the Greenstone Island: A History of the Southern Maori during the European Colonisation of New Zealand*, Aoraki Press in association with the Ngai Tahu Trust Board and Te Runanganui O Tahu, Wellington, 1993, p.4, Te Marie Tau et al, *Te Whakatau Kaupapa: Ngai Tahu Resource Management Strategy for the Canterbury Region*, Aoraki Press, Wellington, 1990, pp.3.6-3.7; <http://library.christchurch.org.nz/TiKoukaWhenua/Tribal.asp>, accessed June 2002.

<sup>24</sup> Tau, "Ngai Tahu", p.240.

shared common ancestry with both Ngati Porou and Ngati Kahungunu, and maintained marriage links with these North Island iwi.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the historical iwi linkages with Ngai Tahu, the arrival of the young men from the East Coast was not wholly unproblematic. As outlined in Chapters Six and Seven, individual members of Ngai Tahu, and Ngai Tahu communities, sought to ease the urbanisation of the young hostel residents. In the 1950s, Ngai Tahu began to consider ways in which the North Island apprentices could be used to bolster Maori identity within Christchurch, and on occasions concert parties from the hostel joined with Ngai Tahu parties. Further cementing the bonds was the fact that in the initial stages some, North Island apprentices married into Ngai Tahu.

It was not long, however, before frictions began between North Island migrants and the local iwi began to surface. In 1953, the newly constituted Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board withdrew its financial contributions to Rehua, and instead elected to finance young Ngai Tahu apprentices through individual grants. In 1960, the growing tensions and attitudes between Ngai Tahu and North Island Maori were aired at the South Island Young Maori Leaders' Conference.<sup>26</sup> It was over the issue of an urban wharenui, however, that tensions between the tangata whenua and the North Island Maori in Christchurch became more obvious. Individual members of Ngai Tahu had contributed to the establishment and opening of the meeting house at Rehua, but it was not regarded as fulfilling the one hundred year desire of iwi to have a space within Christchurch. To the State, however, the meeting house at Rehua was viewed as fulfilling all 'Maori' needs in the city. Even in the 1980s, with the opening of Nga Hau E Wha, Ngai Tahu still did not have a wharenui that reflected their status as tangata whenua of the area.

## APPRAISAL

In September 1973, the Christchurch City Council considered placing a 'Maori' symbol in Cathedral Square: the very heart of the city.<sup>27</sup> There was, however, official resistance to such an overt inscription of Maoriness onto the landscape of the city with the reputation of being the most 'English' of New Zealand cities. Instead, in May 1974, local architect and chair of the Council's Advisory Committee on the Urban Environment, Peter Beaven, recommended a fountain for the Square. Along with the fountain, Beaven and the Advisory Committee argued for "trees and shrubs arranged with seats and tables". Rather

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p.241.

<sup>27</sup> 6 and 20 September 1974, Minutes of the Christchurch City Council Advisory Committee on Urban Environment, Z Arch 44, CPL.

than place a monument to Maoriness in the centre of the city, they favoured what Beaven described as “a more Mediterranean feel”.<sup>28</sup>

Undoubtedly, New Zealand, by the closing of the 1960s, was a changed place from what it had been in the 1940s. As the decision of the Christchurch City Council’s Advisory Committee highlights, however, the question remains – how different? Could Maori be said to belong in the urban areas, and to the nation? Had modern, integrated, and therefore ideal Maori citizens been successfully created? Could the cities and towns of New Zealand, and indeed the nation itself, be labelled as ‘integrated’? This thesis has argued that although not always complete and successful, important and crucial strides were made in the production of integrated Maori citizens and the creation of the integrated nation between 1942 and 1969. Many Maori, although not reaching full equality with Pakeha, experienced improved material living conditions throughout the period. James Belich has argued that the period between 1945-1975, in terms of cash, if nothing else, was “something of a golden age for Maori”.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, as this thesis has demonstrated, Maori became more central to constructions and representations of the New Zealand nation.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has fractured existing understandings of the mid-twentieth century mass urban migration of Maori. It has been shown how integration and urbanisation affected men and women in differing ways, and how men and women effected urbanisation and integration in differing ways. By focusing on domestic spaces, the roles and experiences of Maori women in the mid-twentieth-century urbanisation and integration have been further revealed. Throughout the thesis, however, I have cast the beam beyond married women and their domestic experiences, and have also illuminated the migratory and integration experiences of young, single Maori women. This thesis has also shown the population movement to not be a solely North Island phenomenon. Christchurch, with its relatively small yet rapidly growing Maori population, has been shown to provide a useful and different case study. The Christchurch case study not only illuminates the role of an iwi in initiating a migration, but it also shows the State, aided by the Methodist Church, to have been crucial in facilitating the urbanisations of hundreds of young men. Much work remains to be done, however, in exploring the differences. How did the experiences and contributions of urbanisation and integration differ according to iwi and hapu membership? How did the timings of the migrations alter experiences? What were the chief mechanisms initiating the urban

<sup>28</sup> Memorandum: Beaven, 3 May 1974, Christchurch City Council Advisory Committee on Urban Environment, Z Arch 44, CPL.

<sup>29</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.474.

migrations in particular locations? How did urbanisation and integration affect cities other than Christchurch? What was the effect on the remaining rural Maori communities? What forms did integration take with those who did not urbanise? Crucial questions remain to be answered. This thesis has begun the investigation of an important area of New Zealand history.

## appendix one:

---

### Glossary

Commonly occurring Maori words and terms used throughout the thesis.

Source: P.M. Ryan, *The Revised Dictionary of Modern Maori*, Heinemann Education. Auckland, 1990.

<b>Hapu</b>	sub-tribe
<b>Iwi:</b>	tribe, people.
<b>Kainga</b>	home, village
<b>Mana</b>	power, influence
<b>Mana motuhake</b>	autonomy
<b>Rohe</b>	boundary, district
<b>Tangata whenua</b>	native inhabitants
<b>Te reo</b>	the language
<b>Turangawaewae</b>	home ground
<b>Waiata</b>	song
<b>Whanau</b>	family
<b>Whare</b>	house

# Bibliography

---

## I. PRIMARY SOURCES

### A.UNPUBLISHED

#### 1. *Manuscripts and Archives*

##### 1.1 Personal Papers

##### **Baverstock, W S Papers, 1880-1973**

Press Cuttings – “The Maori”

MB 51, 6M, box 1, Macmillan Brown Library.

##### **Holyoake, Keith Jacka (Sir) Political Papers, 1934-1972**

Press Statements – Maori Affairs, 1961-1972

MS-Papers-1814-737/4, Alexander Turnbull Library.

##### **Hott, John Moody Albert (Sir) Papers, 1850-1973**

Notes on the Hunn report on the Department of Maori Affairs 1961

MS-Papers-3634, Alexander Turnbull Library.

##### **Jones, Pei Te Hurinui Papers, 1885-1976 (MS-Group-0358)**

J.K.Hunn, “The Winds of Change in Maoridom: An Address at St. Paul’s Maori Boys’ College, Fielding, 5 December 1962 and St. Joseph’s Maori Girls’ College, Greenmeadows, 6 December 1962”

Miscellaneous acts, maps, reports, and papers, MS-Papers-5220-127

##### **Marshall, John Ross (Sir) Political Papers, 1935-1975**

Papers- Communism November 1950-August 1952

“The Maori People and the Communist Party”, undated

MS-Papers-1403-022/1, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Special Committee on Maori Affairs, June 1959-April 1960.

Report of the Special Committee on Maori Affairs

A.B. Witten-Hannah, “Adult Education of the Maori”

MS-Papers-1403-555/8, Alexander Turnbull Library.

##### **McEwen, Jock Macolm Papers, 1880-1990 (MS-Group-0861)**

Papers relating to Maori Affairs, 1950-1988

MS-Papers-6717-041, Alexander Turnbull Library.

##### **Wynne, Christine**

MS-Papers 2388 – Wynne, Christine – The Wynhome Story

##### 1.2 Women’s Voluntary Organisations

##### **Altrusa Club**

Steering Committee and Board of Directors Minutes, Box 1, 1/1, Z Arch 119, Canterbury Public Library.

Minutes of Business Meetings, 17 May 1966 – 19 March 1968, Box 1, 1/4, Z Arch 119, Canterbury Public Library.

Altrusa Club Photo Album, 1966-76, 20/1, Z Arch 119, Canterbury Public Library.

##### **Association of Anglican Women**

Association of Anglican Women records, 1925-1998 (MS-Group 0768)

Maori Mothers’ Union 1955-1966

MS-Papers-0656-2/11, Alexander Turnbull Library.

### **Catholic Women's League**

CWL Christchurch Diocese, Council Minutes, 1936-1949, CWL Christchurch Diocesan Archives, Cathedral House, Christchurch.

CWL Christchurch Diocese, Council Minutes, 1950-58, CWL Christchurch Diocesan Archives, Cathedral House, Christchurch.

CWL of New Zealand Inc., *50 Years of Resolution 1949-2000*, 2000, CWL Christchurch Diocesan Archives, Cathedral House, Christchurch.

CWL Handbook, 1970, CWL Christchurch Diocesan Archives, Cathedral House, Christchurch.

### **Country Women's Institute**

Country Women's Institute and Women's Division of Federated Farmers Regional Co-ordinating Committee, Canterbury Committee Minute Book, 12 May 1948-25 November 1966, 1/1/1, ARC 1995.23, Canterbury Museum.

Country Women's Institute and Women's Division of Federated Farmers Regional Co-ordinating Committee, Canterbury Committee Minute Book, 10 March 1967- 31 March 1992, 2/2/2, ARC 1995.23, Canterbury Museum.

### **Maori Women's Welfare League**

CH 460 56/4/2 – Maori Affairs District Office Christchurch, Blenheim Maori Women's Welfare League, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 460 57/4/2 – Maori Affairs District Office Christchurch, Motueka Maori Women's Welfare League, ANZ, Christchurch.

MA 1 30/1a, Vol.1, Housing matters raised by the Maori Women's Welfare League, ANZ, Wellington.

93-180-17/1 – Executive Minutes, February 1958-1964, Alexander Turnbull Library.

93-180-17/2 – Executive Minutes, 1964-1978, Alexander Turnbull Library.

95-177-4/3 – Further Records 1962-1994, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-001 – Inaugural Conference 1951 and First Dominion Conference 1952, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-002 – Conference 1953-1954, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-003 – Conference 1957-1958, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-004 – Conference 1959-1960, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-005 – Minutes of Conference, 1962-1965, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-006 – Minutes of Conference, 1966-1967, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-007 – Minutes of Conference, 1968-1981, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-008 – Newsletter 1962-1964, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-009 – Newsletter 1965-1966, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-010 – Newsletter 1965-1967, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-012 – Dominion Executive Correspondence 1965, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-013 – Dominion Executive Correspondence 1963, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-016 – Dominion Executive Correspondence 1965-1967, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-019 – Conferences – Resolutions and Replies 1951-1952, Alexander Turnbull Library.

MS-Papers-1396-85 – Christchurch District Council Reports, 1952-1968, Alexander Turnbull Library.



### **National Council of Women**

National Council of Women, Wellington Branch Records, 1937-1982 (MS-Group-0224) – Branch report and survey, housing and ICW material, 1956-57, 89-033-1/4, Alexander Turnbull Library.

National Council of Women of New Zealand Records, 1896-1999 (MS-Group-0225) – Maori Women's Welfare League, 1964-1971, MS-Papers-1371-353, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Dominion Executive and Dominion Conference minutes, agendas and remits 1947-60, MB 126, pamphlet box 3, Macmillan Brown Library.

Dominion papers 1947-48, 1948-50, 1958-60, MB 126, pamphlet box 4, Macmillan Brown Library.

National Conference Minutes and Agendas 1947-50, MB 126, pamphlet box 5, Macmillan Brown Library.

### **Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)**

Minutes of Board of Directors, series 1, box 4, 1/11, Z Arch 112, Canterbury Public Library.

Annual Report, c.1887-1980, series 3, box 11, Z Arch 112, Canterbury Public Library.

Records, series 4, box 15, Z Arch 112, Canterbury Public Library..

## **1.3 Church Organisations**

### **Anglican Church**

Social Service Council of Christchurch Diocese, Full Committee Minutes, April 1959 – May 1965, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

Social Service Council of Christchurch Diocese, Full Committee Minutes, 25 June – 18 September 1969, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

Social Services Council, Roseneath House General Correspondence 1963-1970, SSC 4/8/1, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

Social Services Council, Roseneath House - Correspondence re maintenance 1963-1970, SSC 4/8/2, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

Social Services Council, Roseneath House - Correspondence re Hostels 1966-1971, SSC 4/17/3, Anglican Church Archives, Christchurch.

### **Boys' Brigade**

Boys' Brigade in New Zealand Inc: Records, 1927-1977

Correspondence Maori Affairs, 1957-1960

MS-Papers-2024/3/124, Alexander Turnbull Library.

### **Methodist Church**

Christchurch Women's Guild Minute Books 1937-1963, North Canterbury District Guild Fellowship Records, 8005, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Christchurch Central Mission, Board of Management Minutes, 27 September 1951-17 April 1958, 8011/651/1, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Christchurch Central Mission, Correspondence 1954-1961, 8011/652, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Christchurch Central Mission, Rehua Hostel Correspondence and Maori Mailing Lists 1960, 8011/655/2, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Christchurch Central Mission, Social Services Committee Minutes, 3 July 1952- 4 October 1960, 8011/731, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Invitation: Official Opening of Meeting House “te Whatu-Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua, unindexed, undated, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Maori Choirs Records, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Methodist Church of New Zealand, Minutes of Annual Conference, 1951-1970, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Methodist Women’s Fellowship, Annual Convention, box 9, 1964-1982, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Methodist Women’s Fellowship, pamphlets, box 1, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Methodist Women’s Missionary Union, North Canterbury District, Minute Book, 1947-1957, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Rehua Maori Hostel, pamphlet, unindexed, undated, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

Rehua: Te Whatu Manawa Maoritanga O Rehua – Souvenir and Programme of the Opening Ceremonies, Saturday 3 December 1960, unindexed, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

#### 1.4 Ngai Tahu

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, Minutes 1948, MB 140, A1, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, Minutes 1948-1950, MB 140, A2, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, Minutes 1950-1954, MB 140, A3, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, Minutes 1953-1956, MB 140, A4, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, Minutes 1956-62, MB 140, A5, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, Minutes 1962-1963, MB 140, A6, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, loose minutes 1957-1959, MB 140, A7, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, loose minutes 1960, 1963-1967, MB 140, A8, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, loose minutes 1967-1970, MB 140, A9, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, loose minutes 1971-1974, MB 140, A9a, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, Minutes and Agendas 1948-1952, MB 140, A13, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Minutes, Minutes and Agendas 1955-1957, MB 140, A14, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu General Correspondence 1954-1976, MB 140, B2, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu General Correspondence 1964-1967, MB 140, B6, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu General Correspondence 1967-76, MB 140, B7, Macmillan Brown Library.

Miscellaneous Unclassified papers (including Grants Index to Minutes) c 1948-1954, MB 140, B88, Macmillan Brown Library.

Correspondence with Under-Secretary for Maori Affairs 1950-56, MB 140, B92, Macmillan Brown Library.

Ngai Tahu Annual Reports 1957-1982, MB 140, C1, Macmillan Brown Library.

## 1.5 Christchurch Archives

### Canterbury Provincial Council

CH 287, Papers of the Provincial Council, CP 13, item 834, T.Cass to Provincial Secretary, 23 November 1857, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 287, Papers of the Provincial Council, CP 14, item 314, T.Cass to Provincial Secretary, undated (c.1858), ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 287, Papers of the Provincial Council, CP 24, item 1420, W.Buller to Provincial Secretary, 8 July 1861, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 287, Papers of the Provincial Council, CP 24, item 1449, W.Buller to Provincial Secretary, 15 July 1861, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 287, Papers of the Provincial Council, CP 421, item 856, Provincial Secretary to Rev. J.W. Stack, 25 July 1862, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 287, Papers of the Provincial Council, CP 598k, 4/4, Maori Population: That a hostelry be provided for their use, ANZ, Christchurch.

Journal of the Provincial Council 1853-63, Canterbury Public Library.

### Christchurch City Council

Advisory Committee on Urban Environment, Reports, Minutes, Memoranda and Other Papers, 1973-74, Z Arch 44, Canterbury Public Library.

## 1.6 Government Departments

### Department of Labour

L1 30/1/28 box 162 –Employment general Maoris 1949-58, ANZ, Wellington.

### Department of Lands and Survey

CH 290 16/1b – Hagley Park, ANZ, Christchurch.

### Department of Maori Affairs

AAMK 869 36/1/4 box 1060b, Inspection Reports on State Houses by Welfare Officers and Assistance by MWWL Garden Competition, ANZ, Wellington.

AAMK 869 37/1 box 1115f, vol.1, Hostels and Hostelries Policy, ANZ, Wellington.

AAMK 869 37/1 box 1115f, vol.2, Hostels and Hostelries Policy, ANZ, Wellington.

AAMK 869 37/1 box 1115f, vol.4, Hostels and Hostelries Policy, ANZ, Wellington.

CH 460 16/11 – Maori population census figures: General statistics concerning Maori population, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 460 41/3/5 box 60 – Rehua Hostel – Incidents and Discipline, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 460 41/4/5 – Roseneath House incidents/discipline, ANZ, Christchurch.

MA 1 37/41 box 167, Maori Boys' Hostel, Stanmore Road – Rehua 1951-1955, ANZ, Wellington.

MA 1 37/48, vol.1, box 169, Maori Boys' Hostel, Springfield Road – Rehua 1956-1957, ANZ, Wellington.

MA 1 37/48, vol.2, box 169, Maori Boys' Hostel, Springfield Road – Rehua 1958-1959, ANZ, Wellington.

MA 1 37/48, vol.3, box 169, Maori Boys' Hostel, Springfield Road – Rehua 1959-1960, ANZ, Wellington.

MA 1 37/48, vol.4, box 170, Maori Boys' Hostel, Springfield Road – Rehua 1961-1962, ANZ, Wellington.

MA 1 37/48, vol.5, box 170, Maori Boys' Hostel, Springfield Road – Rehua 1962-1963, ANZ, Wellington.

MA 1 37/48, vol.6, box 170, Maori Boys' Hostel, Springfield Road – Rehua 1963-66, ANZ, Wellington.

MA 1 37/48, vol.7, box 170, Maori Boys' Hostel, Springfield Road – Rehua 1966-1972, ANZ, Wellington.

#### **External Affairs**

EA 1 32/39/4/1 Pt 3, untitled folder, ANZ, Wellington, reproduced at [http://www.archives.govt.nz/holdings/record\\_group/ea/1/32\\_39\\_4\\_1pt3\\_2.html](http://www.archives.govt.nz/holdings/record_group/ea/1/32_39_4_1pt3_2.html), accessed January 2002.

#### **New Zealand Housing Corporation**

CH 453 3/211/12 – Houses for Maori Affairs 1945-1976, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 453 15/6/1 – Maori Affairs – Repairs and Valuations, no.4 file, 1956-1960, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 453 15/6/1 – Maori Affairs – Repairs and Valuations, no.5 file, 1961-69, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 453 15/6/1 – Maori Affairs – Repairs and Valuations, no.7 file, 1955-1963, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 453 15/6/3 – Maori Affairs Draft Reports- State rental houses purchased direct by Maori Affairs for sale to Maoris 1962-64, ANZ, Christchurch.

CH 453 15/6/4 – Maori Affairs Department reports miscellaneous, ANZ, Christchurch.

#### **Social Security Department**

SS 7 Acc W2756 9/9/15 – Relocation of underemployed Maoris 1960-1961, ANZ, Wellington.

#### **Tourism and Publicity Department**

TO 1 2/84 – Advertising within New Zealand – Haere-Mai in New Zealand, ANZ, Wellington.

TO 1 2/84/2 – Haere-Mai 1966, ANZ, Wellington.

TO 1 47/91 - Miss New Zealand Contest 1948-1963, ANZ, Wellington.

TO 3 6/2/7 – Joe Brown Enterprises, ANZ, Wellington.

#### **1.7 Other**

#### **Mazengarb Committee, Special Committee on Moral Delinquency**

MS-Papers 2384-01, Alexander Turnbull Library - Hearings, 3-10 August 1954.

MS-Papers 2384-02, Alexander Turnbull Library - Hearings, 19-13 August 1954.

MS-Papers 2384-03, Alexander Turnbull Library - Hearings, 30 August – 7 September 1954.

MS-Papers 2384-04, Alexander Turnbull Library - Hearings, 7-13 September 1954.

MS-Papers 2384-09, Alexander Turnbull Library – Reports and Memoranda Considered by the Special Committee.

#### **Personal Communications**

Maureen Waaka to Megan Woods, 5 July 1999.

Gregory Riethmaier to Megan Woods, 26 March 2000.

Conversation: Gladys Goodall and Megan Woods, 13 March 2001.

## B. AUDIO VISUAL

### 1. Film

- National Film Unit. *Housing in New Zealand*. Wellington: ANZ, 1946.  
 National Film Unit. *The Maori Today*. Wellington: ANZ, 195?  
 National Film Unit. *Rehabilitation and You*. Wellington: ANZ, 195?  
 National Film Unit. *To Live in the City*. Wellington: ANZ, Wellington, 1967.

### II. Radio

- Barnes, Alan, McRoberts, Mike. *Documentary New Zealand: White Sheep*. Wide Eye/ NZ On Air, Screened on Television One, 24 April 2000.  
 Nation, Deborah. *Spectrum: Te Kainga Hostel*, National Radio, Played on National Radio, 7 April 2002.  
 Radio New Zealand. *Looking Back: Mira Szaszy*

### III. Oral Histories

#### 3.1 Oral History Centre, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Barr, Ethel. Recorded on 21.1.1983, Interviewer- Judith Fyfe, OHInt-0015/10 /msc 4848/ Oral History Centre, ATL.

Rikihana, Ngahoe Terhehia Theresa (nee Puohotaua). Women in World War II Part 1, recorded 11.11.1991, Interviewer - Queenie Rikihana Hyland, OHColl-0060, Oral History Centre, ATL.

Reweti, Maudie Ruaka. Whanganui Regional Museum Oral History Archive, Interview recorded - 8.4.1994, Interviewer - Susan Hawes, OHInt-406/17 - Oral History Centre, ATL.

Wesley, Tatane. Trade Union History Project, recorded – 19.4.99-21.4.99, Interviewer:- Shaun Ryan, OHInt-0478/03, Oral History Centre, ATL.

#### 3.2 Oral Histories Carried out by Author.

The names of those interviewed have been changed to comply with the terms of the University of Canterbury's Human Ethics Committee approval. All interviews were conducted by Megan Woods.

**Rose**, interviewed 23 March 2000, a Pakeha woman who at the time of the interview was in her 70s. Throughout the 1960s she was a member of the Maori Women's Welfare League in Canterbury.

**Ann**, interviewed 24 March 2000, a Pakeha woman who as a teenager was resident in a Christchurch Anglican Church run hostel in the 1960s. The hostel was home to both Maori and Pakeha young women. She also had many friends at Roseneath House.

**Beth**, interviewed 26 March 2000, a Pakeha woman who in the 1960s was a member of the Maori Women's Welfare League in Canterbury.

**Joan**, interviewed 28 March 2000, a Pakeha woman in Christchurch who was a member of the Maori Women's Welfare League in Canterbury throughout the 1950s

and 1960s. This woman was also involved in Christchurch Maori communities, specifically with Rehua Hostel.

**Kevin and Sally**, interviewed 1 April 2000, a Nga Puhī man and his Pakeha wife. 'Kevin' migrated to Christchurch from Northland in the early 1960s. He cited fun and "a couple of Australian girls touring around the country" as motivating him and three of his friends' to migrate to Christchurch. His wife, 'Sally', a Pakeha woman, grew up in Christchurch in what she described as "a middle class home and family". Throughout her youth, 'Sally' socialised with residents from Rehua, and dated two of the residents. 'Kevin' and 'Sally' met in the mid-1960s, and married soon after. They have three children.

**Ian**, interviewed 18 April 2000, a Ngai Tahu man who migrated from Hamilton to Christchurch in the late 1950s to become a trade trainee and was a resident of Rehua Hostel. 'Ian' retains very close links with Rehua Marae today.

**Catherine**, interviewed 18 May 2000, a resident in Roseneath House in the 1960s. 'Catherine', a Ngai Tahu woman from Southland, attended Te Waipounamu Maori Girls' College prior to entering the hostel.

**Karen**, interviewed 18 May 2000, a Ngati Porou woman had come to Christchurch following the picking season in Motueka and resided at Roseneath House.

**Peter**, interviewed 24 May 2000. A Ngati Porou man who came to Christchurch from Gisborne as a trade trainee in the mid-1960s. He was a resident at Rehua Hostel.

**Bill**, interviewed 23 November 2000, a Ngati Kahungunu man who as a young man came from Wairoa to Christchurch as a trade trainee in the late 1950s. He was resident at Rehua Hostel. 'Bill' is currently involved in urban Maori politics in Christchurch.

**Pauline**, interviewed 5 December 2000, a Christchurch Pakeha woman who in the 1960s married a Maori migrant to Southland. After their marriage they moved to 'Pauline's' hometown of Christchurch. 'Pauline' described herself as coming from a privileged background.

**Fred**, interviewed 23 March 2001, a Te Rarawa man. 'Fred' recounted his family's experiences of moving to Auckland from Panguru on the Hokianga Harbour in 1954.

## C. PUBLISHED

### 1. Official Publications

#### 1.1 Published Official Papers

*Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*

1950, J-6, Housing Policy.

1961, G-10, Report on Department of Maori Affairs with Statistical Supplement.

1971, H-51, Report of the Commission of Inquiry: Housing in New Zealand.

Annual Reports of the Department Native Affairs/Department of Maori Affairs: 1940-1970, G-9.

Annual Reports of the Tourist and Publicity Department: 1960-1970, H-2.

*New Zealand Census, 1940-1975.*

*New Zealand Official Year Book (NZOYB), 1945-1975.*

*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD), 1945-1970.*

## 1.2 Waitangi Tribunal Reports and Documents

New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal. *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim (Wai 9)*, New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal. Wellington, 1987.

New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal. *The Ngai Tahu Report (Wai 27)*, Vol. 2 New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal. Wellington, 1991.

New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal. *Te Whanau O Waipareira Report (Wai 414)*, New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal. Wellington, 1998.

Parsonson, Ann. *Observations by the Claimants on the Report by Professor Alan Ward (#T1) with Respect to the Princess Street Reserve (Appendix D) with Additional Documents*, 1989, W2.

## II. Newspapers and Magazines

*Enterprise*, Official Quarterly of the Christchurch Central Mission, 1962-1975, 0/971, Methodist Archives, Morley House, Christchurch.

*Labour and Employment Gazette*, 1951-1970.

*Te Ao Hou*, 1952-1970.

*The Press*, Christchurch, 1942-1975

*Women's Viewpoint*, 1962-1970, MB 126, periodical 9, Macmillan Brown Library.

## III. Contemporary Books, Pamphlets, and Articles

*Miss New Zealand 1962: The Story of Maureen Kingi*, Joe Brown Enterprises. Dunedin, 1962.

'Report of 1941 Conference', *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, IV, 1 (1941).

Ausubel, David P. *The Fern and the Tiki: An American View of New Zealand National Character, Social Attitudes, and Race Relations*, Angus and Robertson. Sydney, 1960.

Beaglehole, Ernest, and Pearl Beaglehole. *Some Modern Maoris*, Educational Research Series; No.25 New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Wellington, 1946.

Belshaw, H. "Maori Economic Circumstances", in I.L.G. Sutherland, ed, *The Maori People Today: A General Survey*, New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1940, pp. 182-228.

Bennett, J.M. 'A Letter Relating to Guidance for Maori Children', *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 5 (1941).

Biggs, Bruce. 'Maori Affairs and the Hunn Report', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 20, 2 (1961), pp. 361-364.

Biggs, Bruce. "The Maori Language: Past and Present", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties: A Symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp. 65-84.

- Booth, J.M., and J.K. Hunn. *Integration of Maori and Pakeha*, Wellington, Department of Maori Affairs, 1962, No.1 in a Series of Special Studies.
- Britton, W.L.S. 'Guidance for Maori Children', *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 3 (1940).
- Britton, W.L.S. 'Guidance for Maori Children', *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 5 (1941).
- Butterworth, G.V. *The Maori in the New Zealand Economy*, Department of Industries and Commerce. Wellington, 1967.
- Butterworth, G.V. *The Maori People in the New Zealand Economy*, Department of Social Anthropology and Maori Studies, Massey University. Palmerston North, 1974.
- Canterbury (New Zealand) Centennial Association. *Souvenir Programme of Maori Celebrations and Centennial Concert Presented at the Civic Theatre, Christchurch, Friday, September 8th, 1950 at 8p.M.* Christchurch, 1950.
- Deenan, Rangitiria. *Guide Rangi of Rotorua*, Whitcombe and Tombs. Christchurch, 1968.
- Department of Maori Affairs. *Nga Whare Ataahua Mo Te Iwi Maori: Homes for the People*, Government Printer. Wellington, 1964.
- Department of Maori Affairs. *For a Better Understanding of the Maori*, Department of Maori Affairs. Wellington, 1966.
- Department of Maori Affairs. *Housing Survey 1966*, Department of Maori Affairs. Wellington, 1966.
- Department of Maori Affairs. *Our Home*, Department of Maori Affairs. Wellington, 1966.
- Department of Maori Affairs. *Trade Training Schemes for Maori and Island Boys*, Department of Maori Affairs. Wellington, 1973.
- Department of Maori Affairs. *Nga Kainga - Our Home: Guide for New Home Owners*, Department of Maori Affairs. Wellington, 1976.
- Duff, Roger. "South Island Maoris", in I.L.G. Sutherland, ed, *The Maori People Today: A General Survey*, New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1940, pp. 374-398.
- Harper, Barbara. *History of the Country Women's Institutes of New Zealand 1921-1958*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited. Christchurch, 1960.
- Harré, John. 'The Background to Race Relations in New Zealand', *Race*, 5, 1 (1963), pp. 3-25.
- Harré, John. 'The Interracial Mixing of a Group of Young New Zealand Adults', *Race*, 7, 3 (1966), pp. 271-288.



- Harré, John. *Maori and Pakeha: A Study of Mixed Marriages in New Zealand*, Pall Mall Press. London, 1966.
- Harré, John. "Maori-Pakeha Inter-marriage", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties: A Symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp. 118-131.
- Harris, N.H., in association with Kiri Te Kanawa. *Kiri: Music and a Maori Girl*, A.H. and A.W. Reed. Wellington, Auckland and Sydney, 1966.
- Heenan, L.D.B. 'The Changing South Island Maori Population', *New Zealand Geographer*, 22, 2 (1966), pp. 125-165.
- Hilliard, Noel. *Maori Girl*, Heinemann. London, 1960.
- Hilliard, Noel. *Maori Woman*, Hale. London, 1974.
- Hopa, Ngapare. *The Art of Piupiu Making*, A.H. & A.W. Reed. Wellington, 1971.
- Hunn, J.K. *Can Race Relations Be Left to Chance? A Paper Presented at the Annual Congress of the New Zealand University Students' Association, Curious Cove, Marlborough Sounds*, 1963.
- Kawharu, I.H. "Introduction", in R.H. Brookes and I.H. Kawharu, ed, *Administration in New Zealand's Multi-Racial Society*, Institute of Public Administration (Oxford University Press, London), Wellington, 1967, pp. 7-14.
- Kawharu, I.H. "Urban Immigrants and Tangata Whenua", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties: A Symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp. 174-186.
- Kenworthy, L.M., T.B. Martindale, and S.M. Sadaraka. *Some Aspects of the Hunn Report: A Measure of Progress*, Wellington, School of Political Science and Public Administration, Victoria University of Wellington, 1968.
- Mardle, R.J. "The Growth of a Multi-Racial Society in New Zealand", in R.H. Brookes and I.H. Kawharu, ed, *Administration in New Zealand's Multi-Racial Society*, Institute of Public Administration (Oxford University Press, London), Wellington, 1967, pp. 15-40.
- McCreary, J.R. "Population Growth and Urbanisation", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties: A Symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp. 187-204.
- McEwen, J.M. "Urbanisation and the Multi-Racial Society", in R.H. Brookes and I.H. Kawharu, ed, *Administration in New Zealand's Multi-Racial Society*, Institute of Public Administration (Oxford University Press, London), Wellington, 1967, pp. 75-84.
- McQueen, H.C. *Vocations for Maori Youth*, Educational Research Series; No.23 New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Wellington, 1945.
- Metge, Joan. *A New Maori Migration: Rural and Urban Relations in Northern New Zealand*, The Athlone Press. London, 1964.

Metge, Joan. "Alternative Policy Patterns in Multi-Racial Societies", in R.H. Brookes and I.H. Kawharu, ed, *Administration in New Zealand's Multi-Racial Society*, Institute of Public Administration (Oxford University Press, London), Wellington, 1967, pp. 41-56.

Metge, Joan. *The Maoris of New Zealand: Rautahi*, Routledge and K. Paul. London, 1976.

Morrison, R.S. 'Guidance for Maori Children', *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 4 (1941).

MWMU. *A Venture in Faith: Kurahuna School of Domestic Science and Hygiene*, Methodist Women's Mission Union of New Zealand, Methodist Women's Federation, Box 1, Methodist Archises, Morley House, Christchurch, 1941.

New Zealand Labour Party. *Building a Nation 2. Homes for the People*, Wellington, New Zealand Labour Party, 1960.

Ngata, Apirana. *The Price of Citizenship*, Whitcombe and Tombs. Wellington, 1943.

O'Halloran, K.H. 'Guidance and Placement for Maori Youth', *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 6 (1941).

Piddington, Ralph. "Emergent Development and 'Integration'", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties: A Symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp. 257-269.

Pool, D.I. 'Maoris in Auckland: A Population Study', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 70 (1961), pp. 43-66.

Pool, D.I. 'The Rural-Urban Migration of Maoris: A Demographic Analysis', *Pacific Viewpoint*, 7, 1 (1966), pp. 88-96.

Pool, D.I. 'Post War Trends in Maori Population', *Population Studies*, 21, 2 (1967), pp. 87-98.

Poulsen, M.F., and R.J. Johnston. "Patterns of Maori Migration", in R.J. Johnston, ed, *Urbanisation in New Zealand*, Reed Education, Wellington, 1973, pp. 150-174.

Presbyterian Church of New Zealand Maori Synod. *A Maori View of the "Hunn Report"*, Presbyterian Bookroom. Christchurch, 1961.

Riethmaier, Gregory. *Rebecca and the Maoris*, A.H. & A.W. Reed. Wellington, 1964.

Ritchie, J.E. "Planning, Problems, Perspectives", in R.H. Brookes and I.H. Kawharu, ed, *Administration in New Zealand's Multi-Racial Society*, Institute of Public Administration (Oxford University Press, London), Wellington, 1967, pp. 108-121.

Ritchie, James. "The Evidence for Anti-Maori Prejudice", in James Ritchie, ed, *Race Realties: Six New Zealand Studies*, Department of Psychology, Victoria University, Wellington, 1964, pp. 85-99.

Ritchie, James. *The Making of a Maori: A Case Study of a Changing Community*, A.H. & A.W. Reed. Wellington, 1963.

Ritchie, Jane. 'Together or Apart: A Note on Urban Maori Residential Preferences', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 70, 2 (1961), pp. 194-199.

Ritchie, Jane. "Contact and Attitudes in the City", in James Ritchie, ed, *Race Relations: Six New Zealand Studies*, Department of Psychology, Victoria University, Wellington, 1964, pp. 75-84.

Rowland, D.T. 'Processes of Maori Urbanisation', *The New Zealand Geographer*, 28 (1972), pp. 1-22.

Rowland, D.T. 'Maori Migration to Auckland', *New Zealand Geographer*, 27, 1 (1971), pp. 21-57.

Schwimmer, Eric. *The World of the Maori*, A.H. & A.W. Reed. Wellington, 1966.

Schwimmer, Erik. "The Maori and the Government", in Erik Schwimmer, ed, *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties: A Symposium*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1968, pp. 328-350.

Sorrenson, M.P.K. *Integration or Identity: Cultural Interaction in New Zealand since 1911*, Studies in 20th Century History Heinemann Educational Books. Auckland, 1977.

South Island Young Maori Leaders Conference. *Report of Proceedings*, Christchurch, Adult Education Department, University of Canterbury, 1960.

Sutherland, I.L.G. 'Guidance for Maori Children', *The New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, III, 7 (1941).

Thompson, Richard. 'The Hunn Report', *Comment*, 8, Winter (1961), pp. 8-10.

Thorn, James. *Peter Fraser, New Zealand's Wartime Prime Minister*, Odmans Press. London, 1952.

Young Maori Conference. *Report on Young Maori Conference*, Auckland, Auckland University College, 1939.

Waikato-Maniapoto Young Maori Leaders Conference. *Report*, Auckland, Council of Adult Education, University of Auckland, 1960.

Winiata, Maharaia. *The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society*, Blackwood and Janet Paul. Auckland, 1967.

## II. SECONDARY SOURCES

### *Theses and Research Essays*

Andrewes, Frazer. "Representations of Masculinity in Postwar New Zealand", MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1995.

Bishop, Susan. "'Married with Children': Perceptions of New Zealand Women's Lives in the 1950s, a Social and Literary Study", B.A. (Hons) Long Essay, University of Otago, 1991.

- Davies, Emma. "The History of Nga Hau E Wha National Marae", B.A. (Hons) Long Essay, University of Canterbury, 1999.
- Duder, Karen. "Hegemony or Resistance? The Women of the Skilled Working Class and the Ideologies of Domesticities and Respectability", MA Thesis, University of Otago, 1992.
- Duff, Barbara. "Families and State Housing: Ideas, Practices, Change and Problems, 1936-1973", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1998.
- Ferguson, Philip. "The Making of the White New Zealand Policy: Nationalism, Citizenship, and the Exclusion of the Chinese", PhD, University of Canterbury, 2002.
- Galbraith, Philippa Jane. "Colonials in Wonderland: The Colonial Construction of Rotorua as Fantasy Space", MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1992.
- Goldsbury, Sheryl. "Behind the Picket Fence: The Lives of Missionary Women in Pre-Colonial New Zealand", MA thesis, Auckland University, 1986.
- Gudgeon, Catherine Frances. "A History of Te Wai Pounamu Maori Girls College: He Pounamu Kakano Rua", MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1998.
- Heenan, L.D.B. "A Pioneer Community to Urbanised Society: A Geographical Interpretation of Population Change in the South Island 1881-1961", PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1969.
- James, Beverley, L. "The Maori Women's Welfare League: From Social Movement to Voluntary Association", MSS thesis, University of Waikato, 1977.
- Krivan, Mark. "The Department of Maori Affairs Housing Programme, 1935-1967", MA thesis, Massey University, 1990.
- Labrum, Bronwyn J. "Family Needs and Family Desires: Discretionary State Welfare in New Zealand, 1920-1970", PhD thesis, Victoria University, 2000.
- May, Helen. "Postwar Women 1945-1960 and Their Daughters 1970-1985 : An Analysis of Continuity, Contradiction, and Change in Two Generations of Pakeha Women as Mothers, Wives, and Workers", PhD thesis, Victoria University, 1988.
- McDermott, Rachael. "Entertaining Ideas: The Enterprises of Joe Brown, H.S.O.E." B.A. (Hons) Long Essay, University of Otago, 1998.
- McIntosh, Susan. "Harnessed to Beauty: The Image of Women in the Media, 1942-1948", B.A. (Hons) Long Essay, University of Otago, 1992.
- McKegg, Alexander. "'Ministering Angels': The Government Backblock Nursing Service and the Maori Health Nurses 1909-1939", MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1991.
- Orange, Claudia. "A Kind of Equality: Labour and the Maori People 1935-1949", MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1977.
- Pay, Bryan. "'a Racist Medium?': The Attitudes Expressed in the Auckland Printed Media Towards Aspects of Maori Urbanisation in Auckland (1960-1975)", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1992.

Phillips, Nadine. "Women and Employment in New Zealand During the 1950s: The Dominance of Domesticity and the Breadwinner Wage", B.A. (Hons) Long Essay, University of Otago, 1995.

Pickens, Robyn. "The Construction of Exotic Otherness: Representation and Colonial Politics in the Pacific", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1999.

Poulsen, Michael Frank. "Internal Maori Migration, 1951-69", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1970.

Riddell, Kate. "A 'Marriage of the Races'? Aspects of Inter-marriage, Ideology and Reproduction on the New Zealand Frontier", MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996.

Rowland, D.T. "The Maori Population of the Auckland Urban Area: A Study of Their Distribution, Mobility and Selective Demographic and Social Characteristics", MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1969.

Schrader, Ben. "Planning Happy Families: A History of the Naenae Idea", MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1994.

Te Awakotuku, Ngahuia. "The Sociological Impact of Tourism on the Te Arawa People of Rotorua, New Zealand", Ph.D thesis, University of Waikato, 1981.

Thrush, Joanne Liley. "World War II and Its Post-War Repercussions on New Zealand Women", B.A. (Hons) Long Essay, University of Otago, 1986.

Wanhalla, Angela. "Gender, Race, and Colonial Identity: Women and Eugenics in New Zealand, 1918-1939", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 2001.

Winstanley, Ann. "Housing, Home, and Women's Identity", Ph.D thesis, University of Canterbury, 2000.

Woods, Megan. "Re/Producing the Nation: Women Making Identity in New Zealand, 1906-25", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1997.

### ***Newspaper and Magazine Articles***

Chapple, G. "The House the State Built", *NZ Listener*, 12 April 1975.

Harawira, Wena. "Being Beautiful Doesn't Make You Dumb", *Mana*, October - November 1999, 54-56.

Harawira, Wena, Caleb Maitai, and Lee Umbers. "Tattoos Are Back", *Mana* 1993, 4-11.

Keane, Philippa. "Ex-Miss Nz Hard at Work." *Sunday Star Times*, 20 September 1998 1998, 6.

Kitchin, Peter. "Reluctant Recruit to Family Firm a Success in Peace, War." *The Evening Post*, 10 December 1998, 5.

Kouka, Hone. "Waiora", *Mana*, 15 (1997), pp. 76-77.

Riley, Brett. "Gone with the Four Winds", *New Zealand Listener*, 5 March 1988, 16-17.

### ***Books, Articles and Papers***

Adams, Annmarie. *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900*, McGill-Queen's University Press. Montreal, 1996.

Adelson, Leslie. *Making Bodies, Making History: Feminism and German Identity*, University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln, 1993.

Allen, Margaret. "'White Already to Harvest': South Australian Women Missionaries in India", *Feminist Review*, 65 (2000), pp. 92-107.

Anagol, Padma. "Indian Christian Women and Indigenous Feminism, C.1850-1920", in Clare Midgley, ed, *Gender and Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1998, pp. 79-103.

Anderson, Atholl. *Race against Time: The Early Maori-Pakeha Families and the Development of the Mixed-Race Population in Southern New Zealand*, Hocken Lecture 1990 University of Otago. Dunedin, 1991.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso. London, 1991.

Anderson, Kay. "Engendering Race Research: Unsettling the Self-Other Dichotomy", in Nancy Duncan, ed, *Bodyspace*, Routledge, London, 1996, pp. 197-211.

Andrewes, Frazer. "The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit: White-Collar Masculinity in Post-War New Zealand", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp. 191-212.

Anthias, Floya, and Nira Yuval-Davis. "Introduction", in Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, eds, *Woman-Nation-State*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1989, pp. 1-15.

Armstrong, M. Jocelyn. "Maori Identity in the South Island of New Zealand: Ethnic Identity Development in a Migration Context", *Oceania*, 57, 3 (1987), pp. 195-216.

Ballara, Angela. *Proud to Be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand*, Heinemann. Auckland, 1986.

Ballara, Angela. "Wahine Rangatira: Maori Women of Rank and Their Role in the Women's Kotahitanga Movement of the 1890s", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27, 2 (1993), pp. 127-139.

Ballara, Angela. "'I Riro I Te Hoko': Problems in Cross-Cultural Historical Scholarship", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1 (2000), pp. 20-33.

Ballerino Cohen, Colleen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje. "Introduction: Beauty Queens and the Global Stage", in Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk and Beverly Stoeltje, eds, *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*, Routledge, New York, 1996, pp. 1-12.

- Ballerino Cohen, Colleen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, eds, *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power* Routledge. New York, 1996.
- Banner, Lois W. *American Beauty*, The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1983.
- Bannerji, Himani. "Politics and the Writing of History", in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998, pp. 287-301.
- Barcham, Manuhua. "The Challenge of Urban Maori: Reconciling Concepts of Indigeneity and Social Change", *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 39, 3 (1998), pp. 303-314.
- Bardsley, Sandy. "Altrusa International (New Zealand) 1966-", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 324-325.
- Bartlett, Francesca. "Clean, White Girls: Assimilation and Women's Work", *Hecate (digital version)*, 25, 1 (1999), pp. 1-15.
- Bassett, Michael. *The State in New Zealand 1840-1984: Socialism without Doctrine?*, Auckland University Press. Auckland, 1998.
- Bassett, Michael, and Michael King. *Tomorrow Comes the Song: A Life of Peter Fraser*, Penguin Books. Auckland, 2001.
- Bates, Arthur P. "The Girl on a Canoe: Is This New Zealand's Most Used Postcard Image?" *New Zealand Journal of Photography*, 31 (1998), pp. 6-9.
- Belich, James. *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Penguin Books. Auckland, 1988.
- Belich, James. *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Penguin. Auckland, 1996.
- Belich, James. Untitled paper delivered at the Public Service Senior Management Conference, Wellington, New Zealand, 1999.
- Belich, James. "Colonization and History in New Zealand", in Robin Winks, ed, *Historiography*, The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol.V, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, pp. 182-193.
- Belich, James. *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Penguin. Auckland, 2001.
- Bell, Claudia. *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity*, Penguin Books. Auckland, 1996.
- Bell, Leonard. *The Maori in European Art*, New Zealand Art Series, ed, Hamish Keith, Reed. Wellington, 1980.
- Bell, Leonard. *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori, 1840-1914*, Auckland University Press. Auckland, 1992.

Beniston, Daphne. *The Call of the Solomons: The New Zealand Methodist Women's Response*, Wesley Historical Association. Auckland, 1994.

Bennett, Enid. "Organisations Related to the Churches, Religion and Spirituality", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 151-163.

Bentley, Trevor. *Pakeha Maori: The Extraordinary Story of the Europeans Who Lived as Maori in Early New Zealand*, Penguin. Auckland, 1999.

Berger, M. "Imperialism and Sexual Exploitation: A Response to Ronald Hyam's 'Empire and Sexual Opportunity'", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 17, 1 (1988), pp. 83-89.

Berwick, Patricia. *Impact of the Maori Affairs Trade Training Scheme*, Department of Management Systems, Massey University, 1995. Occasional Paper, Number 2.

Bhabha, Homi. "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha", in J. Rutherford, ed, *Identity: Community, Culture and Difference*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1990,

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*, Routledge. London and New York, 1994.

Biggs, Bruce. *Maori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction*, A.H. & A.W. Reed for the Polynesian Society. Wellington, 1960.

Black, Jeremy. *Maps and Politics*, Reaktion Books. London, 1997.

Blank, Arapera. "The Role and Status of Maori Women", in Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes, eds, *Women in New Zealand Society*, Allen and Unwin, Auckland, 1980, pp. 34-51.

Blunt, Alison, and Gillian Rose. "Introduction: Women's Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies", in Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, eds, *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, The Guildford Press, New York, 1994, pp. 1-28.

Blythe, Martin. *Naming the Other: Images of the Maori in New Zealand Film and Television*, The Scarecrow Press. New Jersey, 1994.

Boisseau, T.J. "White Queens at the Chicago World's Fair, 1893: New Womanhood in the Service of Class, Race, and Nation", *Gender and History*, 12, 1 (2000), pp. 33-81.

Bollinger, Conrad. *Grog's Own Country: The Story of Liquor Licensing in New Zealand*. 2nd ed, Minerva. Auckland, 1967.

Boris, Eileen. "The Power of Motherhood: Black and White Activist Women Redefine the Political", in S. Koven and S. Michel, eds, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, Routledge, London, 1993, pp. 213-245.

Bowie, Fiona, Deborah Kirkwood, and Shirley Ardener, eds, *Women and Missions: Past and Present. Anthropological and Historical Perceptions* Berg. Oxford, 1993.



- Bowlby, Sophie, Susan Gregory, and Linda McKie. "'Doing Home': Patriarchy, Caring, and Space", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20, 3 (1997), pp. 343-350.
- Breckenridge, Carol A., and Peter van der Veer. "Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament", in Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds, *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1993, pp. 1-19.
- Brett, Judith. *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, Macmillan Australia. Chippendale [NSW], 1992.
- Brickell, Chris. "Heroes and Invaders: Gay and Lesbian Pride Parades and the Public/Private Distinction in the New Zealand Media", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7, 2 (2000), pp. 163-178.
- Brickell, Chris. "Labour, National and the Postwar Consumer", *History Now*, 7, 4 (2001), pp. 17-20.
- Brickell, Chris. "Through the (New) Looking Glass", *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 1, 3 (2001), pp. 241-269.
- Brookes, Barbara. "A Weakness for Strong Subjects: The Women's Movement and Sexuality", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27, 2 (1993), pp. 140-156.
- Brookes, Barbara. "Nostalgia for 'Innocent Homely Pleasures': The 1964 New Zealand Controversy over Washday at the Pa", in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp. 210-225.
- Brookes, Barbara. "Review: Breadwinning. New Zealand Women and the State", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 35, 2 (2001), pp. 242-244.
- Brookes, Barbara, and Louise Shaw. "Constructing Homes: Gender and Advertising in *Home and Building*, 1936-1970", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 33, 2 (1999), pp. 200-220.
- Brookes, Barbara, and Margaret Tennant. "Maori and Pakeha Women: Many Histories, Divergent Pasts?" in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant, eds, *Women in History 2*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992, pp. 25-48.
- Brooking, Tom. "'Busting up' the Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 26, 1 (1992), pp. 78-98.
- Brooking, Tom. "Economic Transformation", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 230-253.
- Brown, Ada, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 10-12.
- Bunkle, Phillida. "The Origin of the Women's Movement in New Zealand: The Women's Christian Temperance Union 1885-1895", in Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes, eds, *Women in New Zealand Society*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1980, pp. 52-76.

- Burke, Timothy. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*, Duke University Press. Durham, 1996.
- Burke, Timothy. "'Sunlight Soap Has Changed My Life': Hygiene, Commodification, and the Body in Colonial Zimbabwe", in Hidi Hendrickson, ed, *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1996, pp. 189-212.
- Burton, Antoinette. "The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and the Indian Woman, 1865-1915", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13, 4 (1990), pp. 295-308.
- Burton, Antoinette. "Rules of Thumb: British History and 'Imperial Culture' in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Britain", *Women's History Review*, 3, 4 (1994), pp. 483-501.
- Burton, Antoinette. "House/Daughter/Nation: Interiority, Architecture and Historical Imagination in Janaki Majumdar's 'Family History'", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 56, 4 (1997), pp. 921-946.
- Burton, Antoinette. *At the Heart of Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers. New Delhi, 1998.
- Burton, Antoinette. "Some Trajectories of Feminism and Imperialism", *Gender and History*, 10, 3 (1998), pp. 558-568.
- Burton, Antoinette. "Introduction: The Unfinished Business of Colonial Modernities", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 1-16.
- Burton, Antoinette. "'The Purdahnashin in Her Setting': Colonial Modernity and the Zenana in Cornelia Sorabji's Memoirs", *Feminist Review*, 65 (2000), pp. 145-158.
- Burton, Antoinette, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge. London, 1999.
- Bush, Barbara. "'Britain's Conscience on Africa': White Women, Race and Imperial Politics in Inter-War Britain", in Clare Midgley, ed, *Gender and Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1998, pp. 200-223.
- Bush, Julia. "Edwardian Ladies and the 'Race' Dimensions of British Imperialism", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21, 3 (1998), pp. 277-289.
- Butler, Josephine. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge. New York, 1990.
- Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*, Routledge. New York, 1993.
- Butterworth, G.V. "A Rural Maori Renaissance? Maori Society and Politics, 1920-1951", *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 81, 2 (1972), pp. 160-195.
- Butterworth, G.V. *Maori Affairs*, GP Books. Wellington, 1990.

- Byrnes, Giselle. *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*, Bridget Williams Books. Wellington, 2001.
- Byrnes, Giselle. "'A Dead Sheet Covered with Meaningless Words?' Place Names and the Cultural Colonisation of Tauranga", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp. 18-35.
- Callan, Hilary. "Introduction", in Hilary Callan and Shirley Ardener, eds, *The Incorporated Wife*, Croom Helm, London, 1984, pp. 1-27.
- Callaway, Helen. *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria*, University of Illinois. Urbana, 1987.
- Campbell, Colin. "The Sociology of Consumption", in Daniel Miller, ed, *Acknowledging Consumption*, Routledge, London and New York, 1995, pp. 96-126.
- Canning, Kathleen. "The Body as a Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History", *Gender and History*, 11, 3 (1999), pp. 499-513.
- Carter, Ian. "Most Important Industry: How the New Zealand State Got Interested in Rural Women, 1930-1944", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 20, 1 (1986), pp. 27-43.
- Carter, Paul. *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*, Knopf. New York, 1988.
- Chadwick, Whitney. *Women, Art, and Society*, Thames and Hudson. London, 1996.
- Chambers, Deborah. "A Stake in the Country: Women's Experiences of the Suburban Environment", in Roger Silverstone, ed, *Visions of Suburbia*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 86-107.
- Chambers, Wesley. *Not Self - but Others : The Story of the New Zealand Methodist Deaconess Order Together with an Index of All Those Who Have Served in It*, Wesley Historical Association, 1987, 48.
- Chappell, David A. "Active Agency Vs. "Passive Victimization: Decolonised Historiography Problematic Construct?" in Alaima Talu and Max Quanchi, eds, *Messy Entanglements: The Papers of the 10<sup>th</sup> Pacific History Association Conference*, Pacific History Association, Brisbane, 1995.
- Chaudhuri, N, and M Strobel, eds, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* Indiana University Press. Bloomington, 1992.
- Chaudhuri, Nupur, and Margaret Strobel. "Western Women and Imperialism: Introduction", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 14, 4 (1990), pp. 289-293.
- Clancy-Smith, Julia. *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*, University of California Press. Berkley, 1994.
- Clarke, Alison. "Tupperware: Suburbia, Sociality and Mass Consumption", in Roger Silverstone, ed, *Visions of Suburbia*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 132-160.

- Clarke, Clifford E. Jr. "Ranch House Suburbia: Ideals and Realities", in Lary May, ed, *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of the Cold War*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1989,
- Cobble, Dorothy Sue. "Recapturing Working Class Feminism: Union Women in the Postwar Era", in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1994, pp. 57-83.
- Cockburn, Cynthia. "Domestic Technologies: Cinderella and the Engineers", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20, 3 (1997), pp. 361-371.
- Coleman, Debra, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson, eds, *Architecture and Feminism* Princeton Architectural Press. New York, 1996.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, Yale University Press. New Haven, 1992.
- Collier, Alan. *Principles of Tourism: A New Zealand Perspective*. 2nd ed, Pitman Publishing. Auckland, 1991.
- Coney, Sandra. *Every Girl: A Social History of Women and the Ywca in Auckland*, YWCA. Auckland, 1986.
- Coney, Sandra. *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women since They Won the Vote*, Penguin Books. Auckland, 1993.
- Conklin, Alice L. "Redefining "Frenchness": Citizenship, Race Regeneration, and Imperial Motherhood in France and West Africa, 1914-40", in Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, eds, *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1998, pp. 65-83.
- Connor, D. Helene. "Reclamation of Cultural Identity for Maori Women: A Response to 'Prisionisation'", *Women's Studies Journal*, 13, 2 (1997), pp. 61-73.
- Cook, Helen May. *Mind That Child: Childcare as a Social and Political Issue in New Zealand*, Blackberry Press. Wellington, 1985.
- Cooper, Annabel et al. "Rooms of Their Own: Public Toilets and Gendered Citizens in a New Zealand City, 1860-1940", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7, 4 (2000), pp. 417-433.
- Corrigan, Annette, and Denise Meredyth. "The Body Politic", in Kate Pritchard Hughs, ed, *Contemporary Australian Feminism 2*, Longman, Melbourne, 1997, pp. 52-75.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color", in Martha Albertson Fineman and Rixanne Mykitiuk, eds, *The Public Nature of Private Violence*, Routledge, New York, 1994, pp. 93-118.
- Crothers, Charles. "Housing in New Zealand: The Role of the Private Sector over the Post-War Period", in Chris Wilkes and Ian Shirley, eds, *In the Public Interest: Health Work and Housing in New Zealand Society*, Benton Ross, Auckland, 1984, pp. 231-253.

- Culler, Jonathan. "Semiotics of Tourism", *American Journal of Semiotics*, 1, 1-2 (1981), pp. 127-140.
- Curthoys, Ann and Evans, Kathryn. "Tabloid Culture in the 1950s", in David Headon, Hooton, Joy, and Horne, Donald, ed, *The Abundant Culture: Meaning and Significance in Everyday Australia*, Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards, 1995, pp. 99-112.
- Daley, Caroline. "A Gendered Domain: Leisure in Auckland, 1890-1940", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp. 87-112.
- Daley, Caroline. *Girls and Women, Men and Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886-1930*, Auckland University Press. Auckland, 1999.
- Daley, Caroline. "Flushed with Pride?: Women's Quest for Public Toilets in New Zealand", *Women's Studies Journal*, 16, 1 (2000), pp. 95-113.
- Daley, Caroline. "The Body Builder and Beauty Contests", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 71 (2001), pp. 55-66.
- Daley, Caroline, and Deborah Montgomerie. "Introduction", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp. 7-15.
- Dalley, Bronwyn. *Family Matters: Child Welfare in Twentieth Century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. Auckland, 1998.
- Dalley, Bronwyn. "Moving out of the Realm of Myth: Government Welfare Services to Maori, 1925-1972", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 32, 2 (1998), pp. 189-207.
- Dallmayr, Fred, and G.N. Devy. "Introduction", in Fred Dallmayr and G.N. Devy, eds, *Between Tradition and Modernity: India's Search for Identity*, AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, 1998, pp. 15-52.
- Dalziel, Raewyn. "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth Century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 11, 2 (1977), pp. 112-123.
- Damousi, Joy. "Writing Gender into History and History in Gender: *Creating a Nation* and Australian Historiography", *Gender and History*, 11, 3 (1999), pp. 612-624.
- Dann, Christine. *Up from Under: Women and Liberation in New Zealand 1970-1985*, Allen and Unwin in association with the Port Nicholson Press. Wellington, 1985.
- Dann, Christine. "Sweet William and Sticky Nellie: Sex Differences in New Zealand Gardening and Garden Writing", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 15, 2 (1992), pp. 233-249.
- Darian-Smith, Kate, and Sara Wills. "From Queen of Agriculture to Miss Showgirl", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 71 (2001), pp. 17-31.

- Darke, Jane. "Women and the Meaning of Home", in R. Gilroy and R. Woods, eds, *Housing Women*, Routledge, London, 1994, pp. 11-30.
- Davidoff, Leonore. "Regarding Some 'Old Husband's Tales': Public and Private in Feminist History", in Leonore Davidoff, ed, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class*, Polity Press, Oxford, 1995, pp. 227-76.
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. "The Architecture of Public and Private Life: English Middle-Class Society in a Provincial Town 1780-1850", in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe, eds, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, Edward Arnold, London, 1983, pp. 326-346.
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women and the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, Hutchinson. London, 1987.
- Davidoff, Leonore, Keith McClelland, and Eleni Varikas. "Introduction: Gender and History - Retrospect and Prospect", *Gender and History*, 11, 3 (1999), pp. 415-418.
- Davidson, G, Dingle, T, O'Hanlon, S, ed, *The Cream Brick Frontier: Histories of Australian Suburbia*. Vol. No.19 Monash Publications in History. Melbourne, 1995.
- Davin, Anna. "Imperialism and Motherhood", *History Workshop*, 5, Spring (1978), pp. 9-64.
- de Alwis, Malathi. "'Respectability', 'Modernity' and the Policing of 'Culture' in Colonial Ceylon", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 177-191.
- de Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*, Translated by H.M. Parshley David Campbell. London, 1993.
- Denoon, Donald, Philippa Mein-Smith, and Marivic Wyndham. *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*, Blackwell History of the World Blackwell. Oxford, 2000.
- di Leonardo, Micaela. *Exotics at Home: Anthropology, Others, American Modernity*, Chicago University Press. Chicago, 1998.
- Dibley, Ben. "Telling Times: Narrating Nation at the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-7." *Sites*, 34, Autumn (1997), pp. 1-18.
- Dietz, Mary. "Citizenship with a Feminist Face: The Problem of Maternal Thinking", *Political Theory*, 13, 1 (1985), pp. 19-37.
- Dietz, Mary. "Context Is All: Feminism and Theories of Citizenship", in Jill K. Conway, Susan C. Bourque and Joan Wallach Scott, eds, *Learning About Women: Gender, Politics and Power*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1989, pp. 1-24.
- Dingle, Tony. "Self-Help Housing and Co-Operation in Post-War Australia", *Housing Studies*, 14, 3 (1999), pp. 341-354.
- Dirks, Nicholas. "Introduction: Colonialism and Culture", in Nicholas Dirks, ed, *Colonialism and Culture*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1992, pp. 1-25.

Dixon, Ngahuia. "The Power of Place in the Maori Psyche", Unpublished paper presented at the New Zealand Historical Association Conference, Connections: From Local to Global, Christchurch, 2001.

Dougherty, Ian. *Bricklayers and Mortarboards: A History of New Zealand Polytechnics and Institutes of Technology*, Dunmore Press. Palmerston North, 1999.

Dovey, Kim. "Model Houses and Housing Ideology in Australia", *Housing Studies*, 7, 3 (1992), pp. 177-188.

Dow, Derek. "'Specially Suitable Men?': Subsidized Medical Services for Maori, 1840-1940", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 32, 2 (1998), pp. 163-188.

Doy, Gen. "Out of Africa: Orientalism, 'Race' and the Female Body", *Body and Society*, 2, 4 (1996), pp. 17-44.

Doyle, Michael. *Empires*, Cornell University Press. Ithaca, 1986.

Dua, Enakshi. "Racialising Imperial Canada: Indian Women and the Making of Ethnic Communities", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 119-133.

Dubinsky, Karen. "Vacations in the 'Contact Zone': Race, Gender, and the Traveller at Niagara Falls", in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998, pp. 251-269.

Dubinsky, Karen. "Local Colour: The Spectacle of Race at Niagara Falls", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, , Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 67-79.

Dunn, Kevin. "Rethinking Ethnic Concentrations: The Case of Cabramatta, Sydney", *Urban Studies*, 35, 3 (1998), pp. 503-527.

Dunstall, Graeme. "The Social Pattern", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 451-481.

During, Simon. "What Was the West?: Some Relations between Modernity, Colonisation and Writing", *Sport*, 4 (1990), pp. 63-89.

Dyer, Richard. *White*, Routledge. London, 1997.

Dyson, Lynda. "The Construction and Reconstruction of 'Whiteness' in New Zealand", *British Review of New Zealand Studies*, 9 (1996), pp. 55-69.

Ebbett, Eve. *When the Boys Are Away*, A.H. and A.W. Reed. Wellington, 1984.

Edmond, Lauris, ed, *Women in Wartime: New Zealand Women Tell Their Story* Government Printing Office. Wellington, 1986.

Edwards, Mihi. *Mihipeka: Early Years*, Penguin. Auckland, 1990.

Edwards, Mihi. *Mihipeka : Time of Turmoil -Nga Wa Raruraru*, Penguin. Auckland, 1992.

Edwards, Rosalind. "Connecting Method and Epistemology: A White Woman Interviewing Black Women", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13, 5 (1990), pp. 477-490.

Eldred-Grigg, Steven. *A New History of Canterbury*, John McIndoe. Dunedin, 1982.

Else, Anne. "Recording the History of the Maori Women's Welfare League - Interview with Mira Szaszy", *Women's Studies Journal*, 6, 1/2 (1990), pp. 17-21.

Else, Anne. *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. Wellington, 1993.

Else, Anne. *False Economy: New Zealanders Face the Conflict between Paid and Unpaid Work*, Tandem Press. Auckland, 1996.

Evans, Raymond, and Kay Saunders. "No Place Like Home: The Evolution of the Australian Housewife", in Raymond Evans and Kay Saunders, eds, *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Sydney, 1992, pp. 175-196.

Evans, Sara M. *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America*, The Free Press. New York, 1989.

Evison, Harry. *The Treaty of Waitangi and the Ngai Tahu Claim*, Ka Roimata Whenua Series: No.2 Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board. Christchurch, 1988.

Evison, Harry. *Te Wai Pounamu the Greenstone Island: A History of the Southern Maori During the European Colonisation of New Zealand*, Aoraki Press in association with the Ngai Tahu Trust Board and Te Runanganui O Tahu. Wellington, 1993.

Fairburn, Miles. "The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870-1940", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 9, 1 (1975), pp. 3-21.

Fairburn, Miles. *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*, Auckland University Press. Auckland, 1989.

Fairburn, Miles. "The Farmers Take over (1912-1930)", in Keith Sinclair, ed, *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1997, pp. 185-210.

Felski, Rita. *The Gender of Modernity*, Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995.

Fenster, Tovi. "Ethnicity, Citizenship, Planning and Gender: The Case of Ethiopian Immigrant Women in Israel", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 5, 2 (1998), pp. 177-189.

Ferguson, Gael. *Building the New Zealand Dream*, Dunmore Press with the assistance of the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. Palmerston North, 1994.

Finch, Lynette. *The Classing Gaze: Sexuality, Class and Surveillance*, Allen and Unwin. Sydney, 1993.

Frankenburg, Ruth. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*, University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis, 1995.



Frankenburg, Ruth. "Introduction: Local Whiteness, Localising Whiteness", in Ruth Frankenburg, ed, *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1997, pp. 1-33.

Frazer, R.M. "Patterns of Maori Migration: An East Coast Example", in R.J. Johnston and J. Soons, eds, *Proceedings of the sixth New Zealand Geography Conference*, Christchurch, 1971, pp.209-215.

Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. revised edition ed, Laurel. New York, 1984.

Fry, Ruth. *Out of the Silence: Methodist Women of Aotearoa 1822-1985*, Methodist Publishing. Christchurch, 1987.

Fürst, Elisabeth L'orange. "Cooking and Femininity", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20, 3 (1997), pp. 441-449.

Gaitskell, Deborah. "Female Faith and the Politics of the Personal: Five Mission Encounters in Twentieth-Century South Africa", *Feminist Review*, 65 (2000), pp. 68-91.

Galbreath, Ross. "Displacement, Conservation and Customary Use of Native Plants and Animals in New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp. 36-50.

Game, Ann and Pringle, Rosemary. "Sexuality and the Suburban Dream", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 15, 2 (1979), pp. 4-15.

Gardiner, Wira. *Te Mura O Te Ahi: The Story of the Maori Battalion*, Reed. Auckland, 1995.

Gatens, Moira. *Imaginary Bodies: Ethics, Power and Corporeality*, Routledge. London, 1996.

Gatley, Julia. "Going up Rather Than Out: State Rental Flats in New Zealand 1935-1949", in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp. 140-154.

Gibbons, P.J. "The Climate of Opinion", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 308-336.

Gibbons, Peter. "A Note on Writing, Identity, and Colonisation in Aotearoa", *Sites: A Journal for Radical Perspectives on Culture*, Spring 1985 (1986), pp. 32-38.

Gibbons, Peter. "Non-Fiction", in T Strum, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998, pp. 31-118.

Gibbons, Peter. "Cultural Colonisation and National Identity", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp. 8-17.

Gill, Norman. *Mission Accomplished: The Establishment of the Christchurch Methodist Mission*, Christchurch Methodist Mission. Christchurch, 1991.

Glamuzina, Julie, and Alison Laurie. *Parker and Hulme: A Lesbian View*, Firebrand Books, Ithaca, New York, 1995.

Glennie, Paul. "Consumption within Historical Studies", in Daniel Miller, ed, *Acknowledging Consumption*, Routledge, London and New York, 1995, pp. 164-203.

Gluck, Sherna Berger, and Daphne Patai. "Introduction", in Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, eds, *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, Routledge, New York, 1991, pp. 1-5.

Gluck, Sherna Berger, and Daphne Patai, eds, *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* Routledge. New York, 1991.

Gouda, Frances, and Julia Clancy-Smith. "Introduction", in Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, eds, *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1998, pp. 1-20.

Grace, Patricia, Irihapeti Ramsden, and Jonathan Dennis, eds, *The Silent Migration: Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948* Huia. Wellington, 2001.

Graham, Jeanine, and Peter Gibbons. "Editorial Introduction", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp. 3-4.

Grant, David. *On a Roll: A History of Gambling and Lotteries in New Zealand*, Victoria University Press. Wellington, 1994.

Griffiths, Tom. *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia*, Studies in Australian History, ed, Alan Gilbert, Patricia Grimshaw and Peter Spearritt Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 1996.

Grimshaw, Patricia. "New England Missionary Wives, Hawaiian Women and 'the Cult of True Womanhood'", in Margaret Jolly and Martha McIntyre, eds, *Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 19-44.

Grimshaw, Patricia. *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth Century Honolulu*, Hawaii University Press. Honolulu, 1989.

Grimshaw, Patricia. "Women's Suffrage in New Zealand Revisited: Writing from the Margins", in Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, eds, *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1994, pp. 25-41.

Grimshaw, Patricia. "Maori Agriculturalists and Aboriginal Hunter-Gatherers: Women and Colonial Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Aotearoa/New Zealand and Southeastern Australia", in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998, pp. 21-40.

Grimshaw, Patricia et al. *Creating a Nation*, McPhee Gribble. Ringwood, Victoria, 1994.

Grosz, Elizabeth. *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*, Indiana University Press. Bloomington, 1994.

Gunew, Sneja. *Framing Marginality: Multicultural Literary Studies*, Melbourne University Press. Melbourne, 1994.

- Gustafson, Barry. *The First 50 Years: A History of the New Zealand National Party*, Reed Methuen. Auckland, 1986.
- Gustafson, Barry. "The National Governments and Social Change (1949-72)", in Keith Sinclair, ed, *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1997, pp. 267-294.
- Haggis, Jane. "Gendering Colonialism or Colonising Gender? Recent Women's Studies Approaches to White Women and the History of British Colonialism", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13, 1/2 (1990), pp. 105-115.
- Haggis, Jane. "Ironies of Emancipation: Changing Configurations of 'Women's Work' in the 'Mission of Sisterhood' to Indian Women", *Feminist Review*, 65 (2000), pp. 108-26.
- Hall, Catherine et al. "Introduction", *Gender, Nationalisms and National Identities: Special Issue of Gender and History*, 5, 2 (1995), pp. 159-164.
- Hall, Catherine. "Missionary Stories: Gender and Ethnicity in England in the 1830s and 1840s", in Catherine Hall, ed, *White Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 205-254.
- Hall, Catherine. "Private Persons Versus Public Someones: Class, Gender and Politics in England, 1780-1850", in Catherine Hall, ed, *White Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 151-171.
- Hall, Catherine. *White. Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, Routledge. New York, 1992.
- Hall, Catherine. "'From Greenland's Icy Mountains...To Africa's Golden Sand': Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth Century England", *Gender and History*, 5, 2 (1993), pp. 212-230.
- Hall, Stuart, and David Held. "Citizens and Citizenship", in Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques, eds, *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1989, pp. 173-188.
- Hamilton, Fiona. "Pioneering History: Negotiating Pakeha Collective Memory in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp. 66-81.
- Hancock, Mary. "Gendering the Modern: Women and Home Science in British India", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 148-160.
- Haraway, Donna. "Ecce Homo, Ain't (Ar'n't) I a Woman, Inappropriate/D Others: The Human in a Post Humanist Landscape", in Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, eds, *Feminists Theorize the Political*, Routledge, New York, 1992, pp. 86-100.
- Hareven, Tamara K. "The Home and the Family in Historical Perspective", *Social Research*, 58, 1 (1991), pp. 253-285.

- Harley, J.Brian. "Maps, Knowledge, and Power", in D Cosgrove and S Daniels, eds, *The Iconography of Landscape*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 277-312.
- Harris, Witarina. "We Were the Lucky Generation", in Patricia Grace, Irihapeti Ramsden and Jonathan Dennis, eds, *The Silent Migration: Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948*, Huia, Wellington, 2001, pp. 14-28.
- Harrison, B. "For Church, Queen and Family: The Girls' Friendly Society 1874-1920", *Past and Present*, 61 (1973), pp. 107-138.
- Hartmann, Susan M. "Women's Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years", in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1994, pp. 84-100.
- Hawke, Gary. "Economic Trends and Economic Policy, 1938-1992", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 412-450.
- Hay, Elizabeth. "Association of Anglican Women 1886-", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 165-167.
- Hayden, Delores, and Gwendolyn Wright. "Architecture and Urban Planning: Review Essay", *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture*, 1, 4 (1976), pp. 923-933.
- Hazlehurst, Kayleen. "Maori Self Government 1945-1981: The New Zealand Maori Council and Its Antecedents", *British Review of New Zealand Studies*, 1 (1988), pp. 64-100.
- Helly, D. and Reverby, S., ed, *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History* Cornell University Press. New York, 1992.
- Hendrickson, Hidi. "Introduction", in Hidi Hendrickson, ed, *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1996, pp. 1-16.
- Herbert, Alma, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 42-45.
- Heremia, Rutua, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 46-51.
- Hilliard, Chris. "Colonial Culture and the Province of Cultural History", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp. 82-97.
- Hillier, Bill, and Julienne Hanson. *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge University Press. New York, 1984.
- Hinton, James. "Militant Housewives: The British Housewives' League and the Attlee Government", *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994), pp. 129-156.

- Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 1992.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J., and Terrance O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 1983.
- Honig, Bonnie. "Difference, Dilemmas, and the Politics of Home", *Social Research*, 61, 3 (1994), pp. 563-597.
- hooks, bell. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*, Pluto. London, 1982.
- hooks, bell. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre*, South End Press. Boston, 1984.
- hooks, bell. *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*, South End Press. Boston, 1990.
- Howes, Xanthe, and Paul Walker. "Sarah Champion and the Modern Colonial House", in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp. 181-194.
- Huber, Mary Taylor, and Nancy C. Lutkehaus. "Introduction: Gendered Missions at Home and Abroad", in Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds, *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1999, pp. 1-38.
- Huber, Mary Taylor, and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds, *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* The University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, 1999.
- Hurtado, Aida. "Relating to Privilege: Seduction and Rejection in the Subordination of White Women and Women of Colour", *Signs*, 4, Summer (1989), pp. 833-855.
- Hutcheson, Mere, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 55-59.
- Hyam, Ronald. *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, Manchester University Press. Manchester, 1990.
- Ifekwunigwe, Jayne, O. "Re-Membering 'Race': On Gender, 'Mixed Race' and Family in the English-African Diaspora", in David Parker and Mira Song, eds, *Rethinking 'Mixed Race'*, Pluto Press, London, 2001, pp. 42-64.
- Ihimaera, Witi, ed, *Growing up Maori* Tandem Press. Auckland, 1998.
- Irigaray, Luce. *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*, Translated by Carolyn Burke and Gillian C. Gill, Cornell University Press. Ithaca, 1993.
- Irwin, Kathie. "Towards Theories of Maori Feminisms", in Rosemary Du Plessis, ed, *Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 1-21.

Isaac, Penny, and Erik Olssen. "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme: The Discourse of 'the Slum'", in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp. 107-124.

Iuliano, Susanna. "Donne E Buoi Dai Paesi Tuoi (Choose Women and Oxen from Your Home Village): Italian Proxy Marriages in Post-War Australia", *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 34, 4 (1999), pp. 319-335.

Jaber, Nabilia. "Postcoloniality, Identity, and the Politics of Location", in Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice, eds, *Feminist Thought in Aotearoa/ New Zealand: Connections and Differences*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998, pp. 37-42.

Jackson, Alan. "Picture Postcards Are One of the Enduring Icons of Popular Culture from the Edwardian Era", *New Zealand Journal of Photography*, 22 (1996), pp. 4.

Jacobs, Jane M. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*, Routledge. London, 1996.

Jaggar, Alison. "Human Biology in Feminist Theory: Sexual Equality Reconsidered", in Helen Crowley and Susan Himmelweit, eds, *Knowing Women: Feminism and Knowledge*, Polity Press in association with the Open University Press, 1992, pp. 78-89.

Jenkins, Kuni, and Kay Morris Matthews. *Hukarere and the Politics of Maori Girls' Schooling 1875-1995*, Dunmore Press. Palmerston North, 1995.

Jenkins, Kuni, and Kay Morris Matthews. "Knowing Their Place: The Political Socialisation of Maori Women in New Zealand through Schooling Policy and Practice, 1867-1969", *Women's History Review*, 7, 1 (1998), pp. 85-105.

Johnson, Miranda. "Aotearoa: Land of the Wrong White Crowd. Paakehaa Anti-Racist Organisations and Developing Historical Consciousness, 1970-1981", Unpublished paper presented at the New Zealand Historical Association Conference, Connections: From Local to Global, Christchurch, 2001.

Johnston, Patricia Maringi G. "Maori Women and the Politics of Theorising Difference", in Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice, eds, *Feminist Thought in Aotearoa/ New Zealand: Connections and Differences*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998, pp. 29-36.

Jolly, Margaret. "'To Save the Girls for Brighter and Better Lives': Presbyterian Missions and Women in the South of Vanuatu, 1848-1870", *The Journal of Pacific History*, 26, 1 (1991), pp. 27-48.

Jolly, Margaret. "Spectures of Inauthenticity", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 4, 1 (1992), pp. 49-72.

Jolly, Margaret. "Colonising Women: The Maternal Body and Empire", in Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman, eds, *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, [NSW], 1993, pp. 103-127.

Jolly, Margaret. "Women-Nation-State in Vanuatu: Women as Signs and Subjects in the Discourses of *Kastom*, Modernity and Christianity", in Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas, eds, *Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific*, Studies in Anthropology and History, Harwood Academic Publishers, Amsterdam, 1997, pp. 133-162.

Jolly, Margaret. "Introduction: Colonial and Postcolonial Plots in Histories of Maternities and Modernities", in Kalpana Ram and Margaret Jolly, eds, *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences in Asia and the Pacific*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 1-25.

Jolly, Margaret. "Another Time, Another Place", *Oceania*, 69, 4 (1999), pp. 282-299.

Jolly, Spenser. *The Miss Parade*, [n.p] Southern Press. Dunedin, 1974.

Jones, Alison et al. *Myths and Realities: Schooling in New Zealand*, The Dunmore Press. Palmerston North, 1990.

Jones, Janna. "The Distance from Home: The Domestication of Desire in Interior Design Mannuals", *Journal of Social History*, 31, 2 (1997), pp. 307-326.

Jones, Lawrence. "Versions of the Dream: Literature and the Search for Identity", in David Novitz and Bill Willmott, eds, *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, GP Books, Wellington, 1989, pp. 187-211.

Kaledin, Eugenia. *Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s*, Twayne Publishers. Boston, 1984.

Kanes-Weisman, Leslie. *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment*. Chicago, 1992.

Kawharu, Ian Hugh. "Mana and the Crown: A Marae at Orakei", in Ian Hugh Kawharu, ed, *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1989, pp. 211-233.

Kealey, L., and J. Sangster, eds, *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics* Toronto University Press. Toronto, 1989.

Kerber, L, A Kesler-Harris, and K. Kish Sklar, eds, *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays* University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1995.

Kerber, Linda. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History", *The Journal of American History*, 75, 1 (1988), pp. 9-41.

Kernot, Bernard. "Maoriland Metaphors and the Model Pa", in John Mansfield Thomson, ed, *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-07*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1998, pp. 61-78.

Kimmel, Michael. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, The Free Press. New York, 1996.

King, A.D. *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy*, Routledge. London and New York, 1990.

King, A.D. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*, Routledge and Kegan Paul. London, 1976.

- King, Michael. *After the War: New Zealand since 1945*, Hodder and Stoughton. Auckland, 1988.
- King, Michael. *Te Puea: A Biography*, Hodder and Stoughton. Auckland, 1977.
- King, Michael. *Maori: A Photographic and Social History*, Heinemann. Auckland, 1983.
- King, Michael. *Whina: A Biography of Whina Cooper*, Penguin Books. Auckland, 1991.
- King, Michael. "Between Two Worlds", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 285-307.
- King, Michael, and Marti Friedlander. *Moko: Maori Tattooing in the Twentieth Century*, Alister Taylor. Wellington, 1972.
- Knapman, Claudia. *White Women in Fiji, 1835-1930: The Ruin of Empire*, Allen and Unwin. Sydney, 1986.
- Knauff, Bruce M. *From Primitive to Postcolonial in Melanesia and Anthropology*, University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, 1999.
- Kosambi, Meera, and Jane Haggis. "Reconstructing Femininities: Colonial Intersections of Gender, Race, Religion and Class", *Feminist Review*, 65 (2000), pp. 1-4.
- Kouka, Hone. *Waiora: Te Ukaipo - the Homeland*, Huia Publishers. Wellington, 1997.
- Koven, S., and S. Michel. "Introduction: Mother Worlds", in S. Koven and S. Michel, eds, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, Routledge, London, 1993,
- Koven, S., and S. Michel, eds, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* Routledge. London, 1993.
- Kupenga, Vapi, Runa Rata, and Tuki Nepe. "Whaia Te Iti Kahurangi: Maori Women Reclaiming Autonomy", in New Zealand Planning Council, ed, *Puna Wairere: Essays*, New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington, 1990, pp. 8-12.
- Labrum, Bronwyn. "Persistent Needs and Expanding Desires: Pakeha Families and State Welfare in the Years of Prosperity", in Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum, eds, *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2000, pp. 188-210.
- Lake, Marilyn. "Mission Impossible: How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation: Nationalism, Gender and Other Seminal Acts", *Gender and History*, 4, 3 (1992), pp. 305-322.
- Lake, Marilyn. "A Revolution in the Family: The Challenge and Contradictions of Maternal Citizenship in Australia", in S Koven and S Michel, eds, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, Routledge, London, 1993, pp. 378-395.



- Lake, Marilyn. "Personality, Individulaity, Nationality: Feminist Conceptions of Citizenship 1902-1940", *Australian Feminist Studies*, 19, Autumn (1994), pp. 25-38.
- Lake, Marilyn. "Feminist History as National History: Writing the Political History of Women", *Australian Historical Studies*, 106, 1 (1996), pp. 154-168.
- Landes, Joan. *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, Cornell University Press. Ithaca, 1988.
- Lawn, Ken. "Diversification of the Urban-Rural Interface", in Richard Bedford and Andrew Sturman, eds, *Canterbury at the Crossroads: Issues for the Eighties*, New Zealand Geographical Society, Christchurch, 1983, pp. 326-336.
- Leach, Helen. *1.000 Years of Gardening in New Zealand*, A.H. & A.W. Reed. Wellington, 1984.
- Leach, Helen. "The European House and Garden in New Zealand: A Case for Parallel Development", in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp. 73-88.
- Legislative Review Committee of the New Zealand Maori Council. *A Discussion Paper on Future Maori Development and Legislation*, 1980.
- Leighow, Susan Rimby. "An "Obligation to Participate": Married Nurses' Labor Force Participation in the 1950s", in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1994, pp. 37-56.
- Lerner, Gerda. "Placing Women in History; a 1975 Perspective", in Bernice Carroll, ed, *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1976, pp. 357-367.
- Levine, Philippa. "Orientalist Sociology and the Creation of Colonial Sexualities", *Feminist Review*, 65 (2000), pp. 5-21.
- Lewis, Reina. *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation*, Routledge. London, 1996.
- Liddle, Joanna, and Shirin Rai. "Feminism, Imperialism and Orientalism: The Challenge of the 'Indian Woman'", *Women's History Review*, 7, 4 (1998), pp. 495-520.
- Longhurst, Robyn, and Lynda Johnston. "Embodying Places and Emplacing Bodies: Pregnant Women and Body Builders", in Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice, eds, *Feminist Thought in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Connections and Differences*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998, pp. 156-163.
- Longhurst, Robyn, and Carla Wilson. "Heartland Wainuiomata: Rurality to Suburbs, Black Singlets to Naughty Lingerie", in Robin Law, Hugh Campbell and John Dolan, eds, *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Dunmore Press, Palmerson North, 1999, pp. 215-228.
- Lowes, N.M. "The Effect of Central Government Policy on the New Zealand House", *New Zealand Real Estate*, 41, 8 (1990), pp. 31-37.

Maaka, Roger C.A. "The New Tribe: Conflicts and Continuities in the Social Organisation of Urban Maori", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6, 2 (1994), pp. 311-336.

MacCannell, Dean. *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers*, Routledge. London, 1992.

Macdonald, Charlotte. *The Vote, the Pill, and the Demon Drink: A History of Feminist Writing in New Zealand, 1869-1993*, Bridget Williams Books. Wellington, 1993.

Macdonald, Charlotte. "Strangers at the Hearth: The Eclipse of Domestic Service in New Zealand Homes C.1830s-1940s", in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp. 41-56.

Macdonald, Charlotte, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams. *The Book of New Zealand Women: Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, Bridget Williams Books. Wellington, 1991.

MacKenzie, John. *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, Manchester University Press. Manchester, 1995.

MacKenzie, Suzanne, and Damaris Rose. "Industrial Change, the Domestic Economy and Home Life", *Redundant Spaces in Cities and Regions?*, Special Publication (Institute of British Geographers) No: 15, Academic Press, London, 1983, pp. 155-200.

MacLean, Malcolm. "Some Hope in Rugby Writing, but the Blokes Are Still in Control", *Sporting Traditions*, 14, 1 (1997), pp. 135-145.

Madigan, Ruth & Moira Munro,. "'House Beautiful': Style and Consumption in the Home", *Sociology*, 30, 1 (1996), pp. 41-57.

Madigan, Ruth, Moira Munro and Susan J. Smith. "Gender and the Meaning of the Home", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 14, 4 (1990), pp. 625-647.

Mahar, Cheleen. "New Zealand Government Housing Policy: The Impact on Consumers", in Chris Wilkes and Ian Shirley, eds, *In the Public Interest: Health, Work and Housing in New Zealand Society*, Benton Ross, Auckland, 1984, pp. 252-279.

Manko, Katina L. "'Now You Are in Business for Yourself': The Independent Contractors of the Californian Perfume Company, 1886-1938", *Business and Economic History*, 26, 1 (1997), pp. 5-26.

Marshall, John. *Memoirs: Volume One 1912-1960*, Collins. Auckland, 1983.

Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and Social Class*, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 1950.

Marshall, T.H. *Social Policy in the Twentieth Century*, Hutchinson. London, 1975.

Marshall, T.H. *The Right to Welfare and Other Essays*, Heinemann. London, 1981.

Marshment, Margaret. "Gender Takes a Holiday: Representations in Holiday Brochures", in M. Thea Sinclair, ed, *Gender, Work and Tourism*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 16-34.

Martin, Bidy, and Chandra Talpade Mohanty. "Feminist Politics: What's Home Got to Do with It?" in Teresa de Lauretis, ed, *Feminist Studies, Critical Studies*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1986, pp. 191-212.

Martin, John E. *Holding the Balance: A History of New Zealand's Department of Labour 1891-1995*, Canterbury University Press. Christchurch, 1996.

Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender*, Polity Press. Cambridge, 1994.

Matahaere, Donna. "Maori, the 'Eternally Comprised Noun': Complicity, Contradictions, and Postcolonial Identities in the Age of Biculturalism", *Women's Studies Journal*, 11, 1-2 (1995), pp. 15-24.

Matahaere-Atariki, Donna. "At the Gates of the Knowledge Factory: Voice, Authenticity, and the Limits of Representation", in Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice, eds, *Feminist Thought in Aotearoa/ New Zealand: Connections and Differences*, Oxford, Auckland, 1998, pp. 68-81.

Matthews, Glenna. *"Just a Housewife": The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*, Oxford University Press. New York, 1987.

Matthews, Glenna. "Whose Backyard?: Cities, Suburbs, and the American Soul", *Journal of Urban History*, 25, 1 (1998), pp. 94-102.

Maxwell, Ann. *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities*, Leicester University Press. London, 1999.

Maxwell, Anne. "Rewriting the Nation", *Meanjin*, 53, 2 (1994), pp. 315-26.

May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, Basic Books. New York, 1988.

May, Elaine Tyler. *Pushing the Limits: American Women 1940-61*, Oxford University Press. New York, 1994.

May, Helen. "Motherhood in the 1950s: An Experience of Contradiction", in S.Middleton, ed, *Women and Education in Aotearoa*, Allen and Unwin in association with Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1988, pp. 57-71.

May, Helen. "The Early Post-War Years for Women: A Personal View - an Interview with Beverley Morris", *NZ Women's Studies Journal*, 5, 2 (1989), pp. 61-75.

May, Helen. *Minding Children, Managing Men: Conflict and Comprromise in the Lives of Postwar Pakeha Women*, Bridget Williams Books. Wellington, 1992.

Maynard, Margaret. "The Mirrored Ceiling: Fashion and Australian Women", in David Headon, Hooton, Joy, and Horne, Donald, ed, *The Abundant Culture: Meaning and Significance in Everyday Australia*, Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards, 1995, pp. 220-225.

Maynard, Margaret. "'That Wishful Feeling About Curves': Fashion, Femininity, and the 'New Look' in Australia", *Journal of Design History*, 8, 1 (1995), pp. 43-59.

- McClintock, Ann. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Routledge. New York, 1995.
- McClure, Margaret. *A Civilised Community: A History of Social Security in New Zealand 1898-1998*, Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. Auckland, 1998.
- McDonald, Geraldine. "Pre-School Education and Maori Communities: A Matter of Values", in D & Hill Bray, C, ed, *Polynesian and Pakeha in New Zealand Education, Volume II: Ethnic Difference and the School*, Vol.II, Heinmann Educational Books, Auckland, 1974, pp. 58-73.
- McDowell, Linda. "City and Home: Urban Housing and the Sexual Division of Space", in Mary Evans and Clare Ungerson, eds, *Sexual Divisions: Patterns and Processes*, Tavistock, London, 1983, pp. 142-63.
- McGregor, Gail. "Domestic Blitz: A Revisionsit History of the Fifties", *American Studies*, 34, 1 (1993), pp. 5-33.
- McIntyre, W. David. "Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands", in Judith M Brown, ed, *The Twentieth Century*, The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol.IV, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, pp. 667-692.
- McIntyre, W.David. "From Dual Dependencey to Nuclear Free", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 520-538.
- McIntyre, W.David. "Imperialism and Nationalism", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 337-347.
- McIntyre, W.David. "Outwards and Upwards - Building the City", in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, eds, *Southern Capital Christchurch: Towards a City Biography 1859-2000*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, pp. 85-114.
- McKergow, Fiona. "Opening the Wardrobe of History: Dress, Artefacts and Material Life of the 1940s and 1950s", in Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum, eds, *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2000, pp. 163-187.
- McKimmey, Siobhan. "Representation and Self-Presentation: The Use of Oral History in Texts About Maori Women", *Women's Studies Journal*, 13, 1 (1997), pp. 31-39.
- McKinnon, Malcolm, ed, *New Zealand Historical Atlas: Ko Papatuanuku E Takoto Nei* David Bateman in assocation with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. Auckland, 1997.
- McLean, Gavin. "The Colony Commodified: Trade, Progress and the Real Business of Exhibitions", in John Mansfield Thomson, ed, *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-07*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1998, pp. 27-38.
- McNeil, Peter. "'Put Your Best Face Forward': The Impact of the Second World War on British Dress", *Journal of Design History*, 6, 4 (1993), pp. 283-299.

Meha, Raina. "Te Ropu O Te Ora: Women's Health League, 1937", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 30-33.

Mein Smith, Philippa. *Mothers and King Baby: Infant Survival and Welfare in an Imperial World: Australia 1880-1950*, MacMillian Press. London, 1997.

Meredith, Paul. *A Half-Caste on the Half-Caste in the Cultural Politics of New Zealand*. Accessed October 2001. Te Matahauariki: Papers and Publications. Available from <http://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/Paul%20Meredith%20Mana%20Verlag%20Paper.pdf>.

Meyerowitz, Joanne. "Beyond the Feminie Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958", *The Journal of American History*, 79, 4 (1993), pp. 1455-1482.

Meyerowitz, Joanne. "Beyond the Feminist Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958", in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1994, pp. 229-262.

Meyerowitz, Joanne. "Introduction: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960", in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1994, pp. 1-16.

Meyerowitz, Joanne, ed, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* Temple University Press. Philadelphia, 1994.

Midgley, Clare. "Gender and Imperialism: Mapping the Connections", in Clare Midgley, ed, *Gender and Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1998, pp. 1-18.

Midgley, Clare, ed, *Gender and Imperialism* Manchester University Press. Manchester, 1998.

Miles, Robert. "Summoned by Capital", in P Spoonley, ed, *Tauwiwi: Racism and Ethnicity in New Zealand*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1984, pp. 223-43.

Millar, Maree, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 93-98.

Miller, Laura. "Family Togetherness and the Suburban Ideal", *Sociological Forum*, 10, 3 (1995), pp. 393-418.

Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. originally published 1969, Virago. London, 1977.

Mills, Sara. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, Routledge. London and New York, 1993.

Mills, Sara. "Gender and Colonial Space", *Gender, Place, and Culture*, 3, 2 (1996), pp. 125-147.

Miranne, Kristine, B., and Alma H. Young. "Introduction", in Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, eds, *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, 2000, pp. 1-16.

Mohammed, Patricia. "'But Most of All Mi Love Me Browning': The Emergence in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Jamaica of the Mulatto Woman as the Desired", *Feminist Review*, 65 (2000), pp. 22-48.

Mohanram, Radhika. "Postcolonial Maori Sovereignty", *Women's Studies Journal*, 11, 1-2 (1995), pp. 63-94.

Mohanram, Radhika. "(in)Visible Bodies? Immigrant Bodies and the Constructions of Nationhood in Aotearoa/New Zealand", in Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice, eds, *Feminist Thought in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Connections and Differences*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998, pp. 21-28.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses", in Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo and Lourdes Torres, eds, *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1991, pp. 51-80.

Moller-Okin, Susan. *Women in Western Political Thought*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979.

Molloy, Maureen. "Citizenship, Property and Bodies: Discourses on Gender and the Inter-War Labour Government in New Zealand", *Gender and History*, 4, 3 (1992), pp. 293-304.

Montgomerie, Deborah. "War and Women: Work and Motherhood", *NZ Women's Studies Journal*, 3, 2 (1988), pp. 3-16.

Montgomerie, Deborah. "The Limitations of Wartime Change: Women War Workers in New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 23, 1 (1989), pp. 68-86.

Montgomerie, Deborah. "Sweethearts, Soldiers, Happy Families: Gender and the Second World War", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp. 163-190.

Montgomerie, Deborah. *The Women's War: New Zealand Women 1939-45*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2001.

Morgan, D., and M. Evans. "The Road to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: Orwell and the Post-War Reconstruction of Citizenship", in B Brivati and H Jones, eds, *What Difference Did the War Make?*, Leicester University Press, London, 1993, pp. 37-47.

Morgan, Vera. "I Always Had Dreams", in Patricia Grace, Irihapeti Ramsden and Jonathan Dennis, eds, *The Silent Migration: Ngati Poneke Young Maori Club 1937-1948*, Huia, Wellington, 2001, pp. 7-13.

Morin, Karen, and Lawrence Berg. "Emplacing Current Trends in Feminist Historical Geography", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 6, 4 (1999), pp. 311-330.

Morris Matthews, Kay, and Kuni Jenkins. "Whose Country Is It Anyway? The Construction of a New Identity through Schooling for Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand", *History of Education*, 28, 3 (1999), pp. 339-350.

Mort, Frank and Thompson, Peter. "Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain: The Case of Montague Burton, the 'Tailor of Taste'", *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994), pp. 106-127.

Moskowitz, Eva. "'It's Good to Blow Your Top': Women's Magazines and a Discourse of Discontent, 1945-1965", *Journal of Women's History*, 8, 3 (1996), pp. 66-98.

Mouffe, Chantal. "Feminism, Citizenship and Radical Democratic Politics", in Judith Butler and Joan Wallach Scott, eds, *Feminists Theorize the Political*, Routledge, New York, 1992, pp. 369-384.

Mulvey, Laura. *Visual and Other Pleasures*, MacMillan Press. London, 1989.

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and the Narrative Cinema", in Laura Mulvey, ed, *Visual and Other Pleasures*, MacMillan Press, London, 1989, pp. 14-26.

Murphy, John. "Shaping the Cold War Family: Politics, Domesticity and Policy Interventions in the 1950s", *Australian Historical Studies*, 26, 105 (1995), pp. 544-567.

Nadeau, Chantal. *Fur Nation: From the Beaver to Brigitte Bardot*, Routledge. London and New York, 2001.

Nava, Mica. "Consumerism Reconsidered: Buying and Power", in Morag Shiach, ed, *Feminism and Cultural Studies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, pp. 45-64.

Nehua, Deirdre. "Three Women", in Witi Ihimaera, ed, *Growing up Maori*, Tandem Press, Auckland, 1998, pp. 88-98.

New Zealand Federation of University Women, Canterbury Branch. *St Albans: From Swamp to Suburbs: An Informal History*, New Zealand Federation of University Women, Canterbury Branch. Christchurch, 1989.

New Zealand Society of Cosmetic Chemists. *Cosmetics in New Zealand, 1946-1996 : Personal and Company Recollections : A History of the Industry in New Zealand over the Last Fifty Years.*, New Zealand Society of Cosmetic Chemists. Auckland, 1996.

Nicholls, Roberta. *The Women's Parliament: The National Council of the Women of New Zealand, 1896-1920*, University of Victoria Press. Wellington, 1996.

Nolan, Melanie. *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State*, University of Canterbury Press. Christchurch, 2000.

Norman, Waerete. "Taura", in Witi Ihimaera, ed, *Growing up Maori*, Tandem Press, Auckland, 1998, pp. 110-132.

Novitz, David. "On Culture and Cultural Identity", in David Novitz and Bill Willmott, eds, *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, GP Books, Wellington, 1989, pp. 277-291.

- O'Meehan, Michael. *Held Firm by Faith: A History of the Catholic Diocese of Christchurch*, Catholic Diocese of Christchurch. Christchurch, 1988.
- O'Regan, Hana. *Ko Tahu, Ko Au: Kai Tahu Tribal Identity*, Horomaka Publishing. Christchurch, 2001.
- O'Shea, Patricia K. *The Golden Harvest: A History of Tobacco Growing in New Zealand*, Hazard Press. Christchurch, 1997.
- Oakley, Ann. *Women's Work: The Housewife, Past and Present*, Panthenon Books. New York, 1975.
- Oliver, W.H. *The Story of New Zealand*, Faber and Faber. London, 1960.
- Oliver, W.H. "The Awakening Imagination, 1940-1980", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 539-570.
- Olssen, Eric, and Andre Levesque. "Towards a History of the European Family in New Zealand", in P Koopman-Boyden, ed, *Families in New Zealand Society*, Meuthen, Wellington, 1978, pp. 1-26.
- Olssen, Erik. "Towards a New Society", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 254-284.
- Olssen, Erik. "Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-80", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp. 37-62.
- Orange, Claudia. "An Exercise in Maori Authority: The Rise and Demise of the Maori War Effort Organisation", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 21, 1 (1987), pp. 156-172.
- Orange, Claudia. *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Allen and Unwin in association with the Port Nicholson Press. Wellington, 1987.
- Orange, Claudia. "Fraser and the Maori", in Margaret Clark, ed, *Peter Fraser: Master Politician*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1998, pp. 91-107.
- Orange, Claudia. "The Price of Citizenship? The Maori War Effort", in John Crawford, ed, *Kia Kaha: New Zealand in the Second World War*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 2000, pp. 236-251.
- Page, Dorothy. *The National Council of Women: A Centennial History*, Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books. Auckland, 1996.
- Paisley, Fiona. "Citizens of the World: Australian Feminism and Indigenous Rights in the International Context, 1920s and 1930s", *Feminist Review*, 58 (1998), pp. 66-84.
- Paisley, Fiona. "'Unnecessary Crimes and Tragedies': Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Australian Policies of Aboriginal Child Removal", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 134-147.



Paki, Emily, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 115-118.

Pakulski, Jan. "Cultural Citizenship", *Citizenship Studies*, 1, 1 (1997), pp. 73-86.

Parker, Rozsika, and Griselda Pollock. *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, Routledge and Kegan Paul. London, 1981.

Parker, Wiremu. "The Substance That Remains", in I Wards, ed, *Thirteen Facets: The Silver Jubilee Essays Surveying the New Elizabethan Age, a Period of Unprecedented Change*, Reed, Wellington, 1978,

Parsonson, Ann. "The Challenge to Mana Maori", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 167-198.

Parsonson, Ann. "Ngai Tahu - the Whale That Awoke: From Claim to Settlement (1960-1998)", in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, eds, *Southern Capital Christchurch: Towards a City Biography 1859-2000*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, pp. 248-276.

Partington, Angela. "The Designer Housewife in the 1950s", in Judy Attfield and Pat Kirkham, eds, *A View from the Interior: Women and Design*, The Women's Press, London, 1995, pp. 206-214.

Pateman, Carole. *The Sexual Contract*, Polity Press. Cambridge, 1988.

Pateman, Carole. *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*, Polity Press. Cambridge, 1989.

Pattynama, Pamela. "Secrets and Danger: Interracial Sexuality in Louis Couperus's *the Hidden Force* and Dutch Colonial Culture around 1900", in Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, eds, *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1998, pp. 84-107.

Pawson, Eric. "The Social Production of Urban Space", *New Zealand Geographer*, 43, 2 (1987), pp. 123-129.

Pawson, Eric & Hipkins, Geoffrey. "Housing, Population and Urban Renewal in Inner Christchurch", in Richard & Sturman Bedford, Andrew, ed, *Canterbury at the Crossroads: Issues for the Eighties*, New Zealand Geographical Society, Christchurch, 1983, pp. 337-348.

Pawson, Eric and Hipkins, Geoffrey. "Housing Renewal and the Chip Scheme in Christchurch", *New Zealand Geographer*, 41, 2 (1985), pp. 56-63.

Pearson, David. *A Dream Deferred: The Origins of Ethnic Conflict in New Zealand*, Allen and Unwin. Wellington, 1990.

Peel, Mark. "Making a Place: Women in the Workers' City", *Australian Historical Studies*, 26, 102 (1994), pp. 19-38.

Peiss, Kathy. "Making Faces: The Cosmetics Industry and the Cultural Construction of Gender, 1890-1930", *Genders*, 7 (1990), pp. 143-169.

Peiss, Kathy. *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*, Metropolitan Books. New York, 1998.

Pere, Joseph Anaru Hetekia Tekani. "Hitori Maori", in Colin Davis and Peter Lineham, eds, *The Future of the Past: Themes in New Zealand History*, Department of History, Massey University, Palmerston North, 1991,

Perkins, Reid. "Imag(in)Ing Our Past: Colonial New Zealand from the Birth of Film to the Piano", *Illusions*, 25 (1996), pp. 4-10.

Phillips, Anne. *Democracy and Difference*, Pennsylvania State University Press. Pennsylvania, 1993.

Phillips, Jock. "Musings in Maoriland - or Was There a Bulletin School in New Zealand?" *Historical Studies*, 20, 81 (1983), pp. 520-555.

Phillips, Jock. *A Man's Country?: The Image of the Pakeha Male - a History*, Penguin. Auckland, 1987.

Phillips, Jock. "War and National Identity", in David Novitz and Bill Willmott, eds, *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, GP Books, Wellington, 1989, pp. 91-109.

Phillips, Jock. "Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 24, 2 (1990), pp. 118-134.

Phillips, Jock. *Royal Summer: The Visit of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip to New Zealand 1953-54*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates Press. Wellington, 1993.

Phillips, Jock. "History in New Zealand since 1945", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 41, Special Issue (1995), pp. 171-181.

Phillips, Jock. "Exhibiting Ourselves: The Exhibition and National Identity", in John Mansfield Thomson, ed, *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-07*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1998, pp. 17-26.

Phillips, Jock. "Men, Women and Leisure since the Second World War", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp. 213-234.

Pickles, Katie. "Forgotten Colonizers: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the Canadian North", *The Canadian Geographer*, 42, 2 (1998), pp. 193-204.

Pickles, Katie, ed, *Hall of Fame: Life Stories of New Zealand Women* Clerstory Press. Christchurch, 1998.

Pickles, Katie. "Exhibiting Canada: Empire, Migration and the 1928 English Schoolgirl Tour", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7, 1 (2000), pp. 81-96.

Pickles, Katie. "Kiwi Icons and the Re-Settlement of New Zealand as Colonial Space", *unpublished paper*, (1999).

- Pickles, Katie. "Workers and Workplaces - Industry and Modernity", in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, eds, *Southern Capital Christchurch: Towards a City Biography 1859-2000*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, pp. 138-161.
- Pickles, Katie. "Empire Settlement and Single British Women as New Zealand Domestic Servants During the 1920s", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 35, 1 (2001), pp. 22-44.
- Pierson, Ruth Roach. "Introduction", in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998, pp. 1-20.
- Pierson, Ruth Roach, and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* Indiana University Press. Bloomington, 1998.
- Pollock, Griselda. *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art*, Routledge. London, 1988.
- Pool, Ian. *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population, Past, Present and Projected*, Auckland University Press. Auckland, 1991.
- Porter, Frances. "Williams, Jane", in W.H Oliver, ed, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. Volume One, 1769-1869, Allen and Unwin and the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990, pp. 228.
- Poulson, M.F, D.T Rowland, and R.J Johnston. "Patterns of Maori Migration in New Zealand", in Leszek A. Kosinski and R. Mansell Prothero, eds, *People on the Move: Studies on Internal Migration*, Methuen & Co, London, 1975, pp. 309-324.
- Pratt, John. *Punishment in a Perfect Society: The New Zealand Penal System 1840-1939*, Victoria University Press. Wellington, 1992.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Routledge. London, 1992.
- Prentice, Chris. "Introduction: Aotearoa/New Zealand and Their Others: Feminism and Postcoloniality", *Women's Studies Journal*, 11, 1-2 (1995), pp. 1-14.
- Prokhovnik, Raia. "Public and Private Citizenship: From Gender Invisibility to Feminist Inclusiveness", *Feminist Review*, 60 (1998), pp. 84-104.
- Pultz, John. *Photography and the Body*, George Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London, 1995.
- Puohotaua, Lucy, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 151-154.
- Quartly, Marian. "Mothers and Fathers and Brothers and Sisters: The AWA and the ANA and Gendered Citizenship", in Renata Howe, ed, *Women and the State: Australian Perspectives: Special Issue of the Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol.37, Journal of Australian Studies, Melbourne, 1993, pp. 22-30.

- Ralston, Caroline. "Maori Women and the Politics of Tradition: What Roles and Power Did, Do, and Should Maori Women Exercise", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 5, 1 (1993), pp. 23-44.
- Ramusack, Barbara. "Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865-1945." in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1992, pp. 119-136.
- Rangi, Kath, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 157-160.
- Rangiihu, Tahiti, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 168-172.
- Rehak, Pamela. "Women, Housing, and Home-Ownership in the 1950s", *Lilith*, 5 (1988), pp. 165-176.
- Rei, Tania. *Maori Women and the Vote*, Huia. Wellington, 1993.
- Rei, Tania. "Te Ropu Wahine Maori Toko I Te Ora: Maori Women's Welfare League 1951-", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 34-38.
- Rei, Tania, Geraldine McDonald, and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku. "Nga Ropu Wahine Maori: Maori Women's Organisations", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 3-17.
- Reinharz, Shulamit. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, Oxford University Press. New York, 1992.
- Rendall, Jane. "Women and the Public Sphere", *Gender and History*, 11, 3 (1999), pp. 475-488.
- Rennie, Hiria, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 184-188.
- Reverby, S.M., and D.O. Helly. "Introduction: Converging on History", in S.M. Reverby and D.O. Helly, eds, *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1992,
- Reynolds, Marilyn & Bonny, S. *Woman's World: Houses and Suburbs*, Auckland Branch of the Society for Research on Women in New Zealand Inc. Auckland, 1976.
- Rice, Geoffrey. *Christchurch Changing: An Illustrated History*, Canterbury University Press. Christchurch, 1999.
- Richards, Trevor. *Dancing on Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Racism*, Bridget Williams Books. Wellington, 1999.

- Richardson, Diane. "Sexuality and Citizenship", *Sociology*, 32, 1 (1998), pp. 83-100.
- Richardson, Diane. "Extending Citizenship: Cultural Citizenship and Sexuality", in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp. 153-166.
- Riddell, Kate. "'Improving' the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Intermarriage", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1 (2000), pp. 80-97.
- Riley, Denise. *'Am I That Name?' Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History*, University of Minnesota. Minneapolis, 1988.
- Roberts, Marion. *Living in a Man-Made World: Gender Assumptions in Modern Housing Design*, Routledge. London, 1991.
- Robertson, Jennifer. "Japan's First Cyborg? Miss Nipon, Eugenics and Wartime Technologies of Beauty, Body, and Blood", *Body and Society*, 7, 1 (2001), pp. 1-34.
- Rogers, Anna , and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League* Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books. Wellington, 1993.
- Roper, Michael. "Yesterday's Model: Product Fetishism and the British Company Man, 1945-1985", in M Roper and J. Tosh, eds, *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, Routledge, London, 1991, pp. 190-211.
- Rose, Gillian. *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*, University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis, 1993.
- Rose, Gillian. "The Cultural Politics of Place: Local Representation and Oppositional Discourse in Two Films", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19 (1994), pp. 46-60.
- Rosier, Pat, ed, *Been around for Quite a While, Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet* New Woman's Press. Auckland, 1992.
- Ross, Kirstie. "'Schooled by Nature': Pakeha Tramping between the Wars", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp. 51-65.
- Rothschild, Joan, and Victoria Rosner. "Feminisms and Designs: Review Essay", in Joan Rothschild, ed, *Design and Feminism: Re-Visioning Spaces, Places, and Everyday Things*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1999, pp. 7-34.
- Rowbotham, Judith. "'Hear an Indian Sister's Plea': Reporting the Work of 19th-Century British Female Missionaries", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21, 3 (1998), pp. 247-261.
- Rowbotham, Judith. "'Soldiers of Christ'? Images of Female Missionaries in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain: Issues of Heroism and Martyrdom", *Gender and History*, 12, 1 (2000), pp. 82-106.

- Rowbotham, Sheila. *A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States*, Viking Books. London, 1997.
- Rutherford, Danilyn Fox. "Treking to New Guinea: Dutch Colonial Fantasies of a Virgin Land, 1900-1942", in Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, eds, *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1998, pp. 255-271.
- Ryan, Mary. *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots 1825-1880*, Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore, 1990.
- Ryan, P.M. *The Revised Dictionary of Modern Maori*, Heinemann Education. Auckland, 1990.
- Saegert, Susan. "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs: Polarised Ideas, Contradictory Realities", *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture*, 5, 3 Supplement (1980), pp. S93-108.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*, Routledge and Keagan Paul. London, 1978.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*, Alfred A Knopf. New York, 1993.
- Salih, Ruba. "Shifting Boundaries of Self and Other: Moroccan Migrant Women in Italy", *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, 7, 3 (2000), pp. 321-335.
- Saunders, Peter. "Domestic Property and Social Class", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2 (1978), pp. 233-251.
- Schrader, Ben. "A Brave New World?: Ideal Versus Reality in Postwar Naenae", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30, 1 (1996), pp. 61-79.
- Schrader, Ben. "Labour at Home: The First Labour Government and the Familial Suburban Ideal", in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp. 125-139.
- Schuurman, Nadine. "Contesting Patriarchies: Nlha7pamux and Stl'atl'imx Women and Colonisation in Nineteenth Century British Columbia", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 5, 2 (1998), pp. 141-158.
- Scott, Joan W. "Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism", *Feminist Studies*, 14, 1 (1988), pp. 33-51.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis", in Joan Wallach Scott, ed, *Gender and the Politics of History*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988, pp. 28-52.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. "Women's History", in Joan Wallach Scott, ed, *Gender and the Politics of History*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988, pp. 15-27.
- Shah, Nayan. "Cleansing Motherhood: Hygiene and the Culture of Domesticity in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1875-1900", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 19-34.

- Shankman, Paul. "Interethnic Unions and the Regulation of Sex in Colonial Samoa, 1830-1945", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 110, 2 (2001), pp. 119-148.
- Sharfe, Jean. "The New Zealand International Exhibition at Christchurch in 1906-07", *History Now*, 1, 2 (1995), pp. 27-31.
- Shaw, Louise. "A Woman's Place?" in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp. 165-181.
- Silverstone, Roger. "Introduction", in Roger Silverstone, ed, *Visions of Suburbia*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 1-25.
- Silverstone, Roger, ed, *Visions of Suburbia* Routledge. London, 1997.
- Simon, Judith. *Nga Kura Maori: The Native School System 1867-1969*, Auckland University Press. Auckland, 1998.
- Simpson Fletcher, Yaël. "Unsettling Settlers: Colonial Migrants and Racialised Sexuality in Interwar Marseilles", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 80-94.
- Sinclair, Keith. "Why Are Race Relations in New Zealand Better Than in South Africa, South Australia or South Dakota", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 5, 2 (1971), pp. 121-127.
- Sinclair, Keith. *Walter Nash*, Auckland University Press & Oxford University Press. Auckland, 1976.
- Sinclair, Keith. "The Beginnings of a Colonial Nationalism: Richard Jebb in New Zealand, 1899", in J Eddy and D Schreuder, eds, *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1985, pp. 111-130.
- Sinclair, Keith. *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Allen and Unwin. Wellington, 1986.
- Sinclair, Keith. *A History of New Zealand*. 4th edition ed, Penguin Books. Auckland, 1991.
- Sissons, Jeffrey. "National Moments: Dance and Nationhood in the Cook Islands", *Sites*, 30 (1995), pp. 153-164.
- Sissons, Jeffrey. "Nation or Desti-Nation? Cook Islands Nationalism since 1965", in Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas, eds, *Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific*, Studies in Anthropology and History, Harwood Academic Publishers, Amsterdam, 1997, pp. 163-188.
- Sissons, Jeffrey. "The Post-Assimilationist Thought of Sir Apirana Ngata: Towards a Genealogy of New Zealand Biculturalism", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1 (2000), pp. 47-59.
- Skinner, Robin. "Home Away: A State House in London", in Barbara Brookes, ed, *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2000, pp. 155-164.

Smart, Judith. "'For the Good That We Can Do': Cecilia Downing and Feminist Christian Citizenship", *Australian Feminist Studies*, 19 (1994), pp. 39-60.

Smart, Judith. "Feminists, Flappers and Miss Australia: Contesting the Meanings of Citizenship, Femininity and Nation in the 1920s", *Journal of Australian Studies*, 71 (2001), pp. 1-15.

Smith, Barbara. "Toward a Black Feminist Criticism", in Judith Newton and Deborah Rosenfelt, eds, *Feminist Criticism and Social Change: Sex, Class, and Race in Literature and Culture*, Methuen, New York, 1985, pp. 3-18.

Smith, Bernard. *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas*, Oxford University Press. London, 1960.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Zed Books and the University of Otago Press. London; Dunedin, 1999.

Smith, Rosemarie. "New Zealand Federation of Country Women's Institutes 1921-", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 389-392.

Smith, Valerie. *Not Just Race, Not Just Gender: Black Feminist Readings*, Routledge. New York, 1998.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carole. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth Century America", *Signs*, 1, 1 (1975), pp. 1-27.

Solomon, Harata, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 204-213.

Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "Going Native: Paul Gauguin and the Invention of the Primitivist Modernist", in Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrad, eds, *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, Harper Collins, New York, 1992, pp. 313-329.

Solomos, John. "Race, Multi-Culturalism and Difference", in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp. 198-211.

Sorrenson, M.P.K. "Maori and Pakeha", in Geoffrey Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 141-166.

Sorrenson, M.P.K. "Modern Maori: The Young Maori Party to Mana Motuhake", in Keith Sinclair, ed, *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1997, pp. 323-351.

Sorrenson, M.P.K., ed, *Na to Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend: The Correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, 1925-1950*. Vol. Volume 3, 1932-50 Auckland University Press in association with the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust and the Maori Purposes Fund Board. Auckland, 1988.

Spain, Daphne. *Gendered Spaces*, The University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1992.



Spain, Daphne. "Black Women as City Builders: Redemptive Places and the Legacy of Nannie Helen Burroughs", in Kristine Miranne and Alma Young, eds, *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, 2000, pp. 105-117.

Spencer, Marcia. *The Incoming Tide: Sir William Sullivan and the 1951 Waterfront Dispute*, M.Spencer. Wellington, 1998.

Spickard, Paul. "The Subject Is Mixed Race: The Boom in Biracial Biography", in David Parker and Mira Song, eds, *Rethinking 'Mixed Race'*, Pluto Press, London, 2001, pp. 76-98.

Spigel, Lynn. "From Theatre to Space Ship: Metaphors of Suburban Domesticity in Postwar America", in Roger Silverstone, ed, *Visions of Suburbia*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 217-239.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, eds, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1988, pp. 271-313.

Spoonley, Paul. "Citizenship in a Post-Nation State", *Sites*, 35, Spring (1997), pp. 1-19.

Sprecher, Danielle. "Good Clothes Are Good Business", in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, pp. 141-162.

Stanley, Joan C. "Kissling, Margaret", in W.H Oliver, ed, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. Volume One, 1769-1869, Allen and Unwin and the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990, pp. 228.

Stepan, Nancy Leys. *"the Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*, Cornell University Press. Ithaca, 1991.

Stevenson, Nick. *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage. London, 2001.

Stevenson, Nick. "Culture and Citizenship: An Introduction", in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp. 1-10.

Stirling, Amiria, and Anne Slamond. *Amiria: The Life Story of a Maori Woman*, Reed. Auckland, 1995.

Stivens, Maila. "Modernising the Malay Mother", in Kalpana Ram and Margaret Jolly, eds, *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences in Asia and the Pacific*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 50-80.

Stoler, Ann L. "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Morality in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Colonial Cultures", *American Ethnologist*, 16, 4 (1989), pp. 634-60.

Stoler, Ann L. "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31, 1 (1989), pp. 134-161.

Stoler, Ann L. "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia", in Micaela di Leonardo, ed, *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge:*

*Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, University of California Press, Berkley, 1991, pp. 51-101.

Stoler, Ann L. "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34, 3 (1992), pp. 514-551.

Strobel, Margaret. "Gender and Race in the Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century British Empire", in Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz and Susan Stuard, eds, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1987, pp. 375-394.

Strong-Boag, Veronica. "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-60", *Canadian Historical Review*, 72, 2 (1991), pp. 471-504.

Suaalii, Tamasailau M. "Deconstructing the 'Exotic' Female Beauty of the Pacific Islands and 'White' Male Desire", *Women's Studies Journal*, 13, 2 (1997), pp. 75-94.

Summers, Anne. *Damned Whores and God's Police*. 2nd Edition ed, Penguin Books. Ringwood, Victoria, 1994.

Sutton Beets, Jacqui. "Images of Maori Women in New Zealand Postcards after 1900", *Women's Studies Journal*, 13, 2 (1997), pp. 7-24.

Swingewood, Alan. *Cultural Theory and the Problem of Modernity*, St. Martin's Press. New York, 1998.

Szaszy, Mira. in Virginia Myers, ed, *Head and Shoulders: Successful New Zealand Women Talk to Virginia Myers*, Penguin, Auckland, 1986, pp. 232-249.

Szaszy, Mira, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 216-231.

Tahiwi, Mairatea, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 232-237.

Tau, Te Marie. "Ngai Tahu - from 'Better Dead and out of the Way' to 'to Be Seen to Belong'", in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, eds, *Southern Capital Christchurch: Towards a City Biography 1859-2000*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, pp. 222-247.

Tau, Te Marie et al. *Te Whakatau Kaupapa: Ngai Tahu Resource Management Strategy for the Canterbury Region*, Aoraki Press. Wellington, 1990.

Tautari, Marie. "Maori Women's Institutes 1929-1950s", in Anne Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 25-28.

Taylor, John. *Consuming Identity: Modernity and Tourism in New Zealand*, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1998, Research in Anthropology and Linguistics, Number Two.

Taylor, Nancy M. *The New Zealand People at War: The Home Front*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45 Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. Wellington, 1986.

Taylor, Nancy M. *The New Zealand People at War: The Home Front*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45 Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. Wellington, 1986.

Taylor, W.A. *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Bascands Limited. Christchurch, 1950.

Te Awekotuku, Ngahuia. *Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture, and Politics*, New Women's Press. Auckland, 1991.

Te Awekotuku, Ngahuia. "Remembering Makereti", *Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture, and Politics*, New Women's Press, Auckland, 1991, pp. 143-154.

Te Awekotuku, Ngahuia. "He Whare Tangata: He Whare Kura? What's Happening to Our Maori Girls", in Witi Ihimaera, ed, *Growing up Maori*, Tadnem Press, Auckland, 1998, pp. 72-80.

Te Kanawa, Diggeress, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 257-260.

Te Tau, Kuini, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 269-276.

Tennant, Margaret. "'Magdalens and Moral Imbeciles': Women's Homes in Nineteenth Century New Zealand", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 9, 5 (1986), pp. 491-502.

Tennant, Margaret. "Sisterly Ministrations: The Social Work of Protestant Deaconesses in New Zealand 1890-1940", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 32, 1 (1998), pp. 3-22.

Tennant, Margaret. "Pakeha Deaconesses and the New Zealand Methodist Mission to Maori, 1893-1940", *The Journal of Religious History*, 23, 3 (1999), pp. 309-326.

Thomas, Joyce. "Women and Capitalism: Oppression or Emancipation? A Review Article", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30 (1988), pp. 534-49.

Thomas, Nicholas. *Colonialism's Culture; Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Polity Press. Cambridge, 1994.

Thomson, David. *A World without Welfare: New Zealand's Colonial Experiment*, Auckland University Press / Bridget Williams Books. Auckland, 1998.

Thomson, John Mansfield, ed, *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-07* Dunmore Press. Palmerston North, 1998.

Thorns, David. *Suburbia*, MacGibbon and Kee. London, 1972.

Thorns, David. "Suburban Myths and Ways of Life", *Centro-Sociale*, 21, 115-117 (1974), pp. 153-160.

Thorns, David. "Suburban Values and the Urban System", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 16, 1-2 (1975), pp. 100-113.

Thorns, David. "The Implications of Differential Rates of Capital Gain from Owner Occupation for the Formation and Development of Housing Classes", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 5 (1981), pp. 205-217.

Thorns, David. "Owner Occupation, the State and Class Relations in New Zealand", in Chris Wilkes and Ian Shirley, eds, *In the Public Interest: Health, Work and Housing in New Zealand Society*, Benton Ross, Auckland, 1984, pp. 213-230.

Thorns, David. "New Zealand Housing Policy: Continuities and Changes", *Housing Studies*, 1, 3 (1986), pp. 182-191.

Thorns, David. "Housing and Social Theory", *Housing Studies*, 8, 1 (1993), pp. 73-74.

Tinkler, Penny. "Introduction to Special Issue: Women, Imperialism and Identity", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21, 3 (1998), pp. 217-222.

Tinkler, Penny. "English Girls and the International Dimensions of British Citizenship in the 1940s", *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, 8, 1 (2001), pp. 103-126.

Tippins, Maraea, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 281-287.

Toia, Mate, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 288-294.

Trainor, Luke. *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism: Manipulation, Conflict, and Compromise in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 1994.

Trlin, A.D. "State Housing: Shelter and Welfare in Suburbia", in A.D Trlin, ed, *Social Welfare in New Zealand Society*, Methuen, Wellington, 1977, pp. 106-131.

Trollope, Joanna. *Britannia's Daughters: Women of the British Empire*, Cresset. London, 1983.

Turner, Bryan S. "Outline of a General Theory of Cultural Citizenship", in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp. 11-32.

Turner, Stephen. "A Legacy of Colonialism: The Uncivil Society of Aotearoa/New Zealand", *Cultural Studies*, 13, 3 (1999), pp. 408-422.

Tzu-Chun Wu, Judy. "“Lovliest Daughter of Our Ancient Cathay”: Representations of Ethnic and Gender Identity in the Miss Chinatown U.S.A. Beauty Pageant", *Journal of Social History*, 31, 1 (1997), pp. 5-31.

Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze*, Sage Publications. London, 1990.

Valverde, Mariana. *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*, McClelland and Stewart. Toronto, 1993.

Van Trigt, Judith. "Reflecting on the Pacific: Representations of the Pacific and Pacific Island Women in Five Dominant Cinematic Texts", *Women's Studies Journal*, 12, 1 (1996), pp. 99-114.

Vickers, J. "Feminist Approaches to Women in Politics", in L and Sangster Kealey, J, ed, *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1989, pp. 16-38.

Vickery, Amanda. "Historiographical Review: Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History", *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), pp. 383-414.

Waaka Kingi, Maureen. "Finishing the Jigsaw Puzzle", in Jane Tolerton, ed, *60s Chicks Hit the Nineties*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1997, pp. 67-83.

Waenga, Te Rina, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 295-298.

Walby, Sylvia. "Is Citizenship Gendered", *Sociology*, 28, 2 (1994), pp. 379-395.

Walker, Paul. "Towards the Modern Garden", in Matthew Bradbury, ed, *A History of the Garden in New Zealand*, Penguin, Auckland, 1995, pp. 153-171.

Walker, Ranginui. "Educational Replanning for a Multicultural Society", in G Robinson and B O'Rourke, eds, *New Zealand Society: A Book of Readings*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1980,

Walker, Ranginui. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End*, Penguin Books. Auckland, 1990.

Walker, Ranginui. *He Tipuna: The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata*, Viking. Auckland, 2001.

Walker, Ranginui J. "Maori People since 1950", in Geoffrey W Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, pp. 498-519.

Ward, Alan. *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press. Auckland, 1995.

Ware, Vron. "Moments of Danger: Race, Gender and Memories of Empire", *History and Theory*, 31, 4 (1992), pp. 116-137.

Warner, Marina. *From the Beast to the Blonde*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux. New York, 1995.

Webster, Wendy. *Imagining Home: Gender, 'Race' and National Identity, 1945-1964*, UCL Press. London, 1998.

Weisman, Leslie Kanes. *Descrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment*, University of Illinois Press. Urbana, 1992.

Wekerle, Gerda R. "Women in the Urban Environment", *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture*, 5, 3 Supplement (1980), pp. s188-214.

Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood:1820-1860", *American Quaterly*, 18, 2 (1966), pp. 151-174.

Wharemaru, Heeni, and Mary Katherine with Duffié. *Heeni: A Tainui Elder Remembers*, Harper Collins. Auckland, 1997.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 1991.

Wiilliams, Sarah Marianne. "Williams, Marianne", in W.H Oliver, ed, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. Volume One, 1769-1869, Allen and Unwin and the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990, pp. 595.

Wikaira, Mona, in Anna Rogers and Mira Simpson, eds, *Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, Maori Women's Welfare League and Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp. 308-315.

Wilkes, Chris, and Brennon Wood. "The Social Relations of Housing in Early New Zealand", in Chris Wilkes and Ian Shirley, eds, *In the Public Interest: Health, Work and Housing in New Zealand Society*, Benton Ross, Auckland, 1984, pp. 183-212.

Wilson, Elizabeth. *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*, University of California Press. Berkeley, 1992.

Winddance Twine, France. "Brown-Skinned White Girls: Class, Culture, and the Construction of White Identity in Suburban Communities", in Ruth Frankenburg, ed, *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1997, pp. 214-243.

Wolf, Naomi. *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used against Women*, Vintage Books. London, 1991.

Wood, Robert E. "Tourist Ethnicity: A Brief Itinerary", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21, 2 (1998), pp. 218-241.

Wood, Val. *War Brides: They Fllowed Their Heart to New Zealand*, Random Century. Auckland, 1991.

Woollacott, Angela. "White Colonialism and Sexual Modernity: Australian Women in the Early Twentieth Century Metropolis", in Antoinette Burton, ed, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 49-63.

Wright, Gwedolyn. *Moralism and the Model Home*, Chicago University Press. Chicago, 1980.

Wunsch, James L. "The Suburban Cliche", *Journal of Social History*, 28, 3 (1995), pp. 643-658.

Yeatman, Anna. "Voices and Representation in the Politics of Difference", in S Gunew and A Yeatman, eds, *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, [NSW], 1993, pp. 228-45.

Yeatman, Anna. *Postmodern Revisionings of the Political*, Routledge. London, 1994.

Yeatman, Anna. "Feminism and Citizenship", in Nick Stevenson, ed, *Culture and Citizenship*, Sage, London, 2001, pp. 138-152.

Young, Iris Marion. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton University Press. Princeton, 1990.

Young, Iris Marion. *Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy, and Policy*, Princeton University Press. Princeton, New Jersey, 1997.

Young, Robert. *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*, Routledge. London, 1990.

Young, Robert. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, Routledge. London, 1995.

Yska, Redmer. *All Shook Up: The Flash Bodgie and the Rise of the New Zealand Teenager in the Fifties*, Penguin Books. Auckland, 1992.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. "The Citizenship Debate: Women, Ethnic Processes and the State", *Feminist Review*, 39, Winter (1991), pp. 56-68.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Women and the Biological Reproduction of "the Nation"", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19, 1 (1996), pp. 17-24.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Gender and Nation", in Linda McDowell and Joanne P. Sharp, eds, *Space, Gender, Knowledge*, Arnold, London, 1997, pp. 403-408.